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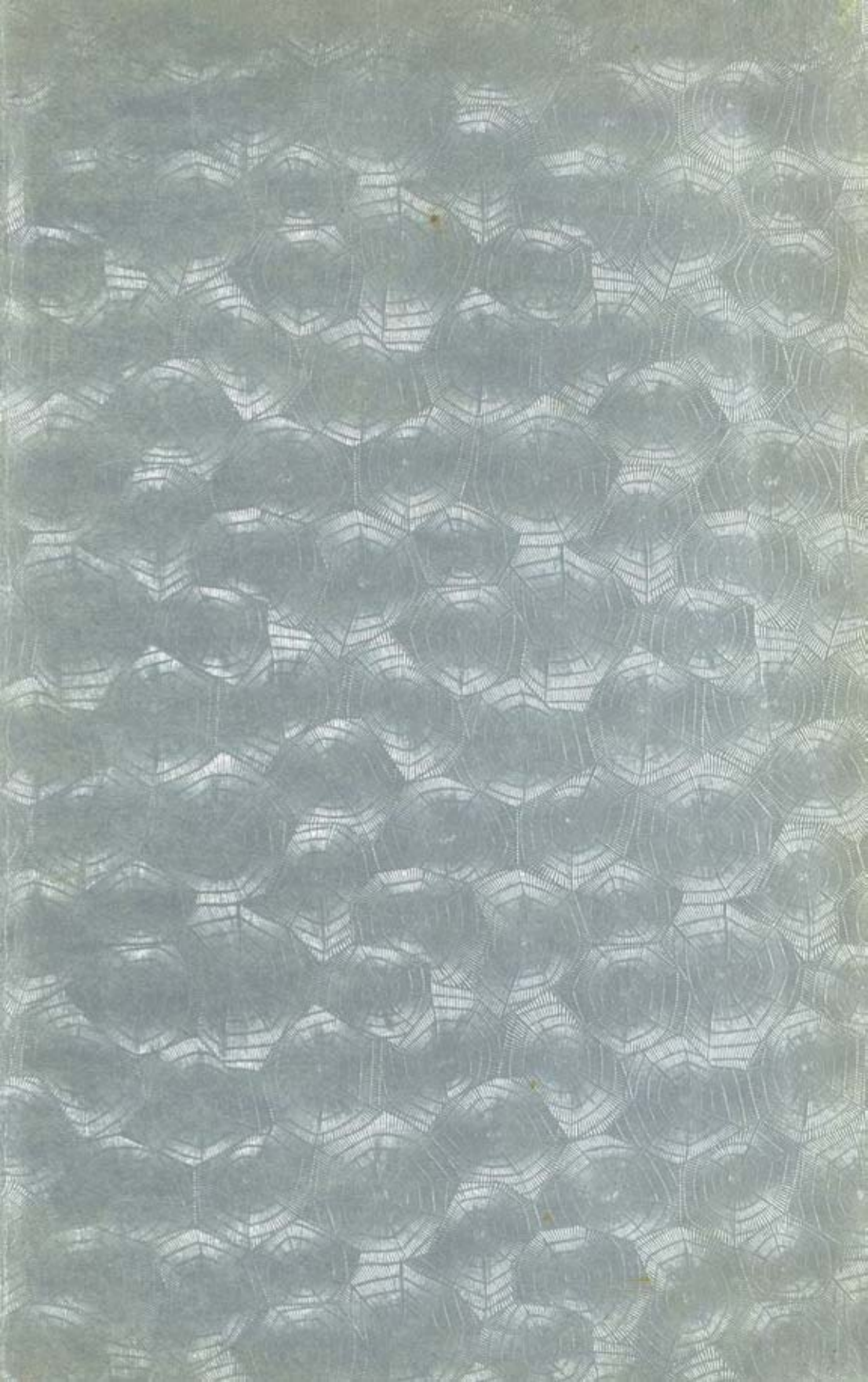
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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES

BY
R. PISCHEL

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY
SUBHADRA JHĀ

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The following changes have been made in the system of Romanisation of Indian words :—

(a) *ṁ* has been replaced by *m̐*,

(b) Small letters have been substituted for capital letters in proper nouns printed in Italics.

It is regretted that certain letters in Italics with dialectical marks have been printed with two different types joined together and that, as in the original, diacritical marks went off in course of printing in a number of places.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to the Late Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, whose English translation of the first chapter of the Introduction, under the title "Pischel on the Characteristics of the Prakrit Languages", has been of great help to me.

Āśvina, 5, Śakābda 1879.

Subhadra Jhā

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I. INTRODUCTION.

A. The Prākṛit Languages.

§ 1. By the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a multitude of literary languages, as the common characteristic whereof they consider Sanskrit their origin. Therefore, they generally derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*, "element", "basis", and according to them this basis is Sanskrit. So says Hemacandra, 1, 1, *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam | tatra bhavaṁ tata āgataṁ vā prakṛtam*, "Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prākṛit". Likewise Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam | tatra bhavaṁ prakṛta-mucyate*; so Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prakṛter āgataṁ prakṛtam | prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam*; Sindhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra, 2, 2: *prakṛteḥ saṁskṛtā-dāgataṁ prakṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in PETERSON, Third Report 343, 7: *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam | tatra bhavaivaṁ prakṛtam smṛtam*. Cf. Narasiṁha, Prākṛta-śabdapradīpikā, p. 1: *prakṛteḥ saṁskṛtāyāstu vikṛtiḥ prakṛtiḥ matā*, and Prākṛtasahjivānī in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11: *prakṛtasya tu sarvameva saṁskṛtam yonih*. For other etymologies see § 16.

§ 2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda, 5, 2, teaches—*saṁskṛtāt prakṛtam iṣṭam tato 'pabhraṁśabhāṣaṇam*, "one takes for granted that from Sanskrit originated Prākṛit, whence the Apabhraṁśa language". A quotation, in Śaṅkara on Śakuntalā, 9, 10¹; limits in this view, *saṁskṛtāt prakṛtam śreṣṭham tato 'pabhraṁśabhāṣaṇam*, "from Sanskrit originated the best Prākṛit, and from which the Apabhraṁśa language". According to Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa, I, 34, Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 12) is the best Prākṛit: *māhārāṣṭrāśrayam bhāṣam prakṛtām prakṛtam viduḥ*. It is further explained that Māhārāṣṭrī, being nearest to Sanskrit, is the best Prākṛit. When the Indians speak about Prākṛit generally, they almost always mean Māhārāṣṭrī². According to them Māhārāṣṭrī has the credit of being the basis of the other Prākṛit languages³, and in the manuals by the native grammarians Māhārāṣṭrī occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters, having 424 rules, to Māhārāṣṭrī, and only one chapter to each of the other three languages treated by him, and that only with 14, 17 and 32 rules respectively, and at the end (12, 32) he announces that, whatever, with regard to the lastly dealt with three Prākṛits, remains unsaid, with respect to that these dialects have common characteristics with Māhārāṣṭrī: *śeṣam māhārāṣṭrīvat*. So do the other grammarians.

1. FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 1.—2. LASSEN, Inst. p. 7, 11 f.; MUIR, OST. 22, 49 ff.—3. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; but compare MUIR l. c.

§ 3. With regard to what we are to understand broadly by the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians differ from one another. Vr. considers Māhārāṣṭrī, Paisāci, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī as Prākṛit. Hc. would include in it also Āṛṣa (§ 16), Cūlikāpaisāci, and Apabhraṁśa. He is followed by Trivikrama, Siṁharāja, Narasiṁha and Lakṣmīdhara, with this difference that Trivikrama excludes Āṛṣa, while Siṁharāja, Narasiṁha and Lakṣmīdhara take no notice of it. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides Prākṛit into four classes, *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṁśa, paisāca*. He includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī and Māgadhī under *bhāṣā*, whilst in a controversy against some unnamed author, he rejects Ardhamāgadhī, which, according to him,

is nothing but a form of Māgadhi, that is not very much different from Śaurasenī, Dākṣiṇāṭyā, which has no special characteristic, and Bālīkī which belongs to Māgadhi. Under the *vibhāṣāḥ* he includes the following five dialects: Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrikī, Śākkī, and denies the status of being considered as a *vibhāṣā* to Oḍṛī and Drāviḍī. He then traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to three only, namely to Nāgara Vṛāḍa, and Uparāgara, the 11 Paisācī dialects to the three Nāgaras, Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcālā². Rāmatakavāgiśa³, as well, teaches in the same manner. All the grammarians consider Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, and Paisācī as the different Prākṛit dialects.

1. He is not Bharata, as may be concluded from the fact that the stanza dealing with the *Vibhāṣāḥ* is almost identical with the one given in Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17,49. All the other stanzas show deviations from those of Bharata. The stanza is quoted also in Prākṛitacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 346 ff. Cf. also Rāmatakavāgiśa in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21.—2. The text was partly published in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīvara 5, 99, and Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48 ff.

§ 4. Vr. does not mention Apabhraṃśa at all (§ 3). It would, however, be wrong to conclude therefrom, as was done by LASSEN¹, that this dialect is younger than Vr.² Therefore, with Bloch³, Vararuci should not needlessly be accused of inaccuracy and superfluity. The reason is that Vr., along with others, does not consider Apabhraṃśa to be Prākṛit. As Nāmīsādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvvalāṃkāra 2,11 remarks, some others postulate three languages: Prākṛit, Saṃskṛit and Apabhraṃśa: *yaduktam kaiścid yathā | prākṛitam saṃskṛitam ca itaḍapabhraṃśa iti tridhā*. To this group belongs Daṇḍin, who in his Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32, distinguishes between four kinds of literary works, (1) those that are in Sanskrit, (2) those that are in Prākṛit, (3) those that are in Apabhraṃśa, and finally (4) those that are written in more than one language (*miśra*)⁴. Under Apabhraṃśa Daṇḍin includes the language of the Ābhīras etc., when used in literary works (*kāvyeṣu*): in treatises (*śāstreṣu*) they call everything, whatever is different from Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol.2 in a citation includes the language of the Ābhīras under the *vibhāṣāḥ* (§3), rather than among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa, of which he names 26, such as Pāñcālā, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍṛa, Kāliṅgya, Kārnāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, and so on. Consequently, he uses the term Apabhraṃśa for the popular-languages of Aryan and non-Aryan origins. Against this, Rāmatakavāgiśa holds that Apabhraṃśa should not be included under the *vibhāṣāḥ*, in view of the fact that they are used in dramas etc.: only the actually spoken languages of the people are to be called Apabhraṃśa. According to him, Māgadhi, as a literary language, is a *bhāṣā*, and an Apabhraṃśa as a popular language⁵. Ravikara, in BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 509, distinguishes between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. The one is based on Prākṛit and differs slightly from it in flexion, composition and word-formation, and the other is a popular dialect, (*deśabhāṣā*)⁶. While Sanskrit and Prākṛit follow the rules that are framed about their form, Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the speech of the common people. The older Vāgbhaṭa holds a similar opinion about Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭalāṃkāra 2,1 he names four languages: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāṣā i. e. Paisācī (§ 27) and under 2,3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the different states: *apabhraṃśastu tacchuddham tattaddeṣeṣu bhāṣitam*. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alāṃkāratilaka 15,3 differentiates between Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmyabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valabhī, Guhasena is praised on account of the high degree of skilfulness shown by

him in his works written in three languages, namely Sanskrit. Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa⁷. I. A. 10,284 (Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, names six languages; Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśācabhāṣā, Śūrasenī and Apabhraṃśa, which has several divisions according to the difference in locality: *ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṃśaḥ*. The same six different classes of languages are mentioned also by Amaracandra, Kāvya-kalpala-tāvṛtti p. 8.

1. I. Alt. 2², 1169.—2. WEBER, IStr. 2, 57; FISCHER, KB. 8, 145.—3. Varaurci und Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14 f.=KZ. 33,332 f.—4. He is followed by Kavicaandra in Kāvya-candrikā, in LASSEN, Inst., p. 32. The number is not clear in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa 2.7 ff., p. 56.—5. LASSEN, Inst., p. 21 f.; cf. Muir, OST. 2², 46.—6. Somadeva in his Kathā-āritsāgara, 6,148 mentions *saṃskṛtam, prākṛtam* and *deśabhāṣā* as the different languages; *bhāṣātrayaṃ yaṃ anuṣṛjeṣu sambhavoḥ*. Cf. Kṣemendra, Brhat-kathāmañjarī, 6, 47. 52. 7.

§ 5. Accordingly we have to consider as Apabhraṃśa the popular languages of India. Undoubtedly there were written in it literary works of every kind already in time much earlier than that of the literary monuments, that are still preserved for us. The Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 declares that the place of Apabhraṃśa in a drama is as important as that of Śaurasenī, inasmuch as beside Śaurasenī, a provincial language could be used in it, and that optionally: *śaurasenāṃ samāśṛtya bhāṣā kāryā tu nāṭake, athavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhīḥ*. We need not take into consideration the artificially written dramas of the classical period, rather of the popular theatres of the type of *yātrā* of Bengal¹ or that of the musical plays of Hindusthān² and the popular theatres of Almora³ and Nepal⁴, a sample whereof occurs in the Hariścandraṇṭyam⁵. This Apabhraṃśa, has never been called Prākṛit, but probably Apabhraṃśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, can be used in literary poetry, and according to Ravikara, deviates just slightly from Prākṛit (§ 4), to which it can be traced back ultimately (§ 2). It is presented before us in some of the Prākṛit grammarians, who treat Apabhraṃśa as well, and in Piṅgala and some other works (§ 29). The Indians always understand by the term Prākṛit, the literary languages. Pṛthvidhara, in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v., edited by STENZLER = p. 493 of GODBOLE's⁶ edition, says expressly: *māhārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvyā eva prayujyante*. Hc. 2,174, p. 68. says that the words that are not used by the earlier poets (*pūrvaiḥ kavibhiḥ*) in Prākṛit are to be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvya-darśa 1,35 remarks that Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and others of the kind are used in conversation under the name Prākṛit, and Rāmatar-kavāgīśa forbids inclusion of Apabhraṃśa in the *vibhāṣāḥ*, when they are used in dramas etc. (§ 4). We have, therefore, to differentiate between the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa, the old popular language of Śūrasena, from which evolved the modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī⁷ and Śaurasenī Prākṛit, the artificial language, that is the language of prose of theatres, and whose all the characteristics are like those of Sanskrit. But the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa would also be used in lyrical poems, now and then, and that on the model of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākṛit of lyrics and of artificial epics, remodelled for the purpose of song and recitation, with its chief dialectical peculiarities left untouched. Hc. 4, 446 gives an example: Ap. *kaṇṭhi pālambu kidu radie*, thus in Śaurasenī Pkt. would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kidam radie*, but in Māhārāṣṭrī, with the elision of *d* it would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kaam raie*. Erroneously Hc. lays down that Apabhraṃśa generally follows Śaurasenī Prākṛit (§ 28). Similarly be

it noted that there was one Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa, whence has developed the modern Marāṭhī⁹, in addition to Mahārāṣṭra-Prākṛit, i. e. Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians, as well as Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa (§ 4), which through the Lāṭa-dialect has essentially continued to this day as the dialects of Bihar and of West Bengal⁹ and a Māgadhi Prākṛit, i. e. Māgadhi of the grammarians¹⁰. For Pāṣāci see § 27, and for Aṛṣa see § 16.

1. WILSON, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus 2^a, 412 ff.; NISIKĀNTA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883) p. 1 ff.—2. F. ROSEN, Die Indarsabhā des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Einleitung.—3. S. v. OLDENBURG, Zapiski Vostochnago Otdel'nija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obsščestva 5, 290 ff.—4. KLATT, De trecentis Cānakyae poetae Indici sententiis (Halle 1873) p. 1 ff.; FISCHEL, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG. (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5 ff.—5. Das Hariçandranṛtyam, An old Nepalese Dance, published by A. Conardy (Leipzig 1891).—6. From this springs the quotation from Lalitadikṣita in GOBBOLE, p. 1.—7. FISCHEL, Academy 1873, p. 398; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxv.—8. GARREZ, JA. VI, 20, p. 203 ff. (Paris 1872); wrongly HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxii.—9. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxiv. In Academy I. c. I have wrongly designated Pāli as Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa, against which E. KUHN, Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik (Berlin correctly 1875) p. 8. 1 corrected the mistake in Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 316.—10. The theory enunciated by me in the Academy, 1873, p. 379 f. has been here improved upon on various points. HOERNLE, Comp. gr. p. xvii ff. is substantially in agreement with me. On so many details I differ from him, as is shown in the following paragraphs. SHANKER PĀṆPURANG PANDIT has confused Apabhraṃśa with Prākṛit in Gaṇḍavaho p. 4 lv. ff.

§ 6. So the Prākṛit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But they are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets¹. What is true with these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prākṛit dialects², which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds, was raised to the status of a literary medium³. But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prākṛit dialects sprang out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as is generally held by Indian scholars and HOEFER⁴, LASSEN⁵, BHANDĀRKAR⁶ and JACOBI⁷. All the Prākṛit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit. Such correspondences are: the comparatively greater freedom in saṃdhi rules, the change of the intervocalic *q*, *qh* to *l*, *lh*; the suffix -*ttana*=Ved. -*tvana*⁸, the svarabhakti, the gen. sing. of the fem. bases in -*āe*=Ved. -*āyai*; the ins. plur. in -*chim*=Ved. -*ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā, jā, ē'tha*=Ved. *tāt, yāt, itthā*; *te, me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākṛit *pāso* "eye"=Ved. *paśo*⁹; AMg. *vaggūhim*=*vagnubhiḥ saddhim*=*sadhrīm*; A. *dive* *dive*=Ved. *divē dive*; J. Ś A. *kidha*, AMg. A. *kiha*=Ved. *kathā*; *māim*, Ved. *mākim*, *nāim*=Ved. *nākim*; AMg. *viū*=*viduḥ*¹⁰; Mg. -*āho*, -*āhu*, A. -*aho*=Ved. *āsaḥ*; M. JM. A. *kuṇai*, JŚ. *kuṇadi*=*kṛṇoti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śatvat*; AMg. *ghimsu*=Ved. *ghraṃsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukha* "tree"=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *sōccham* from Ved. *śrus*; the (AMg.) infinitive in -*ae*, -*ttae*=Ved. -*tavai*; the absolutive (A.) in -*ppi*, -*pi*, -*vi*=Ved. -*tvī*, in -*ppiṇu*=Ved. *tvīnam*, etc. what have been described in relevant places in this grammar. These alone make the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the source of the different Prākṛits impossible¹¹.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. I, 201, 223; SØRESEN, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indien (København 1894), p. 220 ff. FISCHEL De gr. Pr. p. 30 ff. should be corrected accordingly.—2. FRANKE, BB, 17, 71. I doubt if ever there was a

living language for the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. XLII, note 7.—3. In GGA. 1884, p. 512, I had suggested that classical Sanskrit was based on the dialect of Brahmāvarta. Cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* p. XXVI, note 11, for further literature on this topic.—4. De Prākṛita dialecto § 8.—5. *Inst.* p. 25 ff.; *IAlt.* 2², 1163, note 5.—6. *JBoAS.*, 16, 315.—7. *KZ.* 24, 614, wherein he says that Pāli and Prākṛit are essentially a later form of Sanskrit.—8. v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40, 673.—9. FISCHER and GELDNER, *Ved. Stud.* 1, p. XXXI, note 2.—10. *Ved.* 2, 235 f.—11. WEBER goes too far when he (*IS.* 2, 111) does not see in Prākṛit anything, but a degenerated old Vedic dialect. Cf. § 9.

§ 7. The affinity of the Prākṛit languages with the middle and new Indo-Aryan popular dialects is not weaker than that with the Vedic language. The inscriptions of Aśoka provide us with specimens of at least four middle Indian dialects. The inscriptions, dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., that are found in caves, stūpas, plates, etc., prove that there was a popular language, that was equally intelligible in a considerably greater part of India. SENART has designated the language of these inscriptions the “monumental Prākṛit¹”. This is misleading, since it suggests that Pkt. developed purely as an artificial language. We have little ground to accept this view or to agree with KERN², that Pāli is an artificial language, though both Pāli and Prākṛit, like Ārṣa (§ 16); underwent various forms of changes as literary languages. I propose to name the Prākṛit dialect of most of these inscriptions, as they are found in caves, as *Leṇa dialect*, after *leṇa*=Skt. *layana* “hole”, which occurs so often in these inscriptions. A parallel is met with in the name of *Lāṭa dialect*, from *lāṭ*=Pkt. *laṭṭhi*=Skt. *yaṣṭi* “pillar”. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister dialects thereof, and their characteristics, in a great measure, correspond to those of different Prākṛits. Some examples from the concluding portion of Aśoka’s first edict may here be enough. We find in the first edict the participle of the causative of *likh*, in Gīrnār as *likhāpitā*, in Shāhbāzgarhī as *likhapitu*, in Jaugḍa as *likhāpitā*, and in Mansehra as [*likhapita*], a form that occurs in the pillar edicts as well, (SENART 2, 597). The *Leṇa*-dialect has similar formations from roots ending in a consonant: *ba[m]dhāpayati, kiḍāpayati, piḍāpayati, va[m]dāpayati*, (Hātbigumphā Inscription p. 155. 158. 160. 163)³, likewise Pāli: *likhāpeti* that is very often found also in Prākṛit [§ 552]; Aśoka’s *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāviya* (Erz. 63, 31), Aśoka’s *likhāpayisaṃ* (Gīrnār. 14, 3), Mg. *lihāvāissam* (Mṛcch. 136, 21).—Gīrnār *prajūhitayam*, from *hu* (to offer a sacrifice) with *pra*⁴, shows an extension of the present stem, as is usual in Pāli and Prākṛit.—In Gīrnār, *samājamhi* and *mahānasamhi*, the two forms of the nominal loc. sing. have the ending of the pronominal declension; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khālī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, that is *mahānasamsi*, a form that occurs very often in the pillar and stray edicts. In the *Leṇa*-dialect are found *ja[m]budipamhi* (Karle Inscription, No. 1)⁵ *thuvamhi*=stūpe⁶, *anugāmimhi* (Nāsik No. 6^a)⁷, *tiraṇhumhi* (Nāsik No. 11^b. 19)⁸, also *tiraṇhumī*, that is to say *tiraṇhummi*⁹. To these correspond in Prākṛit M. JM. JŚ. AMg. the locative forms in *-mmi*, AMg. *-mīsi*. One notices further the use of *asti* in the plural, as in Prākṛit *atthi* (§ 498), and that of *se*, that is exactly so found in AMg. I shall, from the *Leṇa*-dialect, refer only to the declension of stems in *i-* and *u-*, whereof the gen. sing. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, i. e. *-ssa*; it is so in Prākṛit, where the gen. sing. even of the *n*-stem ends in *-sa*. On all these points, as well as on very many others, whereof no correspondence is to be found in Sanskrit, Prākṛit agrees with the middle Indian popular-dialects.

1. Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 488. He is followed by SØRENSEN, l. c. p. 187.—

2. Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14 f.—3. Actes

du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885), 3, 2.—4. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, 132 f. — 5. Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India. By JAS. BURGESS and BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI (Bombay 1881) p. 28.—6. SENART, l. c. 2. 472. — 7. Arch. Survey of Western India 4, 101. — 8. Arch. S. of W. I, 4, 106. 114.—9. Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

§ 8. On account of the analytical character of the new Indian dialects naturally it is no more possible to demonstrate the affinity of Pkt. in the matter of flexion, with them. But this relationship is more striking in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of the Middle Indian. Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 5, 21 f. remarks: of each correct word there are many of incorrect formations (*apabhraṁśāḥ*); thus for example, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), the *apabhraṁśāḥ* are *gāvi*, *goṇi*, *gotā*, *gopotālikā*¹. Of these, in Prākṛit, the most usual form is *gāvi*, that in JM. is *goṇi*, which has as its masculine, the form *goṇo* (§ 393). Under Pāṇini 1, 3, 1 (p. 259) Kātyāyana mentions *ānapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*; Patañjali, under Pāṇini 3, 1, 91 (2, 74) records a form *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressedly considers all such verbal forms as Apabhraṁśa². The inscriptions of Aśoka (SENART 2, 559) and the Lepadialect (Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 104, 110) have *ānapayati*; to it corresponds Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi* (§ 551), whereas Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. KIELHORN has already noted that Pāli has similarly sounding equivalent forms for *vaṭṭati*, *vaḍḍhati* and *supati*. The Prākṛit equivalents to these are: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai*, JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*, Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 289. 291), M. *suvaī*, *suai* JM. *suyai* (§ 497). The Indian grammarians and rhetoricians divide the Prākṛit words into three classes: 1) *saṁskṛtasama*, "Sanskrit-like" (C. 1, 1; Sr. in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 40), commonly designated as *tatsama*, "that-like (that is to say like Sanskrit)", (Triv. in FISCHEL, l. c. p. 29; Mk. fol. 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa 1, 32; Dhānīka on Daśarūpa 2, 60), and also referred to as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra 2, 2; and *saṁānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); 2), *saṁskṛtabhava*, "originated from Sanskrit" (Sr.), commonly designated as *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin; Dhānīka), also as *saṁskṛtayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *taija* (Vāgbhaṭa), and *vibhraṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); and 3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśi* (Deśin. p. 1, 2; Daṇḍin; Dhānīka), also *deśiprasiddha* (C.) and *deśimata* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 37)³. The words that have the same form both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit are *tatsama* words. Thus for example, *kara*, *komala*, *jala soma*, etc. The *tadbhava* words are classed as *sādhya* *mānasasakṛtabhavāḥ*, and *siddhasaṁskṛtabhavāḥ*. To the former class belong the Prākṛit words, that presuppose Sanskrit words, from which they are derived in their unfinished form without an affix or suffix. This especially refers to the flexion, by which a word is, first of all, made fit, according to the rules of grammar, for use (*sādhya* *māna*). BEAMES has appropriately called them "early *tadbhavas*"⁴. They are the independent basic elements of Prākṛit. The latter class includes the Prākṛit words, that are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit words, like AMg. *vandittā*=Skt. *vanditvā*. Although a large number of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the new Indian languages, it is not correct to presume that all such kinds of words are of Sanskritic origin only. The fact that all the new Indian languages do not go back to Sanskrit today needs no more proof.

1. WEBER, IS. 13, 365. — 2. KIELHORN, ZDMG. 39, 327. SØRENSEN l. c. p. 180 f. — 3. Cf. also BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 11 ff; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 30 f.; BB. 3, 235; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxxviii ff. Designated as the fourth class by Bhuvanapāla in WEBER, IS. 16, 59 are the words that depend upon the *sāmānyabhāṣā*. — 4. Comp. Gr. 1, 17, 5. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 1.

§ 9. The Indians include under the *deśya* or *deśi* class very heterogeneous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or in meaning. It depends upon their knowledge of Sanskrit and ability in etymologising that some of them call a word to be *deśya*, while others include it either among the tatsamas or among the tadbhavas. Besides, we have many words that are classed as *deśi*, even though they go back to genuine Sanskrit roots, simply because they do not have closely corresponding Sanskrit words; thus for example *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6,104) or *pāsaṃ* (Deśin. 6,75), is connected to AMg *pāsai*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivvi* (needle; Deśin. 8,29; Triv. in BB. 3,260), Skt. *śivayati*. Further, there are the compound words whose component parts are basically true Sanskrit, nevertheless the special meaning ascribed to them in Prākṛit is not to be found in that language: thus *acchivadaṇaṃ* (closing of the eyes; Deśin. I, 39, with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13,5)=*akṣi*+*patana*; or *sattāvisamjoṇa* (the moon; Deśin. 8,22; C. I, 1 p. 39)=Sīmhadavegaṇin on Vāgbhaṭā-lamkāra 2,2)=*saptāvimśati*+*dyotana*¹. Then there are words for which there is no Sanskrit root. Thus *joḍaṃ* (constellation; Deśin. 3,49), *joḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13,17 f.); or *tuppo* (anointed Pāyāla. 233; Deśin. 5,22; Hāla 22 v.l. 289. 520), that is connected to Marāṭhī *tūpa* (clarified butter; ghee)². Lastly there are the words that exhibit some rare phonetic law; thus *gaharo* (vulture; Pāyāla. 126; Deśin. 2,84; Triv. in BB. 6,93), what is rightly equated as=*grdhra* by Trivikrama; or *vihunḍuo* (Rāhu; Deśin. 7,65; Triv. in B. 3,252)=*vidhūmtudaḥ*³. Among the *deśya* words are included the largely numerous verb-forms, that are designated as *dhātuvādeśa* "root substitutes" by grammarians, and they cover much space in Indian grammars (Vr. 8,1 ff.; Hc. 4,1 ff.; Ki. 4,46 ff.; Mk. fol. 53 ff.). Here Sanskrit fails miserably in rendering any help, though agreement among the new Indian languages is most rigorous⁴. As the name indicates, by *deśya* people have come to understand also "provincialisms". In Hemacandra's Rāyaṇāvalī (§ 36), the largest collection of these provincialisms, the *dhātuvādeśa* have not been mentioned (Deśin. I, 3), and Hc. (I, 4) in clear terms, excludes all such provincialisms, as are not current in Prākṛit. Many such *deśi* words, either from Apabhraṃśa or from Prākṛit, have been taken into Sanskrit dictionaries and Dhātupāṭhas also⁵. It is possible that stray non-Aryan words may have been got included in the *deśi* words, but the bulk of such elements is Proto-Aryan, though we search for them in Sanskrit in vain. Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, gives an etymology of the word Prākṛit, according to which the basis (*prakṛti*) of Prākṛit and Sanskrit is the natural current language of the people, that cannot be fashioned according to the rules of grammar, or this Prākṛit itself is this current language (§ 16). As already shown, such an assumption is unjustified. Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prākṛit dialects, especially of Māhārāṣṭri of artificial poetry, such as Gāṇḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, that are composed according to the model of Sanskrit. In them, therefore, the number of *deśi* words is diminishing, while⁷ they are very significant in JM. I agree entirely with SENART⁸, that all the Prākṛits go back to popular dialects as their source and their all the essential elements originally developed from the living speeches, but such of these dialects, as were raised to the status of literary languages, all like Sanskrit, underwent significant alterations.

1. Not=*yajana* The 24 *nakṣatras* are meant.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,335.—3. Cf. Deśin. I, 3; BÜHLER, *Pāyālacchī* p. 11 ff.; SØRENSEN l. c. 225 ff.—4. Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in WEBER's observations on Hāla.—5. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* (Berlin 1883), p.53 ff. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. LI ff.—6. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* § 140, 2; FISCHER, BB. 3, 236, 264; 6, 84; BÜHLER, WZKM. 8, 17 ff.; 122 ff.; FRANKE, *ibid.* 321 ff.—7. FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 326, wherein it has been remarked that in the notes on Rāvaṇavaho, there is much valuable material. SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. LVI.—8. L'épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde. Extracts from the reviews of the *Séance de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris 1886), p. 17 ff.; *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi* 2. 530 ff. SENART has not, however, as already mentioned under section 7 above, taken Prākṛit in its strictly correct sense.

§ 10. The inscriptions that are preserved for us in Prākṛit are the documents of gift of the Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, those of the queens of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman¹, the Ghaṭayāla inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. The first one was published by BÜHLER, EI. 1,2ff; a few improvements thereupon were made by LEUMANN, *ibid* 2,483ff. and by FISCHER, GN. 1895,210 ff. I indicate them by PG.=Pallava Grant. BÜHLER has pressed that in these inscriptions there were certain characteristics that appeared only in literary Prākṛit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāravējjā*, *vaṭṭeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjutto*; the more frequent change of dental *n* into a cerebral *ṇ*: the occurrence of sonants in place of surds, thus *kassava*, *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kaḍa*; the writing of doubled consonants, such as in *aggiṭṭhoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *saṇattha*, *ruṭṭhika* etc². All these peculiarities are found in a scattered manner also in one or the other inscription in the Lepādialekt³. But there is no other inscription in which these characteristics, all taken together, and in such large quantities, occur in so far as the language should be regarded as Prākṛit. But it no way is absolutely pure Prākṛit. *ya* stands beside *ja*: *na* is often retained; surds mostly remain unmodified; even the doubled consonants are written in a simple manner: *siṇakhaṇḍavama*, *gumike*, *vadhanike* etc⁴. The following are gross irregularities against Prākṛit: *kāmcīpurā*; (5, 1) for *kaṃcīpurā*; *ātteya*^o (6, 13) for *atteya*^o *vatsa*^o (6, 22) for *vaccha*^o; *cāttāri* (6,39) for *cattāri*; unusual are *viṭanāma* (5,7) for *viṭarāmo*; *dūḍha* (6, 31) for *duddha*, *dattam* (6, 12) for *diṇṇam*; *dattā* (7, 48), i. e. *dattā* for *diṇṇā*. It can clearly be seen that the language is an artificial⁵ one. For a history of Prākṛit, the inscription is not without interest and worth, and it has been, therefore, used regularly, in this grammar, whereas the Lepa-dialect and the so called-Gāthā dialect⁶ are beyond its sphere. The inscription of Kakkuka, indicated by KI., was published by Munsiff DEBI PRASĀD, JRAS. 1195, p.*513 ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

1. Published by FLEET, IA. 9, 100 ff. Almost unusable. Cf. BÜHLER. EI.1,2, note.—2. BÜHLER, l. c. 2. ff.—3. SENART, *Piyadasi* 2, 489 ff. 518 ff.—4. BÜHLER l. c. p. 2 ff.—5. To it applies even more accurately what SENART l. c. 2,494, says on the Lepa-dialect: this language is, then, neither wholly popular, nor entirely regulated.—6. That this name is not appropriate has been remarked correctly by SENART, l. c. 2,469 ff. His suggestion to call the language "mixed Sanskrit" would, however, meet with little approval. Further references have been given in WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. xxxix f.

§ 11. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigrahbharājanāṭaka are found also in two basalt-plates, discovered in Ajmīr. They have been published by, KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201 ff. and again GN. 1893,552 ff. In them, occur three Prākṛit dialects. Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, and Māgadhī. KONOW has shown, exactly, as I had remarked in my first study

of Prākṛit², that the Prākṛit forms closely agree with the rules of Hemacandra. But Hemacandra was hardly the authority, whose views were honoured by Somadeva. Hc. 4, 271 prescribes the absolute in-*dūṇa* in Sauraseni; Somadeva has the Māhārāṣṭrī form in-*ūṇa*; Hc. 4,280 requires *yveva*, whereas Somadeva has *jjeva*; in consonant-groups in Māgadhī, Somadeva has *ś*, whereas Hc. 4,289, prescribes *s*; the former lays down *śta* for *rth*, against *st* of Hc. 4,291 and *śka* for *hka* against *ska* of Hc. 4, 296. 297³. Hence it follows that the absolute in-*ūṇa* may be an error committed by Somadeva himself; even-*dūṇa* may be wrong (§584); *śta* for *rta* as well may be an error committed in course of transmission inasmuch as in 566,9 we find *yahastam*=*yathartham*. But as regards *śka* for *hka*, *ska* could hardly, with KONOW⁴, be considered to be a slip on the part of a mason, when there are numerous examples. However, we cannot assess a higher value for this inscription than for any unique manuscript. The inscription is full of gross errors of the dialects concerned, just like any manuscript of a drama. To the list of errors picked up by KONOW l.c. p. 479, I add the following: *Ś. tujjha* (554, 4; s. §421); *jjeva* (554,4; 555,18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *ṇimmāya* (554,13; s. § 591); the passive *viloiijanti*, *pekkhijjanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jampijjadi* (568,6), the forms that are admitted by Hc. for *viloianti*, *pekkhīanti*, *kariadu*, *jampiadi* (§535); *kitti* (555,4) for *kim ti*; *rayaṇāim* (555,15), *raaṇa* (560,19) for *rada-ṇāim* and *radaṇa*; *giḥida* (560,20) for *gahida*; *ēārisam* (563,3) for *edārisam*. The dialectical inaccuracies in Māgadhī are:—*peṣkiyyandi* (565,13) *peṣkianti*, *peṣkiyyasi* (565,15) for *peṣkiasi*, *yāṇiyyadi* (566,1) for *yāṇiadi*, *pacakkhikadam* (566,1) for *paccaṣki*⁵; *yahastam* (566,9) for *yadhastam*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9.11) for *ṇiyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567,1) for *yeva*. These are the types of errors that always occur in manuscripts, just as *tama-pasara* (555,11), *pacakkhāim* (555,14), *śśālūvam* (565,9). Moreover, most of these, if not all, would certainly disappear, if we had a few more manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. The presence of the absolute in-*ūṇa*, and the passive in *Ś. ijjā*, and *Mg. iyya*, may be mistakes committed by the author himself, as even Rājaśekhara, (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects with one another. The writing of *n* in place of *ṇ*, and interpolation of *y*⁶ suggest Jaina influence. A second fragment found in Ajmīr, of Harakelinātaka, is ascribed to Vighraharājadeva himself, and is dated November 22, 1153⁶. The grammar of Hemacandra, at the earliest, would have been completed towards the end of the Vikrama year 1197⁷, i.e. 1140 A.D. Consequently Somadeva and Hemacandra were contemporaries. In spite of all the errors, these fragments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhī, that, here only has been handed down to us in a form, that is in agreement with the rules laid down by the grammarians, (§ 23).

1. GGA. 1894, 478ff.—2. IA. 20, 204.—3. KONOW, l. c. p. 481.—4. l. c. p. 482.—5. KONOW, l. c. p. 480.—6. KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201.—7. BUHLER, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

§ 12. When one refers to the Prākṛit language in general terms it is the Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 2), that derives its name from Māhārāṣṭra, the land of the Mārāṭhās, that is thereby meant. It is considered to be the best Prākṛit. As shown by GARREZ (§ 5) Māhārāṣṭrī, no doubt, has unmistakable points of contact with the Mārāṭhī language.¹ No other dialect has been phonetically modified, to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants had, in M., been so extensive, as has been seen nowhere else, therefore, a large number of words that were phonetically quite different have assumed the same form. Thus :—M. *kaa*=*kaca* and *kṛta*;

kai=kati, kapi, kavi, kṛti; *kāa=kāka, kāca, kāya*; *gaā=gaṭā, gadā, gajāh*; *maa=mata, mada, maya, myga, mṛta*; *vaa=vacas, vayas, vrata, ṛpada*; *sua=śuka, suta, śruta*, etc.² Therefore, it was not without reason that BEAMES designated M. the 'emasculated stuff'.³ It was admitted long ago that its sound system was essentially determined by the fact that M. above all was used for musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the *Gāhās=Gāthās*, that are, for us, collected in the *Satasai* of Hāla, and the *Vajjālagga* of Jayavallabha⁴, and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics, and are inserted in dramas as well. They were expressly designated as *Gāhā*, 'song', 'musical stanza' thus for example H. 3, 500. 600. 698. 708, 709. 815; *Vajjālagga* 3.4. 9.10; p. 326,6. The stanza that is written in the purest M. in *Mudrār.* 83,2,3, and is addressed by Virādhagupta, who appears as a snake-charmer and Prākṛit poet, to the minister Rākṣasa, is called by him *Gāhā*, and Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 432 says that the women that are not of lowly origin speak Śauraseni in dramas, and that in their songs (*āsameva tu gāthāsu*) they should speak Māhārāṣṭri. Priyamvadā calls the stanzas, 55, 15. 16 of Śak. *gīdaam=gītakam* in 54, 8; Śakuntalā calls it *gīdā=gītikā* (55,8): the verses recited by the spy in *Mudrārākṣasa* (34,6ff.) are called, after 35,1, *gīdāim*, "songs". The actress sings (*gāyati*) her song in M.: thus for example Śak. 2, 13; Mallikām. 19, 1; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (*vīṇām vādayanti gāyati*); *Unmattar.* 2, 17; cf. *Mukund.* 4, 20 ff; about the stanzas that are recited from behind the stage, it is said *nepathye giyate*; e. g. Śak. 95, 17; *Viddhaś.* 6, 1; Kāleyak. 3, 6; *Karṇas.* 3. 4. This application of M. in lyrics destined for musical purposes is undoubtedly the oldest, and in these the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is, in the first place, to be attributed to this cause.⁵

1. I do not think that it is correct to say, like E. KUHN (KZ. 33, 478), that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭri Prākṛit is to be found in Pāli.—2. Some examples have been given by SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gāḍavaho* p. LVI. LVIII.—3. *Comp. Gram.* 1, 223. 4. BHANDARKAR, Report 1883, 84 (Bombay 1887), p. 17, 324 ff. The correct name is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5; (p. 326, 9) from which originated *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5). The word is derived from *vajjā=vrājyā* (B. R. s. v.); WEBER, *Hāla*², p. xxxviii; FISCHER, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 30 f.), and *lagga* (indication, mark; *Deśin.* 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. Its translation by *Padyālaya* is wrong.—5. WEBER, I. Str. 3, 159 f.; 279; *Hāla*² p. xx

§ 13. For a knowledge of M., the most essential work is the *Sattasai* of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were already published by WEBER, under the title "Über das Saptasatakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1870.¹ WEBER brought out the addenda and corrigenda to his edition of the work in ZDMG. 26, 735 ff; 28, 345 ff., which were followed by a complete edition with a German translation and word-index. *Das Saptasatakam des Hāla*, Leipzig, 1881. WEBER dealt upon Bhuvanapāla's commentary on *Chekoktivilā* in IS. 16, 1ff. DURGA PRASAD and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB, have, besides, furnished us with an edition of the work that is indispensable on account of the complete printed commentary and several good readings, under the title *The Gāthāsaptasatī of Sātavāhana with the commentary of Gaṅgādharaḥaṭṭa*, Bombay, 1889 (*Kāvya-mālā* 21). WEBER fixes as the earliest limit to the date of the collection, at the 3rd. century A. D., and in any case, according to him, it was compiled earlier than the 7th century, and he has, in the introduction to his complete edition, dealt elaborately with the six different recensions of the work, of which the recension of Bhuvanapāla is the seventh (p. xxxvii ff.). We observe from the *Sattasai* that there was in M. a literature that was very extensive. Originally, the name of the author of each of the stanza was appended to it (H. 709). Of these names unfortunately, we know only a few, many, whereof are in corrupt

form, and the tradition varies a great deal in the matter of assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata have given 112 names; Bhuvanapāla gives 384, considering Sātavāhana, (Sātavāhana, Śālīvāhana, Śālāhana) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Harivṛddha (Hariuddha) and Pōṭṭisa were mentioned also by Rājasekhara, Karp. 19. 2, where, moreover, occur the names of Nandiuddha = Nandiṽddha and Hāla as well,¹ and in the v. l. Pālittā, Campaarāa and Malaa-sehara are also named.² By Bhuvanapāla, of them, Pālittā is credited with the authorship of ten verses of this anthology. In case Pālittā is to be equated to Pādalipta, as was done by WEBER³; this Pālittā might be identical with Pādaliptācārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśin. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśi (*deśiśāstra*). The actual name of the last mentioned poet, is now proved by the v. l., with certainty, to be Mallasehara in KONOW's edition and Malayaśekhara, i.e. °śekhara in Bhuvanapāla. According to Bhuvanapāla, Abhimāna, whose full name was Abhimānaciha, who was perhaps the author of H. 518, was, like Pādalipta, also the author of a *deśiśāstra*, that had a *ṛtti* to each *sūtra*, and in which Abhimāna gave his own examples, (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12.17). This holds good equally for Devarāja, who according to Bhuvanapāla, was the author of H. 220. 369, and according to Deśin. 6. 58. 72 ; 8, 17, was a writer on Deśi, and also for Sātavāhana, who is mentioned among the sources of Hc. on Deśi in Deśin. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla describes as the author of H. 756, is different from Aparājita, who, according to Karp. 6, 1, wrote Mṛgāṅkalekhākathā, and was a contemporary of Rājasekhara. It remains still undecided whether this younger Aparājita did never use Sanskrit : because it is likely that Rājasekhara himself might have translated into Prākṛit the passage under reference, and in fact, we find in the Subhāṣitāvalī, a Sanskrit strophe, i.e. no. 1024, cited from him. Sarvasena, to whom, according to the authority of Bhuvanapāla, belong the verses, H. 217 and 234, composed, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 148, 9, Harivijaya, wherefrom is quoted a stanza, namely 127, 7, that is cited also by Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmāṇi, fol. 7^b (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, Nr. 265).⁴ In both the lists, one of the famous poets is Pravaraśena. Further, in Bhuvanapāla occurs also the name of Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted passages, however, is found either in Rāvaṇavaho or in Gaṇḍavaho. Because this Vākpatirāja had written a second artificial poem, i.e. Mahumahavīa according to G. 69, and Madhumathanavijaya, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 152, 2 ; Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, fol. 31. (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, p. 87, No. 66. Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmāṇi fol. 7^b) ; it is likely that both of the stanzas might have been derived from the latter source. But the two lists often go against each other, and are not reliable. However, the fact remains that the Sattasaī presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit, in the formation of which women too took active part. Only the futurity will tell whether or not stray stanzas were taken only occasionally into Sanskrit literature, as in the dramas.⁵

1. An excellent review thereof has been published by GARREZ in JA. VI, 20, 197ff. —2. FISCHER, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v. l. of Karp. 19, 2.—3. IS. 16, 24 note 1.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 316.—5. The two editions by WEBER are respectively indicated as H¹ and H²; H, however, indicates the second edition.

§14. That Prākṛit has had a rich literature is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjālagga of Jayaballabha (§ 12), a Jaina belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect. According to BHANDARKAR, l.c. p. 17, it is divided

into 48 sections and contains 704 stanzas, whereof the authors are unfortunately not named. Stanza 2 = H. 2 ; none of the stanzas, nos. 6 to 10, found at p. 325 occurs in H. ; an immediate publication of Vajjālagga is very much desirable. A *chāyā* thereof was written by Ratnadeva in the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Moreover, the actual name of the collection is Jaavallahaṃ, according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. are further quoted by the writers on rhetorics. Of the 67 stanzas, that WEBER collected in the supplement to H.¹, p. 202 ff., from Dhanika's Commentary on Daśarūpa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Kāvyaaprakāśa, 32 are found in the different recensions of Sattasāi, so that H.² p. 509 ff. has yet the remaining 35. Of them the one bearing no. 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka, 22, 2 ; in Alaṅkāracandrikā fol. 4^b and also elsewhere: the one bearing no. 969 *aṇṇaam laḍahattanaam* (so it is to be read) is cited by Ruyyaka, Alaṅkārasarvasva 67, 2; Alaṅkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; the stanza no. 970 is quoted by Jayaratha, Alaṅkāravimarśinī fol. 24^b (Ms. BÜHLER, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; the stanza no. 971 is cited by Śobhākara, Alaṅkāraratnākara fol. 20 (Ms., BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and so also are the other stanzas quoted by this or that writer on poetics. The stanzas, nos. 979 *jo* (so it is to be read) *parharium*, 988 *taṃ tāṇa*, the oft-quoted 989, *tāta jānti*, and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* were taken from Ānandavardhana's Viśamabāṇalilā, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka, 62, 3; 111, 4; 152, 3; 241, 12.20, and which according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of the poets. (*kaviyutpattaye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza no. 979, is given by Someśvara, Kāvyaadarśa, Fol. 52 (Ms., KIELHORN, Report 1880/91, p. 87, No. 60) and Jayanta, Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā, fol. 65 (Ms. BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 244), both of them designate this poem as a Pañcabāṇalilā ; 988 and 989 are cited by Ānandavardhana himself, Dhvanyāloka p. 111, 62¹ ; stanza no. 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; and it is noted by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62, and by Jayanta l.c. fol. 79, that this is from Viśamabāṇalilā. Further Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13, directly quotes from it also the stanza *ṇa a tāṇa ghaḍai*. The stanza no. 243, 20² proves that he wrote also in Apabhraṃśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākṛit stanza of his teacher, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet from a very long time³. The Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa, a treatise on Rhetorics, contains the largest number of Prākṛit stanzas; they number nearly 350, according to ZACHARIAE⁴, of which nearly 150, and according to JACOB⁵ nearly 113, are taken from Sattasāi, nearly 30⁶ are from Rāvaṇavaho; besides there are stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara, etc. Moreover, there are in it many stanzas from sources that are still unknown. The statement of BOROOAH⁷, that there, in it, existed particularly a poem Satyabhāmāśaṃvāda or a similar poem on the same subject is apparently based on the stanzas *kuvīā ca saccāhāmā*, 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiam*, 327, 25, which are addressed by Satyabhāmā to Rukmiṇī according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9 ; 369, 21 ; 371, 8. But according to all that we know up till now these stanzas might have been taken from Hari-vijaya of Sarvasena or from Madhumathanavijaya of Vākpatirāja (§ 13). It has already been noted above (§ 12) that even the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

1. 989 also Jayanta, l. c. fol. 25 ; cf. PISEHEL, BB. 16, 172, ff.—2. It is very much mutilated in the Kāvya-mālā edition. On the evidence of the mss. it approximately reads *as mahu mahu ti bhaṇantiaho vajjai kālū jaṇassu to vi ṇa deu jaṇaddaṇṇāi goarhoi maṇassu*.

3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. i. 59, s. v. Indurāja Bhaṭṭa.—4. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—
 5. JRAS. 1897, p. 304. AUFRECHT in WEBER, Hāla, 2 p. XLIII, note 1, has identified
 no. 78.—6. ZACHARIAE, l. c.—7. In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface p. iv f.

§ 15. Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvaṇavaho, and the Gaūḍavaho. The author of Rāvaṇavaho, designated also as Dasamuhavaho, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean¹ king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvaṇavaho has been handed down to us in three recensions : the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇi². The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. HOFER was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.³ But it was PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT : Rāvaṇavaho or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)⁴. A new edition, based upon that of SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB : The Setubandha of Pravarasena. Bombay 1895 (=Kāvya-mālā 47). The author of Gaūḍavaho is Bappaīrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yaśovarman, the king of Kanyākubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁵. He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanāmītra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the mahākāvyas, the Gaūḍavaho is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryā-metre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.⁶ The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaūḍavadhasāraṭikā.⁷ Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaūḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaūḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prākṛit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)⁸ by SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākṛit, i. e. Mahumahavīa. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15 ; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatīk. 322, 15 ; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in PANDIT's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially *na* occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of *yaśruti*, because the Mss. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasāi in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaūḍavaho are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as

are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti and occasionally in Mṛcchakatikā⁹ as well. The Gaṇḍavaho, the Sattasaī of Hāla, and the Rāvaṇavaho are the most important sources of our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭrī. Because they are furnished with excellent word indexes they will be referred, mostly in the section on phonology, by G. H. R. In H¹ (§ 13, note 5) p. 29 ff., WEBER has given an outline of the grammar of M., as far as it was possible with the parts of Sattasaī published till that time.

1. MAX MÜLLER, *Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1884) p. 272 ff. The assumption that Kālidāsa was the author of the Rāvaṇavaho is based entirely on recent sources.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Rāvaṇavaho*, Introduction p. v. ff.—3. Annual Report of DMG. of the year 1845, (Leipzig 1846) p. 176 : *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 2, 488 ff.—4. Cf. also the recension by PSCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 321 ff.—5. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho*, Introduction p. LXIV ff. The research of JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 68 f., with regard to the solar eclipse mentioned in the stanza no. 829 that took place in 733 A.D., as indicative of the downfall of Yaśovarman is wrong. The context does not permit us to consider it a reference to Yaśovarman's defeat. The type of description is very common with the writers of mahākāvya and is of not of any historical value.—6. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. viii f; 345 ff.—7. Other, but wrong, explanations are given in PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. vii f; JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 63.—8. Review by JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 61 ff.—9. Vāktipatirāja is very much overrated by PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho*, p. lii ff, and JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

§ 16. The two dialects used by the Jains are usually considered to be closely connected to Māhārāṣṭrī. They have, from one another, been differentiated by JACOBI¹ by calling them Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Prākṛit. By Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (JM.) he means the language of the commentators and the poets² and by Jaina Prākṛit the language of the older books of the Jaina canons³ and that of the older Sūtras.⁴ The name Jaina Prākṛit that was first used by E. MÜLLER⁵ is not a happy one, and the assertion that this Jaina Prākṛit is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī is wrong.⁶ The Indian grammarians usually call the language of the old Jainasūtras Ārṣa, i. e. "the speech of the ṛṣis". Hc. 1, 3, announces that for Ārṣa, all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions, and in 2, 174 he states that the limitations recorded above do not hold good for Ārṣa, and there all the types of forms are permissible. Trivikrama⁷ excludes Ārṣa, like Deśya (§ 9), from his grammar altogether, because it is of independent origin (*rūḍhatvāt*, i. e. because it does not have Sanskrit as its source and as it abides mostly by its own rules (*svatantratvōcca bhūyasā*). In a quotation in Premacandra Tarkavāgiṣa on Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa I, 33, two types of Prākṛit are distinguished : the one is that which originated from Ārṣa, and the other is that which is almost exactly the same as Ārṣa: *ārṣottham ārṣatulyameva dvidvidham prākṛitam viduḥ*. Nāmisadhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaalankāra 2, 12, thus derives the word Prākṛit : that its basis (*prākṛtiḥ*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings and it is not regulated according to grammar, etc. : it is called Prākṛit because it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that *prākṛta* stands for *prākṛtā*, "created before, in earlier period (*pūrvam*)", for it is called *prākṛta*. The Prākṛit of the Ārṣa canon, i. e. the Ardhamāgadhā, is the language of gods: *ārisavayane siddham devānām oddhamāgadhā vāṇi*. Accordingly Prākṛit is the language that is easily understood by children, women, etc. and is the basis of all the languages. Like rain-water it had one and the same form in former times but it has become diversified on account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications, and has come to be known as Sanskrit and other languages mentioned by Rudrāṭa 2, 12, (§ 4). Therefore, Prākṛit has been made the source of Sanskrit as well. It is to be explained by the fact that like the Buddhists, the Māgadhī⁸, the Jains consider Ardhamāgadhī, the Ārṣa of the grammarians,

the original language from which all the other languages have sprung up, because Mahāvīra is supposed to have preached in that language. Thus describes the Samavāyaṅgasutta 98⁹ *bhagavaṃ ca naṃ addhamāgahī bhāsā bhāsijjamaṇi tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ duppayacaūppayamiyapasupakkhisarivānaṃ appappaṇo hiya-sivasuhadāya bhāsātāe pariṇamaī*. "The Lord propagated, the law in the Ardhamāgadhi language : this peace, happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhi undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and the tamed animals, the birds and the worms". Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṅkāratilaka 1, 1 : *sarvārdhamāgadhiṃ sarvabhāṣāsu pariṇāminim 1 sarvīyām*¹⁰ *sarvato vācam sarvājñim praṇidhmade* "we salute Vāc that is fully Ardhamāgadhi and who modifies herself into all the different languages, and is perfect and omniscient". In the Paṇṇavāpāsutta 59f. the Aryans are divided into nine classes ; of them the sixth one is the *bhāsāriyā*, "those that are Aryans by language". About them it is said, p. 62¹¹ : *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā | bhāsāriyā je naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jattha vi ya naṃ bambhī livi pavattai*, "what is meant by 'Aryans by speech' ? Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhi language, and who use the Brāhmī alphabet". That Mahāvīra preached in Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned, besides in the passage quoted above from the Samavāyaṅgasutta, also in the Ovavāiyasutta § 56; it runs thus : *tae naṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ mahāvīre addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsai | arihā dhammāṃ parikahe | tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ agūlāe dhammāṃ āikkhaī | sā vi ya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ appaṇo sabhāsāe pariṇāmeṇaṃ pariṇamaī*. The same idea is emphasized also by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadasāo p. 46 and Malayagiri on the Sūriyapannatti, in WEBER, Bhagavati, 2, 245 ; cf. also Hc., Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 59 with commentary. In a passage quoted by Hc. 4, 287, it is said that the older Suttas are composed in Addhamāgahabhāsā¹² : *porāṇaṃ addhamāgahabhāsāniyayaṃ havi suttāṃ*. Thereon, remarks Hc.—although this is the tradition also of the older people, Ardhamāgadhi follows its own rules, and not the rules he would frame later for Māgadhi.¹³ The second of the illustrative examples, cited by him, *se tārise dukkhasahe jindie*=Dasaviyāliyasutta 633, 19, would read in Māgadhi as *se tālīse dukkaṣahe yidindie*.

1. Kalpasūtra p. 17 ; Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī (Leipzig. 1886), p. xi f.—2. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—3. Erzählungen p. xii.—4. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—5. Beiträge zur grammatik des Jaina-Prākṛit (Berlin 1876).—6. See under sec. 18.—7. First in FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 29.—8. D' ALWIS, An Introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo 1863) p. cvii ; MUIR, *ost.* 2^a, 54 ; FRYER, *Proc.* ASB. 1879, 155f.—9. The text has been published by WEBER also ; *Index*, 2, 2, 406 ; cf. further below the passage quoted from the Ovavāiyasutta.—10. So do the Mss. ; the printed edition (Bombay 1804=Kāvyaṃālā 43) reads *sarvopām*.—11. The text was published by WEBER also, *IS.* 16, 399, and *Index* 2, 2, 562.—12. LEUMANN, *Das Aupapātika Sūtra* (Leipzig 1883), p. 96 s. v. *Addhamāgahā bhāsā* suggests *niyayaṃ=niyaka*, "to hold". But Hc. himself explains it by *niyata*, and that is demanded by the sense.—13. Wrongly explained by HOERNLE. The Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam or Chāṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Ārṣha) Prākṛit (Calcutta 1880). p. xix, note.

§ 17. It follows, therefore, that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhi are identical, and that according to tradition, the language of the older Jaina-Suttas was Ardhamāgadhi¹, and in fact, as demonstrated by the passage from Dasaveyāliyasutta quoted by Hc. § 16, it was used not merely in prose but also in poetry. But in spite of all the correspondences there is a greater amount of difference, between the language of prose and that of poetry. The chief characteristics of Māgadhi are :—change of *r* into *l* and *s* into *ś*, and the nom. sing. ending in *-e* instead of in *-o* of *a*-stems

as well as of the consonant stems that are reduced to *a*-stems in declension. Ardhamāgadhi retains both *r* and *s*, but it has the nom. in—*e*; and according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98² and Uvās. p. 46 it derives its name “Half Māgadhi” on that account; *ardhamāgadhi bhāṣā yasyān rasor laṣau māgadhyām³ ityādikaṁ māgadha-bhāṣālakṣaṇaṁ paripūrṇaṁ nāsti*. As already suggested by STEVENSON⁴, WEBER⁵ has proved that the contact of Ardhamāgadhi with Māgadhi is “not very close”. Besides the nom. in—*e*, the only feature that is common to both is *ḍa* = Skt. *ta* in the past passive participle of roots in—*r*, but that too is not the only possible form in Mg. (§ 219). The preponderance of *ya* must be considered as a characteristic common to both, although the conditions under which it comes in are not quite similar. Further we may consider the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), that occurs in Mg. in sporadic cases only, and the frequent *pluti* in the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (71), that takes place in Dh. as well as in A. Had the literary Mg. monuments been more numerous and handed down to us in a better condition the contact could undoubtedly be further illustrated. At the present time, however, it is the chance that decides the issue. Thus AMg. *uṣiṇa* = Skt. *uṣṇa*, is equivalent to Mg. *koṣiṇa* = *koṣṇa* (§ 133), and it is very much remarkable that both AMg. and Mg. use the Sanskrit genitive form *tava*, that is wanting in other dialects (§ 421). From the Lāt-dialect, comes the loc. sing. in—*ṁsi*⁶ of *a*-stem. In poetry even in Ardhamāgadhi, in the nomin. sing. of *a*-stem, the forms in—*o* abound instead of those in—*e*; in our texts forms in both are retained near one another. Thus Āyār. p. 41, 1, *abhiṣayamiṇe*, but 2 *hayapuṇṇo*, 3 *lūsiyapuṇṇo*; p. 45, 19, *nāo*, but 20 *se mahāvire*, 22 against *aladdhapuṇṇo* and *gāmo*; p. 46, 3 *dukkhasahe*, *apadinne*, 4 *sūro*, 5 *samvude*, 6 *paḍisevamāṇo*, 7 *acale*, 14 *apuṭṭhe*, 15 *puṭṭho*, *apuṭṭho*. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faultily which should have been corrected by the editors. The Calcutta edition has, 45, 22, *gāme*, 46, 6, *paḍisevamāṇe*, besides the forms in—*o*. Here, in all these places—*e* must be written. But in other metrical passages undoubtedly, the original form is the nomin. sing. in—*o*, as in Āyār. p. 127ff.; instead of *maūde*, p. 128, 3, as in ms. B. it should have been written *maūdo*. It is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, in Uttaraññhayaṇasutta, in Dasaveyāliyasutta, etc. Further, the language of poetry shows many other remarkable variations in phonology and morphology, from that of prose, and very often approaches M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, but, however, without, coinciding with either. Thus for example the Skt. word *mleccha* is written as *milakkhu* in AMg. in prose, but in poetry, as in M., JM., Ś., and A., it is written as *mēccha* (§ 84). AMg. has only in verses, like M. and JM. the verbal form *kuṇai*, from *√ky* (§ 508). In AMg. the absol. forms in—*tuṇa* and—*uṇa* are almost, if not all exclusively, limited to poetry, though they are supreme in M. and JM. (§ 584). In construction of Sandhi, in flexion, and in vocabulary the metrical works stand in contrast with those in prose. Consequently many of the grammatical peculiarities may be noticed only in works like Dasav., Uttar., and Sūyag. The characteristics of the poetical dialect almost tally with those laid down by Kramadīśvara, who in 5, 98, says that AMg. is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhi *māhārāṣṭrī-miśrārdhamāgadhi*.⁷ This may, therefore, be considered to be the third separate dialect of the Jainas. Further, it is noteworthy, that though in Pāli, the language of poetry, has a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, they are not sufficient to give the former the status of a separate dialect. In the same way, as the dialect of poetry doubtlessly agrees with that of prose fundamentally, I have designated both of them with the traditional

Ardhamāgadhi (AMg.). In Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48, Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned by the side of Māgadhi, Āvanti, Prācyā, Śūrasenī, Bāhlikā and Dākṣiṇāṭyā, as one of the seven bhāṣās, and again in the same work 17,50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 173, 3, it is said that it is used in dramas, as the language of menials, Rājputs and bankers: *ceṣṇām rājaputrāṇām śreṣṭhinām cārdhamāgadhi*. But our dramas do not conform to this, and Mārkaṇḍeya rejects, as already stated above (§ 3), the existence of Ardhamāgadhi as an independent dialect beside Māgadhi. We may expect that in dramas wherein the Jainas may appear, they speak AMg. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 410 ff., has even attempted to describe the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhi, on the basis of Prab. and Murdār., and he holds the view that the language of the barber in Dhūrtas. is Amg. In Mudrār. pp. 174-78; 183-187; 190-194, there appears the beggar monk (*kṣapaṇaka*) Jīvasiddhi, about whom Dhundhirāja, in his commentary on this work, p. 40, explicitly remarks—*kṣapaṇako jainākṛtiḥ*: in the dialect of this Kṣapaṇaka, the nominative sing. forms ending in *e* agree with those of AMg.: thus *kuvide*, *bhadante* (178,4), also in the neuter *adakkhiṇe* *ṇakkhatte* (to be read as **hkh**; 176.1.2); further therein occurs also the change of *ka* into *ga*, in *śāvagāṇaṃ* (175,1; 185,1; 190,10) in the voc. sing. *śāvagā* (175,3; 177,2; 183,5 etc.), wherein has to be noted also the lengthening of the final vowel (§ 71), in the nom. sing. *śāvage* (178,2; 193,1, it is to be so read), and in *hage* = **ahakaḥ* (§ 142. 194. 417). Otherwise, however, his dialect is Māgadhi, and He 4,302 cites from it examples of Mg. In Prab. also appears a Kṣapaṇaka, who is designated as a Digambara, pp. 46-64. Rāma-dāsa correctly remarks that his dialect is Mg., and notes that Māgadhi is the language spoken by the Bhikṣus, the Kṣapaṇakas, the Rākṣasas, and the servants employed in female apartments. Then there appears a Digambara also in Laṭakamelaka, pp. 12-15, 25-28, who likewise speaks Mg. It must not be overlooked that wherever a Digambara appears his dialect does not immaterially differ from that of a Śvetāmbara, and it agrees with Mg., in an essential phonological characteristic (§21). We do not find any trace of AMg. in the dramas.

1. WILSON, Select Works 1,289; WEBER, Bhagavati 1,392.-2. Published by WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,406, note 8.—3 WEBER, l. c., correctly remarks that the quotation is from same hitherto unknown grammar. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāṅkāra 2,12, also quotes it, but he reads *māgadhi-kāyām* for *māgadhyām*. Caṇḍa, 3, 39, reads it as *māgadhi-kāyām* *rasayorlasau*. WEBER's view (Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7) that *ardhamāgadhi* *bhāṣā* "expresses too little and is qualitatively inaccurate" is wrong.—4. The Kalpa-sūtra, and Navatātva (London 1848), pp. 137 ff.—5 Bhagavati 1, 393 ff.—6. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance mentioned by MÜLLER are found also in other dialects.—7. HOERNLE, Caṇḍa, p. xix, wrongly assumes Ardhamāgadhi + Māhā-sāṣṭri = Āṣṭa.

§ 18. COLEBROOKE¹ called the language of the canons of the Jainas to be Māgadhi, and opined that this Prākṛit did not differ much from the language used by the dramatical authors in their works and which they assign to women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, like Pāli in Ceylon. LASSEN² considered it to be identical with Māhārāṣṭrī, and HOFER³ asserted that many of the particularities, found in the Prākṛit of the Jaina books, are generally foreign to the common Prākṛit, and that on the whole the former appears to be one and same language as the latter. JACOBI finds it to be older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī,⁴ and remarks further that on a comparison of the Jaina Prākṛit, particularly in its earliest available form, with Pāli, on one hand, and with the Prākṛit of Hāla, Setubandha, etc., on the other, we find that the Jaina Prākṛit is more akin to Pāli, than it is to the later Prākṛit,⁵ and that it is an old Indian

dialect, that is closely allied to Pāli, but is decidedly later than it.⁶ Against this WEBER denies the existence of any close relationship between AMg. and M., and is more critical about its kinship with Pāli, and holds, as was already said before by SPIEGEL,⁸ and after him by JACOBI,⁹ that AMg. is considerably later than Pāli. AMg. differs from M. in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary so significantly that it is impossible to regard it as an older M. JACOBI¹⁰ himself had collected together a number of points of such differences and E. MÜLLER¹¹ has collected still more. He rejects the idea of inclusion of AMg. under M. and will like to connect it with Māgadhī of the inscriptions. The nom. sing. in *-e* alone will fully suffice to distinguish AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change that can be explained on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local dialectal peculiarity as the history of Indian Linguistics clearly shows. It assigns AMg. much futher to the east than M. It is likely that that at the time of the compilation of the canons, either in the council held at Valabhī under Devardhigaṇin or in the council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhī particularly the influence of M.¹² might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant, because even by it the basic character of AMg. was not touched. To M. are unknown, thus for example, the phonetic laws like the lengthening of *-am* into *-ām* before *eva* (§ 68), the weakening of *iti* into *i* (§ 93), the dropping of *-i* of the prefix *prati* in cases like *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna*, *paḍoyāra*, etc. (§ 163), the substitution of dentals for palatals (§ 215), the dropping of *ya* in *ahā=yathā* (§ 335) and the use of the sandhi-consonants (§ 353); further the dative in *-ttāe* (§ 364), the instrumental in *-sā* (§ 364), the locative in *-ṃsi* (§ 366^a), the nom. sing. of the *t*-stem in *-m* (§ 396), the instrumental forms like *kammunā* and *dhammunā* (§ 404), the peculiar types of numerals, the inflection of many verbs like *āikkhaī* from *khyā* (§ 492), *pāuṇai* from *āp* with *pra* (§ 504), *kuvaī* from *kṛ* (§ 508), the strong and the *s*-aorists (§ 516 ff.), the infinitives in *-ṭṭu*, *-ittu* (§ 577), the absolutes in *-ttā* (§ 582), *-ttānam* (§ 583), *-cā*, *cāṇam*, *-cāṇa* (§ 587), *-yānam*, *-yāṇa* (§ 592). The process of cerebralization has in AMg. a wider sphere than in M. (§ 219. 222. 289. 333), and likewise the change of *ra* into *la* (§ 257). The phonetic laws that are usual in AMg. are found to hold good only rarely in M.: such are the use of the separation-vowel *-a* (§ 132), the retention of long vowels and the simplification of consonant groups in the case of the suffix *-tra* (§ 87), and in that of *kṣa* (§ 323), the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), and of *pa* into *ma* (§ 248), etc. These, the *yaś-ruti*, (§ 187), the often wholly different vocabulary and many other grammatical peculiarities irrefutably demonstrate that AMg. and M. have been fundamentally different dialects from the beginning. Due to its elevation to the status of a literary language AMg. did not escape the fate of the other (literary) dialects, and on account of the dropping of consonants it has become fundamentally changed. The nom. in *-e* shows that in the matter of fixation of the linguistic boundary of AMg., we need not go further in the west beyond Allāhābād.¹³ At present it is not possible to determine its region more accurately.

1. Misc. Essays 21, 213.—2. Inst. pp. 1, 42, 43.—ZWSpr. 3, 371.—4. Kalpasūtra, p. 18; cf. p. 19 and Erz. p. xii; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7.—5. SBE. xxii, p. xli.—6. Ayāraṅga Sutta p. viii.—7. Bhag. I, 396 f.—8. Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen 1849, p. 912.—9. Kalpasūtra p. 17 f., Erz. p. xii.—10. Beiträge pp. 3 ff.—11. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra, pp. 15 ff.; SBE. xii, pp. xxxvii ff.; WEBER, IS. 16, 218.—12. Suggestion of JACOBI, Erz. p. xxii.—13. See §. 24.

§ 19. WEBER, in IS. 16, 211-479; 17, 1-90 has studied in detail the holy scriptures of the Śvetāmbaras written in AMg. These essays were further

supplemented by the copious extracts that WEBER included in the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, 2, 2, 355-825 ; therein he has also specified all the Indian and European editions of all such works¹ as were published by that time. In this grammar the entire literature that has been published has been utilized. Unfortunately there do not still exist many strictly critical editions: many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. The most important prose text for our purpose is the first Aṅga, the Āyār-āṅgasutta², which has the most antiquated language of all. After it comes into consideration particularly the second Aṅga, the Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for the poetic language what Āyār., is for prose. The fourth Aṅga, the Saṁavāyaṅgā, is essential for a knowledge of the numerals. The sixth, the Nāyādhammakahā, the seventh Uvāsagadasāo,³ the eleventh, the Vivāgasuya, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhapannatti, contain continuous narratives, and, therefore, offer much more information with regard to declension and conjugation than do others. The same is true also of two of the Upāṅgas, namely the Ovavāiyasutta and the Nirayāvaliyāo, and also the first section of the Kappasūya among the Chedasūtra. Among the Mūlasūtras the Uttarajjhayaṇasutta, that is written almost entirely in verse, is of the highest importance ; it contains plenty of peculiar and archaic forms : and of significance is the Dasaveyāliysutta, although its language is very much degenerated. The endless repetitions of the same words and phrases render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of the corrupt texts, in several cases ; but in other cases it was not possible to reach any certainty and much has to be left out of consideration, because the sources were inadequate. Nevertheless, it is now possible to draw a clear and correct picture of AMg., and it is now proved that AMg., is the most important of all the Prākṛit dialects,⁴ because it is best preserved and is most copious. First of all, it was STEVENSON, Kalpasūtra, pp. 131 ff., who gave the incomplete and erroneous information about AMg. ; HOEFER, ZWSpr. 3, 364 ff., furnished something additional ; herein he pointed out some of the chief characteristics of the language such the yaśurti, the anaptyctic vowels, the change of *ka* into *ga*, etc. Of fundamental importance for AMg., was the work of WEBER ; Über, ein Fragment der Bhagavatī, Theil 1.2 (Berlin 1866. 1867)=Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademischer Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, p. 367-444 ; 1866, p. 155-352. It was here that WEBER, first of all, treated the peculiar orthography of the Jaina manuscripts, and attempted to determine (of course, in many places wrongly) the sound value of certain letters of the alphabet, and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, and also specimens of the language. It may be noted here that the Bhagavatī, is the fifth Aṅga, and its canonical name is the Vivāhapannatti, by which name it will be referred to in this grammar : it will be quoted simply as Bhagavatī whenever the reference is to WEBER's above mentioned essay. The work of E. MÜLLER, the author of Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit, Berlin 1876, does not take us much further, although the writer, in it, has made several improvements upon WEBER in respect of phonology. JACOBI in Āyār., pp. viii-xiv, gave a cursory resumé of the grammar in comparison with of Pāli.

1. A list of the utilized editions and translations along with the abbreviations has been given at the end of this grammar.—2. It is due to the objectionable practice that has become a customary that the Jaina texts like Kalpasūtra Aupapātikasūtra, Daśavikālikasūtra, Bhagavatī, Jitakalpa, etc., are designated by their Sanskrit titles. Only HOERNLE in his edition of Uvāsagadasāo made a noteworthy exception. In this grammar, the Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference will be made to the remarks of the editors concerned

who have named them as such, and this has been done with a view to avoid error.—3. The edition of HOERNLE (Calcutta 1890, Bibl. Ind.), remains up to the present day the only edition of a Jaina work with its text and the commentary critically edited. Without extracts from the commentaries, the text often remains unintelligible.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52, p. 95.

§ 20. The dialect used in the non-canonical writings of the Śvetāmbaras differs from AMg. significantly. As already stated above (§ 16) JACOBI has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. More suitable perhaps would have been Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, that was suggested by JACOBI¹ earlier, if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. But that, however, is a hypothesis that cannot be established and, therefore, the name Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī may be retained, because undoubtedly this dialect is very close to Māhārāṣṭrī, even though in no way it is fully identical with it. JACOBI² wrongly supposes that M. is fully identical with M. of Hc., and not with that of Hāla, Śetubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. go back to Hāla, Rāvaṇavaho, Gaṭḍavaho, Viṣambāṇalīlā and Karpūramañjarī. Hc. had simply extended the orthography of the Jains also to these works as it was so in the original Jaina manuscripts (§ 15). But in fact, it appears that Hc. had taken into consideration some specific works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least, it must be noted that not a small number of his rules may as yet be instanced only in JM. AMg. too has not remained without any influence on JM. Of the characteristics of AMg. enumerated under § 18, many are to be found also in JM.: thus for example, the saṁdhi consonants, the nom. of *t*-stems in *-m*, the infinitives in *-ittu*, the absolutive in *-ttā*, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. Therefore, JM. is not pure M., but in fact it is so close to it that, after all, it may be called M. The most important text in JM. is the Āvaśyaka legends edited by ERNST LEUMANN, Heft I, Leipzig, 1897. Lack of a commentary makes the understanding of the text extremely difficult, and much remains completely obscure. But even these few sheets of paper show that out of these JM. texts we may expect many new and important things notably lexicographical, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. The later texts, in greater part, are contained in the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch*, Herausgegeben von HERMANN JACOBI, Leipzig 1886. The introductory elementary grammar contains also a section on syntax, but that is confined only to the forms that occur in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration the Kakkuka inscription (§ 10), and the smaller pieces, like the Kālākācāryakathānaka, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493 ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravātī, ZDMG. 42, 493 ff., and the stūpa of Mathurā SWA 137, the Rṣabhapañcāśikā, ZDMG. 33, 415 ff., and in the Kāvya-mālā, Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp. 124 ff., and the extracts in the Reports that are mostly unfit for use. Probably in JM. was written also the rhetorical work of Hari, from whom Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra, 2, 19 cites a stanza.³

1. Kalpasūtra, p. 18.—2. Kalpasūtra, p. 19.—3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, p. 314. In the commentary on 1, 2, for Rudra read Hari.

§ 21. We are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the language of the canons of the Digambaras. This language does not insignificantly differ from that of the canons of the Śvetāmbaras. If a conclusion has to be drawn on the basis of the non-canonical writings, it will be said that in one important aspect, as it respects phonology, i.e., so far as the change of *ta* into *da*, and of *tha* into *dha*, is concerned, it is closer to Māgadhi, than to the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras. In any case, the later day writings of the Di-

gambaras as well observe this phonetic law. For instance the Gāthās, in the Gurvāvali, referred to by JACOBI,² and the extracts from Kundakundācārya's Pavayanasāra, and Kārtikeyasvāmin's Kattigeyāṇupēkkhā, that has been published by BHĀNDĀRKAR³ (§ 203). Śaurasenī also observes the same phonetic law; and as the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *-o*, in the language of the scriptures of the Digambaras, this dialect may be designated as the Jaina Śaurasenī. But here we have to be more cautious than even in the case of JM., so as always to remember that this designation merely serves as a convenient term even though it is by no means accurate. Even a preliminary examination of the dialect will show that it has such forms and words as are altogether foreign to the Śaurasenī, though, however, they are found partly in M. and partly in AMg. Thus typically M. is the loc. sing. of *a*-stems ending in *-mmi*, as in *dāṇammi*, *suhammi*, *asuhammi*, *nāṇammi*, *daṇṣaṇamhammi* (Pav. 383, 69; 385, 61; 387, 13), *kālammi* (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of *-vva=iva* (Pav. 383, 44). The root *kr.* is inflected, always showing *da=ta*, partly like M. *kuṇaḍi* (Kattig. 399, 310. 319; 402, 359. 367. 370. 371; 403, 385; 404, 388. 389. 391), and partly like AMg. *kuvoḍi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340) and *kuvoḍe* (403, 384), side by side with forms that are Ś. e. g. *karedi* (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377. 378. 383) and M., JM. AMg. *karadi* (400, 332). The form of the passive is *kiradi* (Kattig. 399, 320; 401, 342. 350,) as in M. JM. The absolutive mostly ends in *-ttā*, as in AMg. *cattā=tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *jānittā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyānittā* (Pav. 387, 21); *ṇamaṇsittā*, *nirūṇḥittā* (Pav. 386, 6. 70); *nihanittā* (Kattig. 401, 339); also in *-ya* as in *bhaviya* (Pav. 380, 12; 387, 12); *āpiccha=āpucchya* (Pav. 386, 1); *ādāya* (Pav. 386, 6); *āsijja, āsējja=āsāḍya* (Pav. 386, 1. 11); *samāsijja* (Pav. 379, 5); *gahiya* (Kattig. 403, 373); *pappa* (Pav. 384, 49), and in *-ccā* as in *kiccā* (Pav. 379, 4; Kattig. 402, 356. 357. 358. 375. 376); *thiccā* (Kattig. 402, 355); *sōccā* (Pav. 386, 6). Side by side with such forms are found also the absolutive in *-dūṇa*; *kādūṇa*, *ṇedūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 374. 375), wrongly⁴ also in *-ūṇa*: *jāi-ūṇa*, *gamiūṇa*, *gahiūṇa*, *bhuṇḥjāviūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 373. 374. 375. 376). Such Digambara texts may have been the source, according to which Hc. allows even in Ś forms in *-ttā* and *-dūṇa* and such other forms as are not found in Śaurasenī of the dramas, (§ 22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). Side by side with the AMg. *pappodi=prāpnoti* occurs the commonly found *pāvadi* (Pav. 380, 11, Kattig. 400, 326; 403, 370); by the side of Ś. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) is seen *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 3. 8, 302. 303; 400, 323) as well as *ṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25); moreover, here are used the forms like *muṇadi* (Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313. 316. 337), *muṇedavvo* (the MS. has °*eva*°, Pav. 380, 8) that are unknown in Ś. Mg. In this way there occur many other forms from M. AMg. S. side by side. From what has seen up till now it seems that JŚ. has much more of common characteristics with AMg. than with JM., and is partly more archaic. Both the texts are in verse.

1. BHANDARKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), pp. 106 ff.; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 823 f.—2. Kalpasūtra pp. 30.—3. l.c. pp. 379-389; 398-404. The references are given according to page and verse: cf. also PETERSON, Fourth Report pp. 142 ff.—4. In the manuscripts, exactly as in those of the dramas, very often the M. forms are given in lieu of those of Ś.

§ 22. Among the Prākṛit dialects that are used in the prose of the dramas, Śaurasenī occupies the first place.¹ As its name indicates, its basis is the dialect of Śūrasena, of which the capital city was Mathurā.² According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 the dialect of the dramas should be based on the Śaurasena dialect, and according to 17,51, the heroines

of the drama and their lady—friends should speak Śūrasenī. According to Śāhityadarpaṇa, p. 172, 21, the cultured women, not of lowly origin, speak Ś. and according to p. 173, 11f, it is spoken also by the maid-servants who are not too low, eunuchs, children, lower grade-astrologers, the insane and the sick. Śaurasenī is mentioned as the language of women also by Daśarūpa 2,60. According to Bharata. 17, 51 : Śāhityadarpaṇa 173 4 ; Prthivīdhara on Mṛcchakaṭikā p. V, ed. STENZLER = p. 493, ed. GODABOLE the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā³, which according to MK. fol. 72, is prescribed also for other amusing characters. MK. refers to Bharata and remarks—Prācyā is grammatically derived from Śaurasenī ; *prācyāyāḥ siddhiḥ śaurasenīyāḥ*. The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to decipher, all that MK. describes as the characteristics of Prācyā. They are very meagre and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that for *mūrkhā* should be used *murukkha* ; the voc., sing. of *bhavatī* is *bhodi* ; for *vakra* is prescribed a form that differs from that of Ś.⁴ : the voc. sing. of *a* stems may have pluti : the Vidūṣaka uses *hi*, *hī*, *bho* to express his joy,—*hī*, *māṇahe* to express wonder (*adbhute*) and *avida* to express dismay. There appears to be some special rules to regulate *ṇam*, *eva*, and perhaps also for the future. Prthivīdhara refers, as a characteristic, to the repeated use of *kaḥ svārthe*. Hc. 4, 285, *hī hī vidūṣakasya*, prescribes Ś. directly for the Vidūṣaka, and 4, 282, *hī māṇahe viśmayanīrvede*, is likewise recorded as Ś., and that is certainly correct. Śaurasenī is the language of the Vidūṣaka as well as of a number of other characters that appear in the dramas. The older grammarians deal with Śaurasenī very briefly. Vr. 12,2 says :—its basis is Skt. For it he gives 29 rules with which the texts mostly agree,⁵ and under 12, 32 he remarks that in other respects it agrees with M. *śeṣaṁ mātārāṣṭrīvāt*. Hc. 4, 260-286 has 27 rules of which the last one reads of *śeṣaṁ prākṛtāvāt* and corresponds to Vr. 12, 32. In other respects Hc. and Vr., differ strongly from one another, a thing which, to a great extent, is to be explained by the fact that Hc., has taken into consideration also the Śaurasenī of the Digambaras (§ 21), the peculiarities of which the Jainas have carried over to Śaurasenī of the dramas with the result that the Śaurasenī texts of the latter have become corrupt and later writers have been misled.⁶ Even Kī. 5, 77-85 says little on this topic. Contrary to this, the later grammarians like MK., fol. 65-72, and Rv., fol. 34 ff., say much more thereon. The manuscripts of these works that are available in Europe are so corrupt that in this case as well we can use only a part of the material contained in them. Their verification is rendered difficult on account of most of the editions of the dramas being uncritical. Of the editions that have appeared in India, only a few are of any use : one such is BHĀNDARKAR'S edition of Mālatīmādhava (Bombay 1876) ; and even among the texts printed in Europe not many are of any use for the purpose of linguistic study.⁷ In every case, the new editions do not show any improvements upon the older ones. Thus : the edition of Mudrāṅkṣa by TELANG (Bombay 1884), is worse than the one printed in the Majumdār's series and edited by TARANATHA TARKAVACASPATI (Calcutta Saṁvat 1926) ; BOLLENSEN'S edition of Mālavikāgnimitra (Leipzig 1879) is deplorably a retrograde step. In spite of all this, I have cited from both of them, because in them the readings are often correctly reproduced from the MSS. and, therefore, they are indispensable. Very often it has been possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama.⁸ Many of the editions show a noteworthy admixture of dialects. It is in this way that the first Prākṛit words in Kāleyakutūhala, 2,4 *bho kim ti tue hakkarido hage mañ khu eññim* (text *ehñim*) *chuhā bāhe* contain three dialects : *hakkārīdo* is Ś., *hage* is Mg., *eññim* and *bāhe* are M.; subsequently the

text is much more in M. than in Ś. In Mukundān. 58,14,15, both Ś., *kadua* M. *kāūṇa* stand near one another in the same stanza. Here this may have been due to editor's error. In other cases it is clear that poets themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§ 11) and Rājasekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectical errors committed by Rājasekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in the Bālarāmāyaṇa and Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Thus, all the MSS. of Karpūramañjarī, 7,6 ed. KONOW=11,2 ed. Bombay, have *ghēttūṇa* in place of the only Ś. form *geṇhia.*, an error that recurs also elsewhere (§ 584) : 9,5=13,5 (ed. Bom.), has the dative form *suhāa*, that is wrong in Ś. (§ 361) ; further the following are the dialectical irregularities *tujjha* 10,9=14,7 and *majjha* 10,10=14,8 (§ 421.418), *vva* 14,3=17,5 for *via* (§ 143), locatives like *majjhammi* 6,1=9,5 for *majjhe kavvammi* 16,8=19, 10 for *kavve* (§ 366^a), ablatives like *pāmarāhiṇto* 20,6=22,9 for *pāmarādo* (§ 365), etc. In Rājasekhara, we further find many dialectical errors in the use of *deśi* words. According to MK. fol. 50, Rājasekhara's M. had its own peculiarities. He says *rājasekharasya mādharāṣṭryāḥ prayoge ślokeṣvapi drīyata iti kecit*, whereby, as it appears, is meant the substitution of *da* for *ta* in lieu of its dropping. The manuscripts of his dramas show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with *da* in Ś. Due to the mixing up of dialects in the Devanāgarī and the south Indian recensions of the Śakuntalā and in the south Indian recension of the Vikramorvaśī,⁹ these works do not serve any purpose in settling critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties, it is, however, possible to obtain on the whole a fairly correct picture of Ś. In phonology, the most striking characteristic is the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha* (§ 203) ; in declension and conjugation, a host of forms of M. AMg. JM. JS. have been very much simplified. Similarly in the case of the *a*-stems only the abl. sing. in-*do* and the loc. sing. in-*e* are used : in the plur., only such forms of all the stems are nasalised at the end as are found to have been used in the ins., in the gen., as well as in the loc. ; the *i*- and the *u*-stems have in the gen. sing. only-*ṇo*, and not also-*ssa* ; in respect of verbs, the Ātmanep. forms had by then disappeared almost completely : the opt. had only the endings-*eam* (1. sing.) and-*e* ; many verbs have stem forms that deviate from those of M. ; the future is formed only from *i*-stems ; the passive is obtained only in-*īa* ; the absolute, against M., is found almost exclusively in-*īa*=Skt.-*ya*, etc.¹⁰ In flexion and in vocabulary, in which Ś. greatly deviates from M., it approaches Skt. very closely, as rightly observed by Vr.

1. Even Śūrasenī is often wrongly called Śūrasenī.—2 LASSEN, IAlt. 1², 158, note 2 ; 796 Note 2 2², 512 ; CUNNINGHAM, The Ancient Geography of India (London 1871) 1,374.—3. PISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā (Breslau 1875), pp. 16f.—. PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 26.—5. PISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff.—6. That Hc. utilized the texts of the Digambaras, even though he was a Svetāmbara Jaina, has been shown by LEUMANN, IS. 17, 133, note 1.—7. PISCHEL, Hemacandra, I, xif. Since 1877 unfortunately there has been little change in the circumstances. For the purpose of grammar, primarily the materials can be drawn only from Mṛcchakaṭikā, edited by STENZLER, Śakuntalā, edited by PISCHEL, and Vikramorvaśī, edited by BOLLESEN ; in the second line comes the Ratnāvalī edited by CAPPELLER, which in fact, is the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variants it has been planned somewhat very systematically. I could use the excellent edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW, when the present work was in the press. But Rājasekhara, as already pointed out above, is no authority for Ś.—8. A list of texts used along with necessary notes is given at the end of this grammar.—9. PISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff. Die Recensionen Śakuntalā, pp. 19 ff. Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, pp. 613 ff. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14, 39 ff., 161 ff. A collection of incorrect forms was made by BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae quas editioni suae Śācuntālī Pro Supplemento adjecit. Vratislaviae 1874.—10. PISCHEL, Jenaer Li-

teraturzeitung 1875, pp. 794 ff.; JACOB, Erzählungen, pp. LXX ff. Further details have been furnished in the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 23. Māgadhi has been transmitted to us in a worse condition than Śaurasenī. According to Kohala, in MK. fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rākṣasas, beggars Kṣapaṇakas, servants, etc.; according to Bharata 17, 50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 2, Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, among whom were, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityad. 81, eunuchs, Kirātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhīras, Śakāras, and chamberlains; and according to Bharata, 24, 50-59 eunuchs, snātakas, and chamberlains. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, the Piśācas and all the low-class people speak Mg., and according to Sarasvatik., 56, 18 the people of lower status speak it. In the dramas, the chamberlains always speak Skt. (Śak. 93 ff.; Vikr. 37 ff., Venis. 17ff.; Nāgān. 61 ff.; Mudrār. 78.; 110 ff.; Anarghar. 109 ff.; Pārvaṭīp. 36 ff.; Priyad. 2f; 28ff.; Pratāpar. 132ff.) The following speak Mg.: in Mṛcch., the Śakāra, his servant, Sthāvaraka, the masseur, who later becomes a Bhikṣu, Kumbhila, the servant of Vasantasenā, Vardhamānaka, the servant of Cārudatta, the two Cāṇḍālas, Rohasena, the little son of Cārudatta²; in Śak. 113ff., both the constables and the fishermen, 154 ff., Sarvadamaṇa, the little son of of Śakuntalā; in Prab. 28-32, the disciple of Cārvāka and the messenger from Orissa; in 46-64, the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153f., the servant who prepares seats; in 171-178, 183-187, 190-194 the Jaina monk; in 197 the messenger³; in 256-269 Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Cāṇḍālas, while they, in another rôle in pp. 224 ff., speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565-567, the bards and the spy who, however, also speaks Ś., in another rôle at p. 567 f.; in Venis. 33-36 the Rākṣasa and his wife; in Mallikām. 143, 144 the elephant drivers; in Nāgān. 67-68, and Cait. 149f., the servant; in Caṇḍak. 42-43, the scoundrel, in 60-72, the Cāṇḍālas; in Dhūrtas. 16, the barber; in Hāsyārṇava 31, Sādhuhimsaka; in Laṭakam. 12ff., 25ff., the Digambara Jaina; in Kāmsavadha 48-52, the humpbacked; and in Amṛtodaya 66, the Jaina monk. With the exception of Mṛcchakaṭikā only short pieces are written in Mg., and they, in the Indian editions, have come down in such a mutilated form that often it is hardly possible to recognize the dialect. It is unfortunate that even after such a long time, Prabodhacandrodaya has not appeared though it was announced long ago by the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The edition of BROCKHAUS is worthless, and I have used the Pūṇā, the Madras and the Bombay editions throughout as they are better. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. appears to be essentially in agreement with the rules of the grammarians; among the other stray texts, like those of Mṛcch. and Śak. the MSS. show agreement with the rules of different dialects. Usually they are so strongly influenced by Ś., which according to Vr. 11, 2, is the basis of Mg. and according to Hc. 4, 302, mostly coincides with it, that the character of the dialect is very much effaced. The rule, Hc. 4, 288, *rasorlaṭau* is followed rigorously; according to 4, 287, the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *-e*; according to 4, 301, = Vr. 11, 9, *hage* is substituted for *ahan*, and more rarely also for *vayaṁ*. On the other hand no text other than Lalitav. conforms to Hc. 4, 292 = Vr. 11, 4, 7, that prescribes the retention of *ya*, and substitution of *ya* for *ja*, of *yya* for *dya*, *rya* and *rja*. There can be no doubt that this, like all other rules of grammarians, has to be followed against the manuscripts. All the grammarians from Vr. downwards are substantially in agreement,⁴ on the essential points. Hc. finds these peculiarities, according to 4, 302, in Mudrār., Śak., and Venis., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and even the manuscripts

of Hc. are lacking at this place. The more the manuscripts become available to us the more the variants become noticeable that go against our existing texts. In Mṛcch. 22,4, for instance, in STENZLER's edition, which, as usual, is followed here in 61,5 in GODABOLE's edition, occurs the passage *tava jjeṽva haṣṭe ciṣṭadu*: according to the grammarians it should be read as *tava yyeṽva haṣṭe ciṣṭhadu*. The MSS. DH in GODABOLE read *ṛṇva*, C. *jjeṽva*; almost all the MSS. have *haṣṭe* and *ciṣṭadu*, i. e. *ciṣṭhadu* as in J. It is repeated throughout. Mudrār. 154, 3, E, reads (as in Hc. 4, 302) *yyeva*, and 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has *ṛṇva*; likewise Venis. 35. 7; 36,5. The rule, Hc. 4,295, whereafter for an intervocalic *cha* is substituted *ṣca*, I have strictly observed in the Śakuntalā, for it was suggested by the MSS. and also because the MSS. of the Mṛcch. prove this (§ 233), which also partially conform to Hc. 4,291 prescribing the change of *stha* and *rtha* into *sta* (§ 310. 290). The characteristics of Mg. in phonology, are the transformation of *ra* into *la*, of *sa* into *ṣa*, the retention of *ya*, the change of *ja* into *ya*, of *dya*, *rja* and *rya* into *yya*, of *nya*, *ṇya*, *jña*, *ṇja* into *ñña*, of *ccha* into *ṣca*, of *tta* and *ṣtha* into *ṣṭa* etc. (§ 24), and in the inflection, especially of nouns, the formation of the nom. sing. of *a*-stem in *-e*; in other respects, as regards flexion, Mg. strictly corresponds with Ś. with which it agrees also in the transformation of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha*.

1. It is not clear as to what was meant by Bharata by *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāḥ*.—2. It is attested by Pṛthvidhara, in STENZLER, p. v and GODABOLE, p. 493. In the printed edition he speaks Ś; but the MSS. throughout indicate Mg. as in 161, 9, they have *ale ale*, in 161,16, *māledha*, in 165, 25, *ale*, and in DH in GODABOLE, p. 449 g also there is *māledha*. In the introductory scene, there is, 327, 10=484, 12 ed. GODABOLE H, *ācutte*. Wrongly analysed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc, p. 4. Cf. § 42.—3. Cf. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39, 130. 4. Cf. § 24 and the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 24. According to Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch., ed. STENZLER, p. V=p. 494, GODABOLE's edition, the brother-in-law of the king speaks Śākārī, a dialect that is mentioned as a form of Apabhraṃśa. It is mentioned also by Ki. 5,99; Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17,53; and Sāhityad. p. 173,6. LASSEN, Inst., pp. 422 ff, has attempted to determine the peculiarities of this dialect and has come to the conclusion (p. 435) that Śākārī is a Māgadhī dialect. This conclusion is quite correct, as Mk., fol. 76, also derives it from Mg.; *māgadhyāḥ śākārī | sādhayātīti śeṣaḥ*. Further Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22, ed. STENZLER, p. 240=p. 500 of GODABOLE's edition, has shown that in this dialect a *y* was pronounced before the palatals, viz. *yciṣṭha=tiṣṭha* (§ 217). This *y* was so weak that it could not gain: therefore, any importance from the view point of metre. According to Mk. this phonetic rule was valid for Mg. and Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃśa as well (§ 28). Other peculiarities like the change of *ta* into *ḍa* in certain past passive participial forms (§ 219), and the genitive sing. of *a*-stems in *-āha*, beside in *-āśa* (§ 366) are found in the language of other persons also; the loc. in *-āhim* (366^a) and the voc. plur. in *-āho* (§ 372) are met with in the dialect of Śākāra, but perhaps this is so merely by accident. In respect of the last three forms this dialect coincides with Apabhraṃśa, and consequently the classification of Pṛthvidhara is not without justification. The grammarians and the rhetoricians mentioned above name Cāṇḍālī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk., fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhī and Śaurasenī, and is rightly considered likewise by LASSEN, Inst. p. 420, to be a form of Māgadhī. Mk., fol. 81, derives again Śābarī from Cāṇḍālī. Accordingly the basis of the former would be Ś., Mg. as well as Śākārī. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. § 162. According to Mk., fol. 3, to the Māgadhī dialects belongs also Bāhlikī, which is assigned by Bharata, 17,52—Sāhityad. p. 173,7 to gamesters, and by others to the Piśāca countries. (§ 27).

Undoubtedly Mg. was not a homogeneous language, on the other hand, it was dialectically diversified. It is thus that we can explain the development of *kṣa* sometimes as *hka* and sometimes as *ska*, of *rthā* sometimes as *sta* and sometimes as *ṣta*; and of *ṣka*, sometimes as *ska* and sometimes as *ṣka*. All the dialects that have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *r* and *ṣ* for *s*, and form the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e* should be regarded as Mg. It has already been shown above (§ 17. 18) that the boundary of the *-e* dialect extended beyond the frontiers of Magadha. Bharata 17,58 asserts that the languages of all the provinces lying between the Gaṅgā and the sea are full of *-e* forms. But we can conclude nothing from such a vague statement. HOERNLE¹ has divided all the Prākritis into two groups: "the Sauraseni Prākrit tongue" and the "Māgadhi Prākrit tongue" and has drawn a line of demarcation between the two groups from Khālsī, extending in the north over Bairāt, and Allahabad, and in the south through Ramgarh upto Jaugaḍa². GRIERSON³, who is in agreement with HOERNLE, assumes that the two groups of Prākrit gradually come closer and calls the resultant obtained from a mixture of the two a third Prākrit, namely Ardhamāgadhi, and he assigns it to the land lying about Allāhābad and that of the Marāṭhās. I do not believe that these assumptions are tenable. The Lāt-dialect shows significant vestiges of dialects, so much so that even between Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa,⁴ there exist dialectical differences, but generally it seems to be a homogeneous language, which, perhaps was also the language of the empire and was, therefore, understood rather than spoken over a wide area in the north, the west and the south.⁵ Consequently the inscriptions of Aśoka found at Khālsī, Delhī, and Mirāt, and the inscription of Bairāt as well as others furnish us with no information about the language of the country. In earlier days, as it happens today, certain individual dialects, which need not be called Prākrit, (§ 5), it is true, gradually shaded into each other. Ardhamāgadhi is a strong proof of this. There is no connecting link between the modern Mg.⁶ and the old Mg.

1. Comp. Grammar, p. xvii ff.—2. Caṇḍa, p. XXI.—3. Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihari Language, Part I (Calcutta 1883), p. 5. ff—4. SENART, Piyadasi 2,433 ff.—6. GRIERSON, Seven Grammars, Part III, (Calcutta 1893).

§ 25. In Mṛcchakaṭikā pp. 29-39, Māthura, the keeper of the house of gambling, and his fellow player speak the dialect, called Dhakkī, named after Dhakka that is in the Eastern Bengal. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. LASSEN, Inst. p. 5, and Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch. p. V=p. 493, ed. GODABLE, record Dhakkī, along with Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, and Śābarī among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa. Corresponding to its geographical situation, it seems that Dhakkī was a transition dialect between Māgadhi and Apabhraṃśa. According to Pṛthivīdhara this dialect is phonetically characterized by preponderance of *la*, and by the use of the two sibilants, namely the dental *s* and the palatal *ś*; *lakāraprāyā*¹ *dhakkāvibhāṣā saṃskṛtaprāyātve dantyātālavyasaśakāradvayayuktā ca*. It is to be understood from this that in it, as in Mg., *ra* is changed into *la*, and *ṣa* into *śa*, which, as well as *ś*, remains, however, unchanged in places where it occurs in Sanskrit. In the texts the mode of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts preserve very often the fairly correct reading STENZLER reads in 29, 15 and 30, 1 *are re*; in 30, 7 *re*; in 30, 11, *are*, but GODABOLE reads in 82, 1; 84, 4; 86, 1, *ale*; in 85, 5 *le* according to the most of his manuscripts, and it is read otherwise everywhere as in STENZLER (30, 16; 31, 4. 9. 15; 39, 16). Further this rule is corroborated by *luddhu* = *ruddhaḥ* (29, 15; 30, 1), *palivevīda* = *parivevīta* (30, 7), *kulu kulu* = *kuru kurn* (31, 16), *dhāledī* = *dhārayati* (34, 9; 39, 13), *puliso* = *puṛuṣaḥ* (34, 12). But in

more cases *ra* remains in the texts and the manuscripts. So throughout we have *jūdiara* (29, 15; 30, 1. 12; 31, 12; 36, 18), but only in 36, 18 = 106, 4 ed. GODABOLE, the word is found with *la* (v. 1.); likewise in the Calcutta edition (Śaka 1792) at p. 85, 3, there is *jūdakalassa*, and in the Calcutta edition (1829), p. 74, 3, *muṭṭhipahāleṇa* against *°reṇa* found in all others; while all the editions in the following line have *ruhirapaham* *aṇusa-rēmha* in stead of the expected reading *luhilapadham* *aṇusalēmha*. In the verse 30, 4. 5, by the side of *salaṇam* for which the Calcutta edition of 1792 rightly has *salaṇam*, there is *ruddo rakkhidum tarai* in lieu of *luddo lakkhidum taladi*. Other cases are: *anusa-rēmha* (30, 13) *māthuru* (32, 7; 34, 25), *pidaram*, *māda-ram* (32, 10. 12), *pasaru* (32, 16), *jajjara* (34, 11, beside *puliso!*), *uacodhena* (36, 24), *ahareṇa raī* (39, 8). Likewise the manuscripts oscillate in the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct forms *daśasuvannāha* (29, 15; 30, 1), *daśasuvannam* (31, 4; 32, 3; 34, 9. 12 etc.), *suṇṇu* (30, 11), *śela* (30, 17) there occur the wrong forms like *jaśam* (30, 9), *ādaṃsaāmi* (34, 25), *paḍissudā* (35, 5); the p. latal sibilant has been wrongly used in forms like *samavisā-mam*, *sakaluśaam* (30, 8. 9), where GODABOLE has correctly used *samavisamam*, *aīkasaṇam* (read *adi°*); but in spite of this he has erred in using *kaśsa* (114, 9) for *kassa*, as found in the ed. of STENZLER (39, 8). With *la* and *śa* *ḍhakkī* becomes close to *Mg.*, and with the endings *u=aḥ*, and *-am*, as well as in the second person singular of the imperative it comes close to *Apabh-ramśa*. Here also the manuscripts are not wholly dependable. Beside *deutu* (30, 11) there occurs *deulam* (30, 12); by the side of *esu=eṣaḥ* (31, 12; 34, 17; 35, 15) there is *eso* (30, 10); beside *pasalu=prasara* (32, 16) there is *geṇha* (29, 16; 30, 2) as well as *paaccha=prayaccha* (31, 4. 7. 9; 32, 8. 12. 14; 34, 4; 35, 7); by the side of the nom. in-*u*, as in *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15; 30, 1), *vippadīvu pādū=vipratīpaḥ pādah* (30, 11), *dhuttu, mādhuḥ*, *nīṇu=dhūrto mādhuḥ nīṇuḥ* (32, 7), *vihavu=vibhavaḥ* (34, 17), the texts have the nominatives in-*o*, as in *baddho* (31, 12), *°ppāvudo puliso=°prāvṛtaḥ puruṣaḥ* (34, 12), *ācakkhant* (§499) (34, 24), *°vutto=°vṛttaḥ* (31, 3), and also in-*e*, such as *pādhe=pāṭhaḥ* (30, 25; 31, 1), *laddhe goḥ=labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ* (31, 3). That here we have just the cases of blunders committed in the manuscript-tradition and that such forms do not present any special dialectical peculiarities, are clearly demonstrated by the presence of the word *baddho* (31, 14) in *Mg.* for the correct word *baddhe* that is not to be found in any of the editions. Certainly erroneous is *tha* in *māthuru* (32, 7; 34, 25), for for which should be read *mādhuḥ*; as for *pāṭhe* found in all the editions (30, 25; 31, 1), and also in *Mg.* (31, 2), the manuscripts *DH* of GODABOLE, p. 88, read *pāḍe*, *K* has *pādhe*, a form which including the ending is correct only in *ḍh.* Thus we have in 30, 16 *kadham=katham*, but in 36, 19 *ruhirapaham=rudhirapatham*. The correct form would be *luddhilapadham*. As in *Ś.* and *Mg.*, so also in the case of *ḍh.* as well, the manuscripts are not reliable, and there is no hope that, with the limited number of the texts that we have, we shall ever be able to obtain a clear description of this dialect.³ Cf § 203.

1. So correctly reads STENZLER; GODABOLE reads at p. 2 and p. 494 *vakāraprāyā*.—2. So correctly reads GODABOLE.—3. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 414 ff., holds that the gambler speaks *Dākṣiṇātyā* and *Māthura*, the *Āvanti* dialect. See § 26. BLOCH's decision is wrong, in *Vr.* und *Hc.* p. 4.

§ 26. Likewise it is difficult to get a clear idea about the other dialects mentioned by the Grammarians. According to *Prthvidhara*, in *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, the two police officers, *Viraka* and *Candanaka*, pp. 99-106, speak the dialect of *Avanti*. About this dialect all that he says is that it has *sa* and *ra*, and that it is full of proverbial expressions: *tathā!*

śaurasenya-avantijā prācyā | etāsu dantyasakārātā | tatrāvantiyā rephavatī lokokti-vahulā. The quotation from Pṛthivīdhara is =Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51=Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, Avantijā is to be spoken in dramas by the *dhūrtāḥ*, whereby according to the scholiast, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 36, are meant the dice-players. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 417-419, therefore, considers Āvantī to be the language of Māthura, but this is wrong. Mk. fol. 3, like Kī. 5, 99, considers Āvantī as a *bhāṣā* and defines it in fol. 73, as the admixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This admixture is found in one and the same sentence : *āvantī syānmāhārāṣṭrī śaurasenīyāstu saṁkarāt | anayoḥ saṁkarād āvantībhāṣāsiddhāsyāt | saṁkaraścaikaṣminneva vākya bodhavyaḥ.* In this dialect are found, for instance *hvi*=*bhavati*, *pēchadi*=*prekṣate*, *darisedi*=*darśayati*, etc. This description is in accord with the dialect of the two police officers, as it is given in the MSS. In the stanzas 99, 16. 17 there are found Ś. *acchadha* and M. *bhēttūṇa* and *vaccaī*, side by side ; similarly in 99, 24. 25, Ś. *ācchadha* and M. *turiam*, *jatteha*, *karējjāha* and *pahavai*; in 100, 4 there is *darisesi* ; in 100, 12 M. *jaha* and Ś. *khudīdo* occur side by side: again in 100, 19 ; 101, 7 ; 105, 9, is found *vaccadi*, a mixture of M. *vaccaī* (99, 17) and Ś. *vajjadi*, as well as *vajjai* (100, 15); in 103, 15 there is *kahijjadi* and in 16 *sāsijjai*; the second one is a pure M. form and the first one an admixture of M. *kahijjai* and Ś. *kadhīadi*; many other examples are to be found in prose and poem. Accordingly the definition enunciated by Pṛthivīdhara might appear to be correct. But so far as it respects Candanaka, the latter's own statement as given in 103, 5 goes against him: *viam dakkhiṇattā avattabhāṣiṇo mlecchajātīnām anukadeśabhāṣābhijñā yatheṣṭam mantrayāmaḥ* : we southerners speak unintelligibly; because we are expert in languages of many barbarian countries we speak just as we like. Candanaka, therefore, describes himself as a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*) that is proved also by his own statement found in 103, 16: *kaṇṇāḍakalahappaoam karemi*, "I proceed to fight in the manner of Kārṇāṭa. Therefore, it is very much improbable that the language in what he should have spoken is Āvantī, on the other hand, it is to be assumed that his language is Dākṣiṇātyā, which Bharata 17, 148 calls as one of the seven *bhāṣāḥ*, and which according to 17, 52=Sāhityad. p. 173, 5, is spoken by hunters and police officers in the drama. Mk., fol. 3 (cf. fol. 76) rejects it as an independent language because it does not have any distinctive characteristic (*lakṣaṇākaraṇāt*). LASSEN, Inst. pp. 414-416, assigns the Dākṣiṇātyā language to the unnamed gambler in Mṛcch. and he is inclined to believe that in the language of the police officers in Śak. pp. 113-117, there are vestiges of this dialect. Both of his views are wrong. The dialect used by the gambler is Dhakkī (§ 25) and the language of the police officers in Śak. does not differ on any point from the common Ś, as already observed by BÖHTLINGK¹. As some of the manuscripts of the Bengali recension show doubling of the aspirates, I believed earlier² that this must have been the distinctive characteristic of Dākṣiṇātyā. But the doubling is found also in Mg. in one of the manuscripts and it is in no way linguistically important, rather it is just an orthographical device (§ 193). So far as we have been able to see up till now it seems that Dākṣiṇātyā must have been very close to Āvantī which is spoken by Viraka, and that both of them were very much akin to Ś. Apart from the dialectical admixture, there are a number of forms that are against idiomatic usage in Ś. Thus: *vaam* for *amhe*, *do*=*dvau*, and remarkable is the change of *tya* into *ta* in *dakkhiṇattā* (§ 281). The form *darisaanti* occurs also in Ś. in Mṛcch. 70, 25.

1. In his edition of Śak., p. 240. 2.GN. 1873, pp. 212 ff.

§ 27. One of the very archaic dialects is Paisāci. Vr., 10, 1 ff. knows only one dialect of this name; likewise Kī., 5, 96, and Śimhadeva-
gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālmkāra, 2, 3, where this dialect is called Paisācika,
and Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaālmkāra, 2, 12 calls it Paisācika and
in a grammatical quotation he refers to it by the name Paisācīkī: Hc.
4, 303-324 deals with Paisāci and appends to it, 325-328, Cūlikāpaisācika.
Hc. is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43 ff., and Sr. fol. 63 ff., and both of them
call the second dialect Cūlikāpaisāci. An unknown author (§ 3 note 1)
referred to by Mk., fol. 2, describes eleven types of P. *kāñcidesīyapāṇḍye
ca pāñcālagaudamāgadham | vrācaḍaṁ dākṣiṇātyaṁ ca śaurasenaṁ ca kaikayam |
śābaram drāviḍam caiva ekādaśa piśācakāh.* Mk. himself, as per fol. 3, treats
only 3 Paisācis., namely Kaikeya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla; because they
alone were used as literary dialects: *kaikeyaṁ śaurasenaṁ pāñcālam iti ca tridhā
| piśācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyāna na lakṣitāh* — Kaikeya, according to
Mk. fol. 86, is based on Sanskrit, and Śaurasena upon Śaurasenī: the
only difference that Pāñcāla maintains in comparison with Śaurasena
consists in the former having as its characteristic the change of *ra* into *la*.
RV., in LA^sSEN, Inst., p. 22, recognizes only two classes of Paisāci:
Kaikeyapaisācam and the second one whose name has been handed down
to us in the corrupt form Caska. In any case, in accordance with the grade
of purity, these are again divided into sub-classes, of which, according
to LASSEN, Inst., Appendix p. 6, Māgadha and Vrācaḍa (read thus for
Brāvḍa) are called Paisācikas. Lakṣmidhara, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 13,
derives the name P. from the countries, of the Piśācas, in which it is spoken,
and is named as such according to the opinion of the people of the earlier
age: these countries are Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala,
Gāndhāra, and four others whose names have been transmitted to us in
their corrupt forms: Sudeṣa, Bhota, Haiva, and Kanojana. These names
point towards the north and the west of India. A nation is referred to as
Piśācas in the Mahābhārata 7, 121, 14. But the Indians understand by
the word Piśāca only demons, (*bhūta*) of this name (Kathāsarit-
sāgara, 7, 26, 27). Thus it is referred to by Bhāmaha in his commentary
on Vr. 10, 1: *piśācānāṁ bhāṣā piśāci*, and, therefore, he calls it also
bhūtabhāṣā "the language of the demons", (Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarṣa 1, 38;
Sarasvatik. 95, 11. 13; Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 29; 8, 30; HALL, Vāsavadattā
p. 22 note) or even *bhūtabhāṣita* as well as *bhautika* (Vāgbhaṭālmkāra 3, 1.
3), *bhūtavacana* (Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 5=Sarasvatik. 57, 11). There is the
popular belief that the unmistakable identifying characteristic of a *bhūta*
is that he speaks with a nasal accent, and thereupon CROOKE¹ assumes that
like modern English this language too for that reason has been called a
Piśācabhāṣā. The grammarians make no mention of this phonetic char-
acteristic and I deem it probable that originally P. also like M. Ś. Mg.
was named as such after the name of some people or country and
the name of this country or people was similar in sound to *piśāca* and
that on account of this the language as well began to be referred to as
the dialect of the Piśācas, meaning demons. The nation of the
Piśāca or Paisāca, except in the passage of the Mahābhārata referred to
above, is nowhere mentioned, even though individual tribes like the
Kekaya and Bāhlika, to whom Mk. clearly assigns as their language a
Mg. dialect (§ 24), Kuntala and Gāndhāra are mentioned very frequently.
According to Daśarūpa, 2, 60, the Piśāca or Māgadha language is espe-
cially spoken by the Piśācas, the people of lowly origin, etc. According
to Sarasvatik. 56, 19; Sāhityad. p. 173, 10, P. is the language of the
Piśāca; Bhojadeva, Sarasvatik. 57, 25, forbids the use of pure P. by
high class characters: *nātyullamopātraprayojyā piśāci śuddhā*. The example

given by him is found in Hc. 4, 236 as that of Cūlikāpaśācika. High characters, who do not appear in the highest rôles, according to Sarasvatik. 58, 15, speak in a language that is Sanskrit and Paśācī at the same time, by means of the popular play of words *bhāṣāśleṣa*, which is comparatively easier in Paśācī than in any other Prākṛit dialect inasmuch as P., of all the Pkt. dialects, is most akin to Sanskrit. Vr. 10, 2, it is true, says that Śaurasenī is the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with him; but as shown by Hc. 4, 324, in phonology, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of PG. The characteristic of P., and in addition to that, of CP. as well, the two dialects that the grammarians do strictly differentiate, is the change of the voiced consonants into the voiceless ones, e. g. P. CP. *matana*=*madana*; *tāmotara*=*dāmōdara*; P. *patesa*=*pradeśa*; CP. *nakara*=*nagara*; *kiri*=*giri*; *mekha*=*megha*; *khamma*=*gharma*; *rācā*=*rajā*; *cimūta*=*jimūta* etc. (§ 190. 191). Another characteristic feature is the retention in unchanged form of most of the consonants including *na* into which is transformed also *ṇa* and the change *la* into *ḷa*. HOERNLE², on account of mutation of the voiced mutes and the change to *ṇa* into *na* and *la* into *ḷa*, assumes that P. is a form of the Aryan language that developed in the mouth of the Dravidian people when the latter wanted to speak the Aryan Language. SENART³ was perfectly correct in rejecting this view. Against the hypothesis of HOERNLE that in none of the Aryan dialects of India even a trace of the devocalization of voiced mutes is visible it has to be noted that in a number of sporadic cases this mutation is noticeable in the dialect of Shābhāzgarhi⁴, in the Lāt⁵-dialect and in the Leṇa-dialect⁶; in the NIA. languages the mutations of the aspirate voiced mutes takes place in the Dardū, Kāfir, and in the Gypsy languages⁷ and this suggests that the home of P. has to be searched for in the north-west in India.⁸ P. is so much peculiar and independent that it began to be considered as the fourth language, besides Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa (Kathāsārits. 7, 29; cf. 6, 148, Bṛhatkathā. 6, 52; Bālarāmaṇya 8, 4.5; Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is understood also by *grāmyabhāṣā*, in which, according to Vāgbhaṭa, Alāṁkāratilaka 15, 13, was composed Bhīmakāvya. It is deplorable that we have to depend exclusively on a few and insufficient statements of the grammarians for a knowledge of P. Bṛhatkathā was written in P. by Guṇādhya,⁹ whose time has been calculated by BÜHLER¹⁰ as the first or second century A. D. The only connected fragments in this dialect are found in Hc. 4, 310, 316. 320. 322. 323¹¹ and perhaps also in 326. According to the annals of the northern Buddhists there lived 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras who belonged to four different castes and spoke four different languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa and Paśācī respectively. The Sthaviras, forming one of the four chief schools of Vaibāṣikas, are said to have used Paśācī¹²

1. An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 149.—2. Comp. Grammar p. XIX f.—3. Piyadasi 2, 501, (note 1). 4. JOHANSSON, Shābhāzgarhi 1, 172 ff.—5. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 375 (*kamboca*), 376 (*paṣi-pāyacham*, etc.); 397 (*tuphe*, etc.) 6. HULTZ, ZDMG. 37.549; 40.66, note 5.—7. MIKLOSICH Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I, II (Wien 1874) p. 15ff.; IV. (Wien 1878) p. 51. Cf. also Gyp. *khāl*=Hindi *ghūr* in PSCHHEL, Beiträge Zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner (Halle a. S. 1894) p. 42 and Kalāṣa *khās*=Gyp. *khās*=Hindi *ghās*=Skt. *ghāsa*.—8. PSCHHEL, Deutsche Rundschau XXXVI (Berlin 1883) p. 368. The hypothesis that Guṇādhya was a Kashmirian is incorrect. He was a South-Indian, but his work was popular in Kashmir as is proved by its abridgments by Somadeva and Kṣemendra. HALL, Vāsavadatā (Calcutta 1859) p. 22f, note.; BÜHLER, IA. 1, 302ff., LEVI, JA., 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷāṁkāra, 2, 12—10. Detailed Report p. 47.—11. PSCHHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 33. I am unable to find the passage in Somadeva's work. Kathāsārits. 11, 48. 49 agrees in

certain places but not sufficiently accurately.—12. WASSILJEV, Dr. Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen, Geschichte and Literatur. Translated from Russian (by TH. BENEY) 1,248, note 3. (St. Petersburg, 1860).

§ 28. Apabhraṁśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one—, i.e. Sanskrit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects (§ 4), and only remotely does it signify particular form of the Prakrit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according the usual practice that obtained in Prākṛit (§ 5). Hc., 4, 329-416, treats A. as a uniform language. But from his rules it appears that under the name A., have been included together a number of several different dialects. The forms *dhruṁ*, *tram* (4,360) *tudhra* (4,372), *prassadi* (4,393), *brōppiṇu*, *brōppi* (4,391), *grhanti*, *grñhēppiṇu*, (4,341. 394. 438), *vṛāu* (4,399) with their *r* and *ṛ* belong to a dialect altogether different from the one that has been described in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, which prescribes that in A. the sounds *ka*, *kha*, *ta* *tha*, *pa*, *pha* generally become *ga*, *gha*, *da*, *dha*, *ba*, *bha* respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far most of the other rules and examples : thus for instance 4, 446, according to which A. should mostly be dealt with like Ś.¹ The language of Piṅgala has gone much further than A. towards disintegration in Vikramorvaśi of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author cited by Mk., fol. 2, recognizes 27 different dialects of A. among which are included all the sub-classes mentioned under Pāśāci (§ 27). Similarly Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. App. p. 5. Mk., on account of the differences being of insignificant character (*sūksmabhedatvāt*), Mk. confines A. only to three varieties, *nāgara*, *vṛācaḍa* and *upanāgarra*, a classification that is adopted also in Ki. 5, where the second variety has been designated as *vṛācaḷa*. The chief variety of A. is Nāgara, and according to Mk. this was the language of Piṅgala as well, as is evident from the fact that he (Mk.) cites passages from this work under it. From Nāgara is derived Vṛācaḍa, which according to Mk., fol. 85, originated in Sindh: *sindhudeśedbhavo vṛācaḍopabhramśaḥ*. Among its peculiarities, Mk. notes the development of *y* before *c* and *j*, and the change of *ṣa* and *sa* into *ṣa*—the phonetic characteristics that are ascribed by him also to Mg. and by Pṛthvīdhara to the dialect of Śākāra, (§ 24). Further the optional change of the initial *ta*, *da* into *ṭa*, *ḍa*, and as it seems, the retention of *r*, with the exception of *bhṛiya*, etc. occur as other characteristics. The rest is all corrupt in the MSS. From an admixture of Nāgara and Vṛācaḍa springs Upanāgara. Ki. 5, 70 is not clear. According to Mk., fol. 81, Hariścandra considered also *Śākkī* or *Śakkī* as an Apabhraṁśa dialect, but Mk. himself describes it as an admixture of Skt. and Ś., and includes it in his list of vibhāṣāḥ in fol. 3. The words *ehu² je=ṣa yadi*, found in Piṅgala 1, 4^a, according to Ravikara in BOLLESEN on Vikra. 527, belong to Vārendri bhāṣā, which, therefore, is located behind Bengal.³ On Dhakkī, see §25. Thus it is clear that A. extended from Sindh to Bengal, and this is in conformity with its nature as a popular language. Only a small portion of the many A. has again been turned into Prākṛit. Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1.1.29.61 calls the language of Piṅgala to be Avahatṭhabhāṣā⁴=Apabhraṣṭabhāṣā, but at p. 22, 15, he says that he would like to describe, in short, Varnamarkaṭi, that has been overlooked by Piṅgala and other teachers, by *śabdaiḥ prākṛitaiḥ avahatṭhakaiḥ*. Hc., in Deśin. 1,37 says that *avajjhāo=upādhyāyaḥ* has not been mentioned by him as it has *prākṛitam apabhraṣṭam iva rūpam*; in 1, 67, he quotes the view of some teacher according to whom the Apabhraṁśa word *āsiao* is equivalent to *āyasikaḥ*, and in Kathāsaritsāgara, 17, 141, the pure

Māhārāṣṭrī words *eso tho kku majjāro*⁵ are said to be *apabhraṣṭa*. The literary A., therefore, actually is *prakṛto'pabhraṁśaḥ*, "Prākṛit—Apabhraṁśaḥ". In spite of the phonetic disorder and the inchedible freedom with which the poets, at their sweet will for, the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number, and voice with one another A. has remained extraordinarily important and interesting, and it shows affinities with the Vedic language with in a small measure (§ 6).

1. FISCHEL, Hc. I, IX.—2. BOLLESEN has *eho* in the text and *eha* in the commentary; in the Bombay edition the text has *eo*.—3. B. R. s. v. Varendra and Vārendra.
—4. The Bombay edition has everywhere. ^o*hafo*. Cf. Sarasvatik. 59.9.—5. BROCKHAUS gives the wrong form *majjhāo*; DURGA PRASAD and PARAB correctly read *khu*.

§ 29. For a knowledge of A. up to this date the most important source is Hc., 4,329-446, whom follows Triv. 3,3, 1ff. Besides the materials utilized in my edition of this work I have used also the Vyutpattidīpikā of Udayasubhāgyagaṇin, and that both in the Pūṇā MSS¹. The work is designated as Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūṇḍhikā and is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hc.'s rules. Therefore, it is worthless for the most part. Unfortunately even the text is not essentially improved by these two MSS., because they too have all the defects of the manuscripts² used by me earlier. Like Trivikrama, Udayasubhāgyagaṇin has added Sanskrit equivalents to the examples of A.; this makes the understanding of the subject extraordinarily easy and has proved to be of great advantage to me. We can say nothing about the sources whence Hc. collected his examples. They, however, create the impression of having been drawn from an anthology of the type of Sattasaī. As already noted by ZACHARIAE³, the stanzas quoted under Hc. 4,357, 2 3 are found along with an elaborate Skt. gloss also in Sarasvatik p. 76; further, Hc. 4,353 is found also in Caṇḍa 1 11^a (p. 36), 4,330,2, also in Caṇḍa 2, 17^a (p. 47), and in 2,27¹ (p. 47) he quotes an A. stanza of his own (see § 34 note 4). Hc. 4,420,5 is found also in Sarasvatik., p. 158, and Hc. 4,367,5 is found even in Śukasaptati, p. 160. Next after Hc. comes into consideration the A. stanzas found in Vikramaovaśī pp. 55-72. Unfortunately SHANKAR P. PANDIT⁴ and BLOCH⁵ have declared these metrical passages to be spurious. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not of the South Indian source, in which even other works have been systematically abridged,⁶ and, as shown by KONOW,⁷ are thoroughly free from suspicion as it respects their genuineness. The Piṅgalachandaśūtra will make rich materials available to us when we shall have a critical edition of it. A beginning of the work had already been made by BOLLESEN in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaśī, pp. 520ff. The materials collected by him have been taken over to Berlin by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT,⁸ who had planned an edition of the work, and other materials are to be found abundantly in India.⁹ The Bombay edition (1894), in the Kāvya-mālā (41), of Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa by ŚIVADATTA and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB is hardly usable. I have compared the text of Piṅgala of this edition with that of GOLDSCHMIDT upto 2, 140.¹⁰ In several places this text has been found useful to me. Generally it agrees with the Bombay edition, even in respect of errors, and this shows that the material found in Europe, is not sufficient for a critical edition. It is true, that the text of GOLDSCHMIDT was not meant for printing, and it is evident from the MS. itself that it was the result of researches carried for private use. There still remains much to be done here, and without an edition furnished with all the

critical materials and the oldest and the best commentaries, for this A., the work is useful to a very limited extent. Besides detached A. stanzas are met with here and there; thus in Erz. edited by JACOBI, pp. 157f.; in Kk. 260, 43 ff.; 272, 34-38; in Dvār. 504, 26-32; in Sarasvatik. p. 34.59. 130. 139. 140.165. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260f.; in the commentary on Daśarūpa 139, 11; 162,3; in Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 of Ānandavardhana (§ 14 with note 2); in Śukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by RICHARD SCHMIDT (Leipzig 1893) pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, edited by UHLE., p. 217, No. 13: 220 No. 20; in Śimhāsanadvātrimśikā, IS. 15, 394; in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Bombay 1888) pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248., and in BEAMES, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. Most of these stanzas are so much corrupt that we can utilize only particular words from them. In Alaṅkāratilaka, 15, 13, Vāgbhaṭa mentions Abdhimathana as a work written in A.

1. SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR. A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888), p. 68, No. 276; p. 118, No. 788.—2. Hc. 1-IX.—3. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—4. Vikramorvaśyam (Bombay 1879) p. 9 ff.—5. Vararuci und Hemcandra p. 15ff.—6. PÜCHEL. GN. 1874, 214; Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin 1875, 613. Even Pañcatantra and the Mahābhārata are abridged in the south Indian recensions, but they are by no means the oldest.—7. GGA. 1894, 475.—8. WEBER, Verzeichniss. 2, 1, 269ff.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. 1, 336 ff.; 2, 75, where it has been correctly remarked that in our texts spurious passages are found in quite a good number. Thus for example a quotation from Karpūramāñjarī p. 199. 200. 211. —10. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 270, Nr. 1711.

§30. According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 31-44¹; Daśarūpa 2, 59.60; Sāhityad. 432 in the drama men of high position and, among women, the nuns, the chief queens, the ministers' daughters, and the courtesans, according to Bharata also the female artists speak Sanskrit; and all other women speak Prākṛit; the apsaras on the earth can speak the language of their choice. Generally these statements are in conformity with the practice obtaining in the dramas. Yet everywhere the chief queen speaks Prākṛit; Mālātī and Madayantikā, the daughters of the minister, speak Prākṛit in Mālātīmādhava; the harlot Vasantasenā speaks mostly in Prākṛit in Mṛcchakatikā, but at pages 83-86, she speaks in verses in Sanskrit. It was assumed in the case of harlots that they were well versed in both the languages; it is noteworthy that in order to become a fully qualified harlot she must be adept in 64 arts, be endowed with all the 64 kinds of accomplishments, and be conversant with the 18 popular languages:² *gaṇ'jā...caṣṣaṭṭhikalāpandī caṣṣaṭṭhi gaṇ'jāguṇavaj'ā...atṭhārasadesibhāsā-vīsārayā* (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55 ff.). Prosperity in the profession was concomitant with this. In Kumārasambhava 7, 90, the priest Sarasvatī praises the married pair, Śiva and Pārvatī, in two languages, Śiva, in Sanskrit, and Pārvatī, in an easily intelligible language, i. e. in Prākṛit. Rājaśekhara, Karp. 5,3.4 says that a work in Skt. is rough and that it is sweet in Pkt.; accordingly the difference between the two languages is the same as that between a man and a woman. In Mṛcch. 44, 1ff., the Vidūṣaka says that two things make him laugh, one is a Sanskrit-speaking woman and the other is a man who sings in a low voice; the woman who speaks Sanskrit makes the sound *su su* like a heifer through whose nose a cord has been passed and the man who sings in a low voice resembles an aged family priest who mutters his prayer with a dry garland of flowers worn over his head. The director of the play, in Mṛcch., who subsequently plays the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, speaks in Sanskrit in the beginning, but as soon as he begins to talk to a woman he (2,14), "according to the circumstance and

usage", expresses his readiness to speak in Prākṛit. In support of the statement that a man should speak to a woman in Prākṛit Prthivīdhara (495, 13) gives a quotation : *strīṣu nā prākṛtaṃ vadet*. From all this it is gathered that Prākṛit is characterized as the proper language of women, as has been prescribed by the authors on rhetorics. Besides, they not only understand Skt. but they speak it as well the moment they have to say something in verse. So speak Vicakṣaṇā in Viddhaś. pp. 75, 76; Mālatī in Mālatīm. pp. 81, 84; Lavaṅgikā p. 253; Sitā in Prasannarāghava, pp. 116-118 even in prose, and pp. 120, 121, 155 in verses; Kalahamsikā in Anarghar. p. 113; the girl friend of the heroine in Karmas. p. 30, and the heroine herself, p. 32; Sindūrīkā in Bālar. pp. 120, 121; in Chardi, Jivān. 20, in Subhadrāh. the actress, p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; in Mallikām., Mallikā, pp. 71, 17; 75, 4; 81, 12; 82, 1; 85, 9; Navamālikā 72, 8; 75, 10; Sārasikā 78, 14; 251, 3; Kāliṇī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; in Dhūrtas. p. 11f., Anaṅga-senā, also in prose; and sometimes also women in Cait. Buddharaṣitā cites Mālatīm p. 242, Kāmasūtra 199, 17f. Even the men who speak usually Pkt. now and then cross over to Skt. when they have to say in verses. So the Vidūṣaka, in Viddhaś. p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper medium of expression for people of his class (*amhārisajāṇajogge pāudamagge*), in Karmas. p. 14, and Jivān. pp. 53, 83; similarly in Karmasavadha p. 12, the gate-keeper, in Dhūrtas. p. 9, and in Hāsy. p. 23, 33, 38, the snātaka, and at p. 28 also the barber. In Jivān. pp. 6ff. Dhāraṇā speaks to herself in Pkt. but in the guise of a female ascetic she speaks to the minister in Skt.; in Mudrār., Virādhagupta, in the guise of a snake-charmer, pp. 70ff., speaks Pkt., but to himself, pp. 73ff. 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa, p. 85, he speaks in Skt.; and at p. 82, 2 he introduces himself as a Prākṛit poet. An unknown poet complains that even in his time many people are not capable of reading a Prākṛit poem¹, and another one (H. 2=Vajjālagga, 324, 20) asks why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like poetry in Prākṛit and still trouble themselves about true love. We as yet do not know if in Sarasvatik. 57, 8, Nāṭyarājasya is the correct reading, and the person who has been designated by this term is also unknown. Likewise we are not sure about the identity of Sāhasāṅka referred to in 57, 9. Perhaps in the kingdom of the former there was nobody who could speak in Pkt. and in that of the latter there was none who did not speak Skt.² Notwithstanding the praise of Prākṛit expressed here and there it has always, in comparison with Skt., been considered to be a language of inferior status, and perhaps for that reason the word Prākṛta, even as the name of the language, signifies very appropriately "common", "general", "inferior" which is also commonly denoted by the word. It is useless to carry an investigation into the antiquity and succession of the dialects (§32).

1. Bharata gives more of details, and here I have entered into them only to a limited extent, because the text is very often doubtful.—2. The number of the popular dialects is mentioned to be 18 also in Ovav. §109; Nāyādh. §121; and Rāyap. §291. In Kāmasūtra 33, 9 only the *deśabhāṣāḥ* in general are referred to.—3. PSCHHEL, Hc. 2, p. 44. on Hc. 1, 181.—4. Both of the following verses, i.e. 57, 10, 11, literally are=to Bālar. 8, 4, 5; 57, 13, resemble Bālar. 8, 7. Since Rājasekhara lived a century earlier than Bhoja, it is the author of Sarasvatik. who has borrowed it from him.

B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS.

§ 31. At the top of the list of the names of native workers in the field of Prākṛit must be placed the name of Bharata, in case, by this name, we, with the Indians, mean the mythical author of Indian dramaturgy. Mk. fol. 1 refers to Bharata among his sources. Neither the quotation found at

fol. 4 nor the others, cited by the scholiasts¹, are to be found in our text of the Bhāratīyānāṭyaśāstra²; in adhyāya 17 thereof, the different languages have been treated, and in stanzas 6-23 there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prākṛit grammar. Besides, in chapter 32 of the work there is a number of examples in Prākṛit, and all these are thoughtlessly distorted. A second work, that is ascribed to Bharata, is Saṅgītanṛtīyākara.³ According to DEVIPRASĀDA⁴ this work is very rare. There are found hardly any citations from that work, on the other hand, they are all from another recension of Nāṭyaśāstra. Mk. fol. 1 mentions Śākalya and Kohala side by side with Bharata. According to Mk. fol. 48 Śākalya, beside *tujjhesu* and *tumbhesu*, reads also *tujjhisu* and *tumbhisu*, which were not acceptable to many (*etat tu na bahusammatam*) and according to fol. 71, in Ś., beside *bhodi*, occurs also *hodi*⁵. The quotation from Kohala is given in § 23. It cannot be affirmed if both of them are identical with the ancient grammarians⁶. Likewise nothing can be said with certainty with regard to Pāṇini, who is credited with the authorship of Prākṛtalakṣaṇa, a Prākṛit grammar, by Kedārabhaṭṭa in Kavikaṇṭhapāśa⁷ and Malayagiri⁸. He is credited also with the authorship of two artificial epics, namely Pātālavijaya and Jāmbavatīvijaya⁹. In view of the fact that from the first are cited the forms *gṛhya* and *paīyatī* that go against Pāṇini's own rules 7, 1, 37, 81 KIELHORN¹⁰ and BHĀNDĀRKAR¹¹ are suspicious about the identity of the poet with the grammarian Pāṇini. But we know that the antiquity of the Indian artificial epics goes back to a period, far earlier than hitherto supposed¹² to be. The word *gṛhya* is quite common in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and likewise the forms of the participle ending in *-antī*, instead of those in *-antī*, are not rare.¹³ It is highly improbable to hypothesize that Pāṇini might not have known the Mahābhārata. His grammar does not codify the language of poetry, but the correct Skt. of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras,¹⁴ and it does not follow from this that many of the forms, that have not been mentioned in his grammar, either did not exist from before his time or that he, as a poet, could not use them. According to tradition Pāṇini, the poet, was identical with Pāṇini, the grammarian¹⁵, and I do not see any reason to doubt its correctness. It seems probable that Pāṇini, might have written a grammar of Prākṛit as well, and that perhaps as a supplement to his Skt. grammar which was the original work. However, the Prākṛit grammar of Pāṇini is said to be very bad. Along with the names of earlier writers Mk. fol. 171 mentions also one Kapila.

1. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 1f.—2. Besides the edition of ŚIVADATTA and PARAB (Bombay 1894=Kāvya-mālā 42), I have used both the MSS. of Pūnā; they are transcriptions from the same archetype and constitute the basis of the printed edition. The edition of GROSSET (Lyon 1897) extends up to the end of the fourteenth adhyāya only.—3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 396, 686.—4. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1883 (Allahabad 1884) p. 100f.—5. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2, 3.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 130 mentions one Kohala, who was a writer on music. He might have been identical with the Prākṛit grammarian. Cf. also WEBER IS. 8, 272f; I Str. 2, 59; B. R. s. v.—7. A work bearing this title is often referred to without any mention of its author (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 86: 2, 16). It is ascribed to Kedārabhaṭṭa by D'ALWIS; An introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo, 1863) p. xxv. Cf. WEBER, I Str. 2, 325, note 2.—8. WEBER, IS. I Str. 2, 325, note 2; IS. 10, 227, note 1, KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 472; LEUMANN, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885) 3, 2, 557 f.—9. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 14, 581 f; 28, 113; 36, 366 ff; Halāyudha s. v. skvan; PETERSON, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay 1886) p. 54ff., who has rightly remarked that both of them may have been the names of the same epic; FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 95ff. 316.—10. GN. 1885, 185ff.—11. JBoAS. 16, 343ff.—12. BÜHLER, Die indischen inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kinstpoesie. Wien 1890. Cf. BHĀNDĀRKAR I.c.—13. HOLZTMANN, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata (Leipzig. 1884); BÖHTLINGK. BKSGW. 1887, 213ff. on WHITNEY § 449. 990.—14. LIEBICH,

Pāṇini Leipzig 1891) p. 47 ff. The conclusion drawn by him from the Bhagavadgītā, p. 32 ff., as shown above, cannot be proved.—15. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36,365ff; FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 97f.

§ 32. The oldest of the Prākṛit grammars that we possess is Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci. Of the several persons bearing this name¹, the grammarian is distinguished from others by his gotra name, Kātyāyana. This appellation was given to him by the unknown² author of the commentary Prākṛtamañjarī, who in his introduction interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other, throughout, and under 2,2 uses the name Kātyāyana in lieu of Vararuci.³ This sort of inconsistency is noticeable also in the case of the name of Vararuci, the author of the Vārttika. That he also was called Vararuci is reported by Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara 2, 1, and Kṣemendra, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, 1, 68; 2, 15. Besides, the tradition goes as back as Gūṇādhyā⁴ and reaches down upto Sāyaṇa⁵, and the lexicographers⁶ fix it in the middle course. The anthology, Śaṅkarakāyaṇīya contains a stanza composed by the Vārttikakāra⁷, a term that can denote Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana alone⁸, and Patañjali, on Pāṇini, 4,3,101 (2,315 ed. KIELHORN) mentions *vāruṇam kāyaṇam*⁹. From this it appears probable that our Vārttikakāra was not a simple dry grammarian, but also a poet like his successor Patañjali¹⁰ and his predecessor Pāṇini (§ 31). This makes it clear that Kātyāyana could be confused with Vararuci, who, according to the tradition, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and was one of the nine jewels in the court of Vikramāditya¹¹. WEBER¹² has attributed the same sort of confusion also with regard to the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, and he¹³, WESTERGAARD¹⁴ and BLOCH¹⁵ have expressed the opinion on the question of identity of Vārttikakāra with the Prākṛit grammarian, that is against the view of COWELL¹⁶, MAXMÜLLER¹⁷, FISCHER¹⁸ and KONOW¹⁹. When even Vr. could be surpassed by Hc. and the south Indian grammarians in the art of criticism there is no reason to push him upwards, just on account of his critical acumen, upto Vārttikakāra, referred to above, "the stubborn castigator of Pāṇini"²⁰. By the time of Hc. Prākṛit grammar had already made great progress as compared with the time of Vr., and it is one thing to improve upon a work that has been ready from before and it is quite another to plan a work all new. After all it was a fact that Patañjali found one Kātyāyana to criticize and improve upon him. That the dialects taught by Vr., more particularly Māhārāṣṭrī, have forms that are phonetically much later than those of the language of the inscriptions of Aśoka and that of the Nāsika inscriptions proves nothing at all²¹. Because the Prākṛits are merely artificial dialects and existed by the side of the popular and the official dialects it is wholly wrong to draw a chronological sketch of the Prākṛit languages on the basis of the inscriptions. If the Sattasaī be the work of a single author, it is wholly wrong to suppose, as opined by JACOB and BLOCH, that Māhārāṣṭrī did not come into common use before the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The names of 318 poets that have been transmitted to us through the medium of this anthology alone presuppose that there existed from before a rich literature in Prākṛit (§13), which up to the time of Govardhanācārya, and therefore, till up to the 12th century A. D. was the only literary dialect employed in composing aphoristic musical stanzas, mostly depicting love themes, and written in the Āryā metre, that might have later been collected together in the form of an anthology.²² The Gitagovinda of Jayadeva goes back to an original work written in Apabhraṃśa²³; besides, it may be noted that several Sanskrit works, of course not rarely, are found to be just imitations of some earlier works in Prākṛit²⁴. The assumption of

BLOCH that Vr. could not have lived before the 5th century A. D. is not important on linguistic grounds. On the other hand, the possibility is not altogether ruled out that the author of *Prākṛtamañjarī*, confused the two Vararucis, although a reference in his work to the grammarian is to be taken less lightly than that in the work of the Tibetan Tārānātha. Then there is the tradition that Kātyāyana was a Prākṛit grammarian as well, and it seems to me that the name Vārttikāṇṇavabhāṣya, a work taken to be a grammar of Prākṛit and mentioned by Appayadikṣita, *Prākṛtamañḍipā* 5, among his sources of information, immediately after *vārarucā granthāḥ*, corroborates it. The identity of Kātyāyana with Vararuci can not naturally be looked upon as certain.

1. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,551.—2. In OPPERT, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, (Madras 1880. 1885) 1,290, No. 3426 and 2, 371, No. 6341 Kātyāyana is mentioned as the author.—3. PSICHEL, De gr. Pr. 10 f.—4. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 473.—5. COWELL, The Prākṛita-Prakāśa, Second Issue. Advertisement; PSICHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 9. Cf. also Prakriyākaumudiprasāda in BHĀNDARKAR, Report 1883/84. p. 362, 18.—6. B. R. s. v. Kātyāyana.—7. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 524.—8. PSICHEL, ZDMG. 39, 98. The Prākṛtamañjarī speaks about *mahākavi Kātyāyana*.—9. In what respect does this sort of reference to this *kāvya* in the Mahābhāṣya warrant the statement, "that this reference to bhagavān Kātyāy, as the author of this Kāvya, does not hold good for Vararuci as its author" WEBER, Istr. 3,227, I do not understand.—10. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 370.—11. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 474.—12. Istr. 3,378.—13. Istr. 2, 53 ff.; 3,27 ff.—14. Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Litteratur (Breslau 1862) p. 86.—15. Vr. und Hc. p. 9 ff.—16. The Prākṛita-Prakāśa, p. VI.—17. HASL. p. 148. 239 ff.—18.—De gr. Pr. p. 9. ff.—19. GGA. 1894, 473.—20. WEBER, Istr. 3,278.—21. WESTERGAARD I. c.; JACOBI, Erzählungen p. xiv f.; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 12f.—22. PSICHEL, Hofdichter p. 30.—23. PSICHEL, I. c. p. 22.—24. PSICHEL, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgāratilaka (Kiel 1886) p. 13 note 1.

§ 33. In any case, if Vararuci is not the oldest, he is one of the oldest Prākṛit grammarians. The title of his grammar is *Prākṛitaprakāśa*, that was edited with notes and translation by COWELL: *The Prākṛita Prakāśa: or The Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuci*, with the Commentary *Manoramā* of Bhāmaha. Second Issue. London 1868 (printed for the first time, Hertford, 1854). A reprint of the text has recently been brought out by RAMA SHASTRI TAILANGA (Benares 1899). Vr. treats in paricchedas 1-9, M., in 10, P., in 11, Mg., and in 12, Ś. In parts, the text has come down to us in a very mutilated condition and in several places its recensions differ strongly, and this goes to prove its antiquity¹. The oldest of its commentators was Bhāmaha, an inhabitant of Kashmir, who was also a rhetorician as well as poet². His time has been determined only to this extent that he was older than Udbhaṭa, who lived under the king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.) and wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of Bhāmaha³. Bhāmaha's commentary on the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* bears the title *Manoramā*⁴ and is lacking in pariccheda 12. Undoubtedly Bhāmaha misunderstood Vr. now and then. The most striking proof of this is furnished by 4, 14.⁵ It is uncertain if he had ever understood the *gaṇas*⁶ exactly as they were conceived by Vr. A distinction, that is to be seen throughout, has to be rigorously maintained between the sūtras and the commentary. We can just have an idea as regards the sources of information of Bhāmaha from the significant passages quoted by him. Such passages occur under Vr. 8,9; 9,2. 4-7. 9-17; 10, 4, 14; 11, 6. Of them, under 9,2 is given *hūm sāhasu⁷ sabbhāṣaṁ*=H. 453 (cf. the v. l.), where none of the MSS. has *hūm*. According to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 153) the writer of this stanza is Viṣṇunātha: under 9,9 occurs *kiṇo dhuvasi*=H. 369, it is also cited in Hc. 2,216, and according to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 120) it is of Devarāja. I cannot trace the remaining ones: the examples given under 10,4,14 have been taken from Bṛhatkathā. In 9,4 the Gāthās are generally referred to. A later

commentary is the *Prākṛtamañjari* of which the unknown author (cf. § 32, note 2) wrote it in verses and who was evidently a South Indian. The manuscript containing these verses utilized by me is in the Malayālam character : it belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, London⁸ and is incomplete and extends upto Vr. 6, 18. The author evidently knew *Bhāmaha*. The examples given by both of them mostly tally, nevertheless the number of examples quoted by the anonymous writer is often smaller than that of those given by *Bhāmaha*, though sometimes a few are added by him here and there ; his text differs in many places from that of *COWELL*.⁹ The commentary is not of a high value.

1. *COWELL* p. 97 ; *PISCHEL*, *De gr.* Pr. p. 10, 13 ; *BÜHLER*, *Detailed Report* p. 75 ; *HOERNLE*, *Proc. ASB.* 1879, 79f.—2. *AUFRECHT*, *IS.* 1 6, 207f : *Cat. Cat.* 1.405f ; *PETERSON* *Subhāṣitāvali* p. 79 ; *PISCHEL*, *Rudraṭa* p. 6f.—3. *PISCHEL*, *Rudraṭa* p. 13—4. *AUFRECHT*, *Cat. Cat.* 1. 360, wrongly calls it *Prākṛtamanoramā*. Wrong is also the statement that it is called *Prākṛtacandrikā* as well. Both the statements are based upon *KIELHORN*, *A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces* (Nagpur 1874) p. 84, No. 44. All the other sources quoted by *AUFRECHT* have *Manoramā*. The manuscript referred to by *HOERNLE*, *Proc. ASB.* 1879, 79f. ascribes it to *Vararuci* himself.—5. *BLOCH*, *Vr. und Hc.* p. 28.—6. It is not, therefore, certain that the *gaṇas* did never have a fixed number of words as was supposed by *BLOCH*, *Vr. und Hc.* p. 31. As in *Sanskrit*, so in *Prākṛit* as well, the schools were differing from one another.—7. We must read as such in lieu *sāhusu* in *COWELL* and *kadhehi sāhusu* in *TAILANGA*, and in the translation it is to be changed into *sādhusu*.—8. Noted by *AUFRECHT*, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 360.—The more important ones in *PISCHEL*, *De. Gr.* Pr. p. 10-16.

§ 34. The opinions differ very widely with regard to *Caṇḍa*, whose *Prākṛtalaṅkāraṇam* has been published by *HOERNLE* : *The Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam or Caṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prākṛit*. Part I. Text with a critical introduction and indexes. Calcutta, 1880. *HOERNLE* is of the view that *Caṇḍa* had treated *Ārṣa* (§ 16. 17). He bases his edition on the manuscripts AB, which give the least of the texts : he is of the opinion that MSS. CD contain later interpolations. He considers C. to be older than Vr. and Hc., and as such, generally speaking, he considers him to be the oldest of the known *Prākṛit* grammarians. Against this *BLOCH*¹ thinks "the grammar of *Caṇḍa* is an inaccurate and superficial abridgement of another work, may be perhaps even of *Hemacandra*." Both the views are incorrect. That *Caṇḍa* is not so old as he is considered to be by *HOERNLE* is proved by the introductory stanza 1, in which the author states that he will fashion his work on the basis of the views of the earlier writers (*vṛddhmatāt*). This stanza is found in all the manuscripts of *HOERNLE* as well as in *PETERSON*, *Third Report* (Bombay 1887) p. 265, and in *BHANDARKAR*, *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency*. Part I (Bombay 1893) p. 58, and, therefore, cannot persumably be considered, in agreement with *HOERNLE*, p. 1, note to be a later adaptation. It is doubtful as to how far the work can generally be considered to be an adaptation. It is true that the manuscript C, in the commentary, appears to have received many additions. But all the rules that C and D, rather B, C. and D, have in common, cannot be denied to be the original work. C evidently deals with M., JM., AMg. and JS. side by side. This is demonstrated by the rules; thus in 1, 5, the genitive in-*āṇam* is mentioned by the side of that in-*āhaṃ*; in 2, 10, the nominative in-*e* is taught close to that in-*o*; in 2, 19, the absolute in M., JM., AMg., JM. and JS' as well as in A. is treated; in 3, 11. 12 the rules relating to M. AMG., and JS' are combined into one². This peculiarity is noticeable to a far greater extent in C and D. Thus in 1, 26^a (p. 42) occurs A. *haū* by the side of *haṃ* and *āhaṃ*; in 2, 19, C and D add forms of M. and A. to those of the absolute of M. AMG., JM., JS' and

A; likewise in 2, 27^{a-1}, the forms of A. are preponderant and in 27^{1-k}, also of JS'; in 3, 6 (p. 48) the forms from JS', AMG., and JM. are mixed up together; 3, 11^a furnishes supplementary forms from CP. in addition to those given in 3, 11. 12. Hence the assertion that 3, 6 (p. 48) is fully in keeping with the characteristics of the work and that 3, 39^a is wrong may be an impossibility. Sometimes the additions appear to be going back to Hc. as the source: Thus the definition of Prākṛta in C. on 1, 1 is verbally Hc. 1, 1, but the former gives just the beginning; 1, 11^a (p. 36) is = Hc. 4. 353; 2, 1^c (p. 37) is = Hc. 1, 6, but the former is shorter; 3, 11^a (p. 48) corresponds to Hc. 4, 325, but here also the former is shorter. Thus everywhere C. is shorter, and in certain cases, such as in 3, 34 (p. 51) = Hc. 1, 177, in spite of so much of correspondences the distinction is so great that C. cannot be considered to be the borrower. As against what has been said above, it is noteworthy that Hc. 3, 81 seems to have referred to C. 1, 17 as noted by HOERNLE, p. XXII. There C. teaches that *se* is used also in the genitive plural, and Hc., 3, 81 remarks that some author desires the use of *se* in the genitive plural as well: *idantador āmāpi se ādeśam kaścīd icchati*. BLOCH³, in fact, is of the opinion that reference to C. by the singular form *kaścīd* in Hc. is indicative of the fact that no great importance is to be attached to him. But the entire thesis of BLOCH with regard to the manner of giving citations in Hc. and in other Indian grammarians is essentially wrong. When Hc. says *kaścīd* thereby he means to refer to one more authority. Besides, there is no grammarian other than C. who is known to have framed an identical rule; thus the greatest possibility is that in places where C. and Hc. have an identical rule the borrower is not C. but Hc. All other such cases have been correctly put together by HOERNLE p. XXIII.⁴ I shall, however, just add the example *caivīśam... pi...* given under C. 2, 12^a (p. 44) which is much more detailed in C. than in Hc. 3, 137. Further, the terminology employed by both of them is not identical throughout. Thus in C. 2, 1^b (p. 37) the vowel that remains after elision of a consonant is called *uddhṛta*, but in Hc. 1, 8 it is designated as *udvṛtta*; C. 2, 10 has Visarjanīya, but Hc. 1, 37 has Visarga; C. on 2, 15 (p. 45) uses Ardhānushvāra, but Hc. in 3, 7, Anunāśika; etc. Moreover, sometimes C. gives us quotations that Hc. does not have. Thus 2, 21. 22. 24; 3, 38. 39 where the second example given under 1, 1 (p. 39) is quoted also by Śiṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra, 2, 2 (§9); further those given under 2, 24 (p. 46), under 2, 27^b and 2, 27¹ (p. 47). In no way C. had desired to treat the Ārṣa dialect all alone. The so called archaisms, such as retention of *t*, *th*, the lengthening of the vowels in the endings *-ām*, *-īm*, *-ūm*, etc. are errors committed by the scribe like the so many errors that are quite common in Jaina MSS.⁵ Even in the case of the manuscripts of C. it is noteworthy that all of them do not mostly have such errors in them and seldom do they have these all in one and the same places. The dialect mainly taught by C. is M., and along with it he himself mentions expressly Apabhraṃśa in 3, 37, Pāśācīkī in 3, 38, Māgadhiḥ in 3, 39, Ārṣa in 2, 13^{a-b} (p. 44), which as already noted is referred to several times also in the A and B recensions; Śaurasēnī is mentioned 3, 39^a (p. 52). The example quoted in D 2, 1^c (p. 37) is = Gaṇḍavaho (p. 220) and is found also in Hc. 1, 6; the second example given in C and D under 1, 26^a (p. 42) *teṇ*aham viddho* is clearly Hāla 441⁶. Because these examples are not found in all the manuscripts, it is risky to depend on them for determination of the age of C. The text has been handed down to us in such a mutilated condition that it can be used only with great caution and that also after a careful examination of the variants. In any case this much seems to be certain that C. was older than Hc. and

was one of his authorities. The very fact that C. is preserved in several recensions goes to suggest his comparatively earlier antiquity. Differing from all other grammarians, C. begins with the nominal and pronominal flexion (*vichaktividhāna*): in the second section he treats the vowels (*svaravidhāna*) and in the third, the consonants (*vyañjanavidhāna*). The C and D recensions bifurcate the third section after 3, 36, and designate the remaining portion beginning from 3, 37 up to 3, 39^a the fourth section and give to it the heading *bhāṣāntaravidhāna* "Rules on the other languages"; corresponding to this name this section deals with the other Prākṛit dialects like M., JM., AMg, and JŚ., and therefore, it was wrong to consider this alone to be an entire work *Prākṛitabhāṣāntaravidhānā* as in BÜHLER (ZDMG. 42, 556) and BHĀṆDĀRKAR (Lists p. 58); BÜHLER and BHĀṆDĀRKAR call the author of this to be Candṛa.⁷ The extract quoted in BHĀṆDĀRKAR shows that they meant by it the same work. The introduction to C and D is certainly correct. Now there remains little scope for the doubt about this as the manuscript of BHĀṆDĀRKAR has the same colophon as in A and B. C. does not at all treat the verb; perhaps this is just the legacy of transmission of the text. That the grammar was really very short is suggested by one of its name, *Prākṛitasāroddhāravṛttiḥ*, which is given in the MS. in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 265.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—2. This could be applied to Ś. also in lieu of JŚ. But the very nature of the grammar, particularly 3, 6 in C and D (p. 48) refers to JŚ.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—4. That the forms were comprehended under 2, 27 (p. 47) by C. as those of common Prākṛit, as was considered by HOERNLE p. XXIII, is wrong. The stanza is composed in pure Apabhraṃśa. It has to be read as:—*kālu, laheviṇu joīd jīva jīva mohu galei tīva tīva damṣaṇu lahaī jo nīameṇ appu muṇci*, "the measure in which, with the passage of time he dissolves his delusion, the yogin, who comes to know the self by penance, attains enlightenment". *joīd* is not=*jāyāyah*, but=*yogikaḥ*=*yogī* from *yogin*.—5. On t cf. §203.—6. cf. §17, note 2.—7. Candṛa is the most authentic form of the name: by it we must never understand that it refers to Candṛa, i.e. Candragomin, (LIEBIG, Panini p. 11), since it has been proved that according to KIELHORN, IA. 15, 184 the terminology used by Candragomin is quite different from the one used by Candṛa.

§35. As a lexicographer of Pkt. there was the energetic Dhanapālā, whose dictionary of synonyms, the *Pāṇiyalacchī*, that is *Prākṛitalakṣmīḥ*, has been published by BÜHLER: The *Pāṇiyalacchī Nāmamālā*, a Prakṛit Kosha, by Dhanapālā, Edited with critical notes, an introduction and a glossary by GEORG BÜHLER, Göttingen, 1878 (=BB. 4, 70-166^a). According to his own statement (stanzas 276-278) Dhanapālā composed his work at Dhārā in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era=972 AD., that is during the period when Mānyakheta was sacked in a series of attacks by a Mālava prince, for his younger sister Sundarī.¹ In stanza 1, he calls his work a *Nāmamālā*, and in 278 he designates it as *Deśi*=*Deśī*. As already pointed out by BÜHLER (p. 11), the *Deśis* constitute only a quarter of the words of the lexicon, all others are either *tatsamas* or *tadbhavaḥ* (§8), and, therefore, this work is not of any great value.² It contains 279 stanzas in the Āryā metre, and the first one is the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and the last four constitute a statement of the event referred to above. Each object takes one complete strophe in stanzas 1-19, a verse in 20-94, a half verse in 95-202; the stanzas 203-275 contain single words that are explained sometimes by means of synonyms and sometimes by half of a verse. Dhanapālā is acknowledged by Hc., *Deśin*. 1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17 as one of the sources of his information. But sometimes the citations are not traceable at all in *Pāṇiyalacchī* (3, 22; 4, 30; 8, 17), or partly they do not accord with the statement of Hc. (1, 141; 6, 101). Therefore, rightly conjectures BÜHLER (p. 15) that Dhanapālā had written another work of the same³ type as well. After his conversion to Jainism Dh. wrote *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*.

1. Details in BÜHLER p. 5 ff.—2. BÜHLER p. 13ff.—3. Vide §20; BÜHLER p. 9; KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 445. On Dh.'s other literary activities see BÜHLER p 10; AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 27, 41; Cat. Cat. 1, 267.

§ 36 Of the Prākṛit grammars that have as yet come to light by far the most important is that of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.). His Prākṛit grammar constitutes the eighth section of the Siddhahemacandra, i. e. grammar dedicated to Siddharāja and written by Hemacandra¹, whereof the first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language. Hc. himself wrote thereupon a commentary in two recensions, one, the Br̥hātī—and the other, the Laghu-vṛtti²; of them the Laghuvṛtti bears the name Prakāśikā and has been printed in the editions of Mahābala Kṛṣṇa, Bombay, Saṁvat 1929, and PISCHEL : Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen (Siddhahemacandram Adhyāya VIII), herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Teil I. II. Halle a. S. 1877. 1880. On the Vṛtti, Udayasaubhāgyaganin wrote an etymological commentary, Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūdhikā, under the title Vyutpattidīpikā, (§29), and on the eighth chapter, Narendracandrasūri wrote a running commentary named Prākṛitaprabodha³. Hc. has divided his grammar into four sections : of them the first two are devoted to Phonetics, the third one contains rules on Morphology, in the fourth, under 1-258, he gives root-substitutes, the classification of roots that differ in conjugation from those of Sanskrit and detached rules for forming the passive, in rule No. 259 he makes certain observation on the meaning of roots: he deals with Śaurasenī in 260-286, Māgadhī in 287-302, Paisāci in 303-324, Cūlikāpaisācīkā in 325-328, Apabhraṁśa in 329-446, and finally in 447-448 he passes some general remarks. The language taught by Hc. in 1,1-4,259 is preponderantly M. But by the side of it he carries by force also JM. and occasionally even JS., and that without differentiating strictly between these dialects everywhere. In 260-286, he has in view also JS. (§21). Nothing can as yet be said about his predecessors whose works were utilized by Hc. in his grammar. He refers by name only to Hugga 1,186, not as a grammarian, but as a lexicographer⁴, and that with reference to Skt. only; otherwise he refers to his sources simply in general terms such as *kaścit* (2,80 : 3,81); *kecit* (1, 67. 209; 2, 80. 128. 138. 145. 188; 3, 19. 25. 103. 153); *anyaḥ* (3, 103. 117); *anye* (1, 35. 98; 2, 163. 174. 207; 3, 177); *anyaiḥ* (4, 2); *anyeṣāṁ* (4, 327) *eke* (1, 35). JACOBI⁵ is of the opinion that Hc. used the sūtras of Vr. as the basis of his grammar in the same manner as Bhaṭṭojidikṣita had the sūtras of Pāṇini the basis of his Siddhāntakaumudī. The sūtras of Vr. were irrefutably held in high esteem, and their exposition, relatively restricted, had become the main problem for Prākṛit grammarians. That Hc. stands to Vr. in a relation similar to that of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini is all wrong⁶, as has been shown in detail by BLOCH⁷. We cannot determine with certainty if Hc. has even utilized the work Vr. at all. It is just probable that he may have done so, but it cannot be proved. It has already been noted above (§34) that presumably he knew Caṇḍa. Besides his grammar, Hc. has written also a dictionary of Deśis, the Deśināmamālā or the Deśiśabdasamgraha, that was designated as Rāyaṇāvalī = Skt. Ratnāvalī, by the author himself (8,77). According to the evidence available at pp. 1, 4ff. he wrote it after his grammar, and according to 1, 3 he wrote a supplement also to it. The text has been published by PISCHEL : The Deśināmamālā of Hemchandra, Part I. Text and critical notes. Bombay, 1880⁸. Like Dhanapāla (§35) Hc. also included tatsamas and tadbhavas under Deśi, but in proportion to the volume of the work their number is very small, and for a knowledge of Prākṛit it is extraordinarily essential. The Deśināmamālā is divided into alphabetically

arranged eight vargas. The words are divided into two classes. In the beginning occur the words arranged according to the number of syllables that have one meaning (*ekārthāḥ*), then follow the similarly arranged ones having more than one meaning (*anekārthāḥ*). To the first class of words are added illustrative examples in verses which were composed by Hc. himself; most of them are silly : it was so because Hc. was obliged to collect together in single verses words of different meanings. They serve as mnemotechnical auxiliaries and contain sometimes, by the side of Deśis, furthermore, the words and forms that are not usually included in Pkt. Besides, it is not rarely that this book helps us in ascertaining the exact meaning of several Deśi words⁹. Hc. has written a commentary to his Deśin. as well. He makes no claim that his work is not based on other sources, on the other hand, he admits that his work is nothing but a compilation from earlier works of similar pattern. In 1, 37 he leaves the problem of deciding whether *ambasamī* or *ambamasī* is the correct form to the learned, (*ambamasīti keci paṭhanti tatra keśām cid bhramobhrahmo veti bahudṛṣṭvāna eva pramāṇam*); in 1, 41 he is not clear either with regard to the form or the meaning of *acchi-harullo* and that because even authors differ from one another he leaves it to the well informed ones to decide (*tad evaṃ granthakṛdvipratipattlau bahujñāḥ pramāṇam*); in 1, 47 he distinguishes between the words *avaḍāhia* and *avaḍakkia*, which others have explained as synonyms on the basis of observation of the materials found in the best writings on Deśis (*asmābhis tu sāradeśinirikṣaṇena vivekaḥ kṛtaḥ*); in 1, 105 he firmly holds that *uddukia* in lieu of *uttukia* remains due to scribe's error; likewise in 6, 8 *bora* occurs in lieu of *cora*. In support of his own decision he refers to many works in Deśi in 2, 28; to the best writings in it in 3, 12. 33; in 8, 12 he scolds modern writers on Deśi and their commentators; in 8, 13 he leaves again the decision to judicious people (*kevalam saḥjdayāḥ pramāṇam*). After 1, 2 the merit of the work lies in its alphabetical arrangement. According to 1, 49 he does it for students. He refers by name to *Abhimānaci-hna* (1, 144; 6, 93; 7, 13; 12. 17); *Avantisundarī* (1, 81. 157); *Devarāja* (6, 58. 72; 8, 17); *Droṇa* or *Droṇacārya* (1, 18. 50; 6, 7; 8, 17); *Dhanapāla* (1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17); *Gopāla* (1, 25. 31. 45; 2, 82; 3, 47; 6, 26. 58. 72; 7, 2. 76; 8, 1. 17. 67); *Pādalipta* (1, 2); *Rāhulaka* (4, 4); *S'ilāṅka* (2, 20; 6, 96; 8, 40); *Sātavāhana* (3, 41; 5, 11; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125). Of them, *Abhimānaci-hna*, *Devarāja*, *Pādalipta* and *Sātavāhana* appear also as Prākṛit poets in the *Sattasāi* (§13) as well; about *Avantisundarī* BÜHLER¹⁰ conjectures that she might have been identical with *Sundarī*, the younger sister of *Dhanapāla*, for whom he wrote *Pāiyalacchī*. When she herself could write and actually wrote on Deśi it appears improbable. Rather she might have been identical with *Avantisundarī*, the wife of *Rājasekhara*, on whose inducement, according to Karp. 7, 1, the *Karpūramañjarī*, a drama wholly written in Prākṛit, was presented on the stage and in fact it is she who is cited by Hc. in his grammar. *Rāhulaka* is referred to as a Sanskrit poet in *Śaraṅgadharapaddhati* and *Subhāṣitāvali*. From among the writers in Sanskrit Hc. refers by name to *Kālāpāḥ* (1, 6), *Bharata* (8, 72), *Bhāmaha* (8, 39), and without naming him he cites *Halāyudha* (1, 5; 2, 98). Mostly he refers to his sources in some general terms: thus *anye* (1, 3. 20. 22. 35. 47. 52. 62. 63. 65. 66. 70. 72. 75. 78. 87. 89. 99. 100. 102. 107. 112. 151. 160. 163; 2, 11. 12. 18. 24. 26. 29. 36. 45. 47. 50. 51. 66. 67. 69. 77. 79. 89. 98; 3, 3. 6. 8. 28. 40. 41. 58. 59.; 4, 3. 4. 6. 7. 18. 22. 23. 26. 33. 44. 47; 5, 9. 30. 33. 36. 40. 45. 50. 61;

6, 14. 15. 16. 21. 24. 25. 26. 28. 42. 48. 53. 54, 61. 63. 75. 81. 86. 88. 91. 93. 94. 97. 99. 105. 106. 116. 121. 132. 134. 140. 145; 7, 2. 16. 17. 18. 21. 31. 33. 37. 44. 45. 48. 62. 68. 69. 74. 75. 76. 88. 91; 8, 10. 15. 18. 22. 27. 35. 36. 38. 44. 45. 59. 67); *eke* (2, 89; 4, 5. 12; 6, 11; 7, 35; 8, 7); *kaseit* (1, 43; 2, 18; 3, 51; 5, 13; 8, 75); *kecit* (1, 5. 26. 34. 37. 41. 46. 47. 67. 79. 103. 105. 117. 120. 129. 131. 153; 2, 13. 15. 16. 17. 20. 29. 33. 38. 58. 87. 89; 3, 10. 12. 22. 23. 33. 34. 35. 36. 44. 55; 4, 4. 10. 15. 45; 5, 12. 21. 44. 58; 6, 4. 55. 80. 90. 91. 92. 93. 95. 96. 110. 111; 7, 2. 3. 6. 47. 58. 65. 75. 81. 93; 8, 4. 51. 69. 70); *pūrvācāryāḥ* (1, 11. 13); *yad āha* (1, 4. 5 [Halāyudha]. 37. 75. 121. 171; 2, 33. 48. 98 [Halāyudha]; 3, 23. 54 [Skt.]; 4, 4. 10. 21. 24. 45; 5, 1. 63; 6, 15. 42. 78. 81. 93. 140. 142; 7, 46. 58. 84; 8, 1. 13. 43. 68); *yad āhuḥ* (1, 5; 3, 6; 4, 15); by some other expressions (1, 18. 94. 144. 174; 3, 33; 4, 37; 6, 8. 58. 93; 8, 12. 17. 28). In spite of so much of care taken by him in utilization of the writings of his so many predecessors Hc. could not always avoid gross blunders, for the simple reason that he drew his materials from secondary sources: Thus in 2, 24 he says that *kaṇṭhadināra* means "an opening in a fence" (*vytivivara*), and again in 6, 67 he teaches that *paero* also means "an opening in a fence" (*vytivivara*), in addition to "a particular ornament" (*kaṇṭhadināra*). Clearly he read somewhere in some verse referred to in 6, 67 the nom. *kaṇṭhadināro*, in lieu of the locative *re*, and with the help thereof he construed 2, 24; but later he found the correct reading of 6, 67 and gave the right meaning, but he did not take notice of the error committed by him earlier. *kaṇṭhadināra* is certainly an ornament made from Denar that is worn about the neck. *poālo* "steer" (6, 62) is really the same word as *vovālo* (7, 79) which as a second member of a compound needed its preceding form.¹¹ As far as I can see the Deśin. constitutes an "authority of the first rank"¹² that shows to us that there still remains much to be known about the valuable contributions made in Indian languages and that we still do not know much about the rich literature that exists in Prākṛit.

1. BÜHLER, Ueber das Leben Das Jaina Mönches Hemachandra (Wien 1889) p. 15.—2. BÜHLER, l.c. p. 72, note 31.—3. In AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360 the author is said to be Naracandra. According to PETERSON, Det. Report (1883) p. 127. No. 300 and BHĀNDĀRKAR, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888) p. 328, No. 300 he calls himself Narendracandrasūri. The MS. was lent out when I wanted to utilize it.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 186; ZACHARIAE, GGA, 1889, 996, note 1; Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kos'a) (Strassburg 1897; Grundriss 1. 38) p. 7; Epilogomena zu der Ausgabe des Maṅkhakośa (Wien 1899) p. 17 ff. 5. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1876, 797.—6. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 145.—7. Vr. und Hc. p. 21 ff.—8. Found by BÜHLER, IA. 2, 17 ff. 9. BÜHLER had desired to publish the second part that would have contained the dictionary, FISCHER Deśin. p. 8.—10. Pāyālacchī-p. 7ff.—11. Another example in SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 2, 1109.—12. SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, l.c.

§37. Undetermined remains the age of Kramadīśvara. Scholars have attempted to place him between Hc. and Bopadeva. ZACHARIAE¹ has correctly remarked that we cannot prove that Kī. lived later than Hc. and that we do not find any strong reason to support the untenable proposition that Kī. had written his grammar before Hc. Kī.'s grammar Saṁkṣiptasāra, like that of Hc., is divided into eight chapters (pādas), whereof the last chapter deals with the Pkt. languages. This is a thing that also is in agreement with Hc. But in other respects the two grammars have nothing in common. The arrangement and the technical terms are altogether different.² As regards the antiquity of Kī. it is noteworthy that a quotation in his Skt. grammar cannot be dated earlier than the eighth and later than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The latest of the authors cited by him is Murāri,³ about whom we now definitely know that he was anterior to Ratnākara,⁴ the author of Haravijaya,⁴ who lived in about the middle of the ninth century A.D. With respect to finding the latest limit

to the age of Kī. it may be noted that he, like some later grammarians, gives names of more dialects than those mentioned by Hc. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 15 ff. 393. 440 ff. 449 ff., Appendix 39-58, was the first scholar to give a detailed account of Kī. The chapter on the Root has been published by DELIUS: *Radices Pracriticae* (Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839) pp. 10-12. A complete edition of the *Prākṛtapāda* is said to have been published by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA in the *Bibliotheca Indica-Series*.⁵ It could not be possible for me to procure it. I have before me pp. 17-24 of the text and pp. 141-172 of the Word-Index, from *bhāduko* up to *saddāviadi*,⁶ and pp. 1-8 of the English translation. If I am allowed to draw my conclusion on the basis of the proof-sheets I shall say that the edition had been very bad. A new edition of the eighth pāda had been printed in Calcutta, 1889. I got it through the courtesy of BLOCH, and it is from this that I have given the quotations in this grammar. This too is a very bad edition, and therefore, I have constantly taken into consideration the extracts given in LASSEN. Kī. closely follows Vr., but has, as the review given in LASSEN. *Inst.*, App. pp. 40. ff. demonstrates, certain deviations that point to some other source, thus for instance his treatment of A. is well in contrast to that of Vr. Kī. himself wrote a short commentary to his *Samkṣiptasāra*, wherof the *Rasavatī* of Jumarānandin is a careful exposition and elucidation.⁷ The *Prākṛtadīpikā* of Caṇḍidevaśarman⁸ is a second commentary on the *Prākṛtapāda* only. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁹ names a third one: The *Prākṛtapādaṭīkā* of Vidyāvinoda "son of Nārāyaṇa, grand'son of Vāṇeśvara, and great grand'son of Jaṭādhara". He is followed by AUFRECHT,¹⁰ who, as already remarked elsewhere¹¹, calls the author Vidyāvinodācārya. I had utilized the Oxford MS. as the *Samkṣiptasāra* had, by then, not been printed.¹² The introduction, that RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA has published on the basis of a MS. that is better than that of AUFRECHT, seems to suggest that at the end of the different chapters and in the colophon the author calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya and admits that he has annotated upon an older writing of Nārāyaṇa, son of Bāṇeśvara, who was a son of Jaṭādhara, and perhaps whose brother's name was Sumeru. Nārāyaṇa had written a bigger work, but that was destroyed by a wicked man: the work that is before us is an abridgement of the work of Vidyāvinoda.¹³ It has nowhere been mentioned in the work itself that the *Prākṛtapāda* is a commentary on Kī. In the subscripts the author always calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya¹⁴ and his work *Prākṛtapāda*; thus it is still doubtful if the edition of RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA is authentic. The author follows Vr. most closely, but his work is devoid of any of his merits.

1. BB. 5, 26.—2. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 26. At the end of the eighth Pāda Kī. treats briefly Metrics and Rhetorics.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 58.—4. PETERSON, *Subhāṣitāvalī* p. 91.—5. cf. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Part first. Grammar.* (Calcutta 1877) p. 75; BHĀṆḌĀRAJ, JBoAS. 16, 250.—6. This note does not belong to the book proper, rather it contains a number of Prākṛit words quoted from Vr., Mṛch., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn., Veṇi., Mālatīm, Uttar., Mahāv., Cait., Piṅgala, and Sāhityadarpaṇa.—7. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 15; ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 22 f.; AUFRECHT, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 684.—8. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 16; AUFRECHT, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 684.—9. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* 4, 162 ff. (Calcutta 1878).—10. *Cat. Cat.* 1, 684.—11. *Cat. Oxon.* p. 181.—12. *De gr. Pr.* p. 19.—13. The introduction is very much obscure, and it is doubtful if the foregoing explanation is correct. Cf. AUFRECHT, *Cat. Oxon.* p. 181. In the *Cat. Cat.* 2, 212, AUFRECHT has the explanation quoted by me, and that clearly in following PETERSON's *Ullar Catalogue* that is not available. The work is there designated simply as *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa*.

§38. Fully depending on Hc. is Trivikramadeva in the commentary to his *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa*. He was a son of Mallinātha and grand'son of Ādityavarman. I have utilized two MSS. of his work, the one, a transcription of the Tanjore MS. preserved in the India Office Library, Burnell

Collection. No. 84 in Grantha, and the other, a Devanāgarī transcription of the Tanjore MS. No. 10006 collated in the Sūtra with 10004¹, that BURNELL had arranged to be prepared for me, besides the printed edition in the Granthapradarsanī Series, Nos. 1-32. It extends up to the end of the first adhyāya only. In his grammar² Triv. has employed an especial type of technical terms that he has explained in the beginning of the work.³ From 1,1,17 he, in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras, has everywhere verbally followed Hc. whom in the introduction he mentions as his authority, so much so that I have referred to him very rarely. In my edition of Hc., I have sometimes quoted the corresponding rules from his grammar in the margin. His special contributions are the topics 1, 3, 106; 1, 4, 121; 2, 1, 30; 3, 1, 132 and 3, 4, 71 in which he has collected together the words that cannot be regulated according to the rules of grammar and, in a great measure, belong to the category of Deśi; thus for instance in 3, 4, 71 they are expressly designated deśyāḥ. I have published and reviewed the first two chapters in BB. 325 ff.; 6, 84 ff.; 13, 1 ff. The age of Trivikrama has been determined to the extent that he lived after Hc. (+1172 A. D.) and before Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha inasmuch as he in his commentary on Pratāparudrīya of Vidyānātha (ed. Madras 1668) refers to him by name in 218, 21 and without naming in 62, 19 ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4⁴ Pratāparudra II, to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295 to 1323 A. D.⁵ In 123, 1 ff. Kumārasvāmin describes the coronation of Pratāparudra as having taken place long ago (*purā kila*). His father Kolācala Mallinātha cites Bopadeva,⁶ who lived in the court of Mahādeva of Devagiri,⁷ who ruled from 1260 to 1271 A. D.⁸ Thus we see that the hypothesis of AUFRECHT that Mallinātha could not have lived before the 14th century A. D.⁹ is confirmed. Therefore, Trivikrama may well be placed in the 13th century.

1. BURNELL, Classified Index 1.43.—2. Trivikrama is the author of the Sūtras as well. In De gr. Pr. p. 29, I had wrongly interpreted *nija* in *nijasūtramārgam* as referring to Trivikrama himself. The title of the work is Prākṛtavayākaraṇa and not 'vṛtti as is shown by an inscription that occurs in the commentary itself.—3. Communicated by FISCHER, De gr. Pr. pp. 34-37.—4. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 38.—5. SEWELL, A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India (Madras 1883), p. 33.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 113.—7. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 616.—8. SEWELL, Lc. p. 114.—9. Cat. Oxon. p. 113.

§39. Simharāja, the son of Samudrabandhayajvan, based his Prākṛtarūpāvatāra on the grammar of Trivikramadeva. Of this work, I have utilized two manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London: one of them, i.e. No. 159, is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Malayalam character, and the other, i.e. No. 57, is a paper manuscript in the same character: the latter is a transcription of the former. Simharāja, following the style of Kaumudī, has arranged the grammar of Trivikrama. It begins, after a brief description of the technical terms (*saṃjñāvivbhāga*, *paribhāṣāvivbhāga*) and a *saṃhitāvivbhāga* on the *saṃdhi* and *lopa*, immediately with declension (*subantavivbhāga*; fol. 4-46), whereunder he treats the indeclinables as well; then follows the conjugation (*tiṅantavivbhāga*; fol. 46-59) and the appendix on *dhātuvādeśa*, to which are added the rules for Ś., Mg., P. CP. A. (*śaurasenyaḍvivbhāga*; fol. 59-74). He provides with a paradigm for each class of noun: *vṛkṣa* for the *a*-stems, *agni* for the *i*-stems, *taru* for the *u*-stems, *khalapū* for the *ū*-stems and *bhrātṛ* for the *y*-stems. He further demonstrates the method of forming Prākṛit stems from these words and teaches the endings and the process of combining them. He treats the feminine and neuter nouns ending in vowels and consonants, the pronouns *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, the verbs whereof he gives *has* and *sah* as paradigms in the same manner.¹ The Prākṛtarūpāvatāra is not an unimportant treatise for a knowledge of declension and conjugation, particularly because some-

times Sr. gives more forms than do Triv. and Hc., though it is true that many of such forms are possible in theory only, but in view of the fact that they are formed strictly according to the rules they are not devoid of interest. Following the method of Sr. on the sūtras of Triv., Raghunāthaśarman has rearranged the sūtras of Vr. in the Prākṛtānanda.² Similar is the treatment of Lakṣmīdhara in Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā³ and of the wholly recent writer Nāgobā in Ṣaḍbhāṣā-subantarūpādarśa, a "superficial tract"⁴ on declension.

1. Details in PISCHEL, *De gr. Pr.* p. 39-43.—2. HOERNLE, *Proc. ASB.* 1888o, 100 ff.—3. BURNELL, *Classified Index* p. 43. Cf. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 11-15.—4. BURNELL *l.c.* p. 44.

§40. For a knowledge of the dialects other than M. JM. AMg. JS'. important is the Prākṛtasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. I have utilized two of its manuscripts. One of them belongs to the India office and is written on palm-leaves in the Nāgarī character. It is Mackenzie MS. No. 70, foll 98. It has wooden binding whereupon was formerly inscribed Piṅgalavyākaraṇa (Nāgarī script) and Pengale Prakrota Surva Bhala Vakaraṇaḥ (Roman script). There was also an endorsement that has by now disappeared: it read as Pengala praukrota Surva Bhausha Vyacaranum. The following line occurs on the first leaf in the Nāgarī script: *śrīrāmaḥ¹ piṅgalaprākṛtasarvasvabhāṣāvyākaraṇam*. The second is the Oxford MS. mentioned in AUFRECHT, *Cat. Oxon.* p. 181 No. 412. Both the manuscripts are of the same source and are hopelessly so much corrupt that they can be utilized only in parts. Particularly for Ś. it is deplorable that it is so in view of the fact that Mk. has given more details about this dialect than they are to be found in the grammar of any other writer and that Mk. has drawn a line of sharp distinction between Ś. and M. MK. has been referred to according to the London MS. that I could use once again at Halle through the courtesy of TAWNEY. From the colophon of the MS. that has been published by AUFRECHT, *l.c.* it is proved that MK. wrote this work in Orissa during the period of reign of one Mukundadeva. AUFRECHT conjectures that this refers to Mukundadeva, who, according to STERLING, ruled in 1664 A.D. But we can say nothing about his age with certainty. MK. in the introduction mentions as an authority one Vasantarāja in addition to Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci and Bhāmaha (§§31-33). This refers to Vasantarāja, the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, which, as assumed by COWELL¹ and AUFRECHT,² is not a commentary on Vr., but is an independent work that follows Vr. It has been cited by Vāsudeva on Karp. 9, 11, ed. Bombay: *taduktam prākṛtamañjivinyām prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṁskṛtam yonih* (§1). That this Vasantarāja is identical with the king Kumāragiri Vasantarāja,³ the brother-in-law of Kāṭeyavema⁴, seems to me⁵ to be very much possible. This Kāṭeyavema is mentioned as the author of a Nāṭyaśāstra, Vasantarājīyam,⁶ hence his occupation with Pkt. seems to be very much probable. We have the inscriptions of Kāṭeyavema dated 1391, 1414 and 1416 A.D.⁷ If the two Vasantarājas were identical in all events the age of MK. must have been later than the first quarter of the 15th century. Vasantarāja, who wrote Śākuna, is, with HULTZSCH,⁸ to be differentiated from the Prākṛit grammarian. MK. mentions in his work one Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Bhojadeva, Daṇḍin, Hariścandra, Kapila, Piṅgala, Rājaśekhara, Vākpatirāja, the Saptasatī and the Setubandha⁹ as well. Chronologically the youngest of the above-mentioned authors is Bhojadeva, the writer of Rājamrgāṅka, the famous treatise on Karaṇa. He lived in about Śaka-Samvat 964=1042-3 A.D.¹⁰ MK. begins with a preamble containing an introduction on the Prākṛit dialects from which all that is essential has been detailed in the foregoing paragraphs; in the beginning

he describes M. in 8 pādas (fol. 4^b—65^b). This section, that is the largest one, is divided on the model of Vr., is less exhaustive than Hc. and is in many respects independent. Then follows Ś. in the 9th pāda (fol. 65^b—72^b) that is divided into 9 prakaraṇas. Prācyā is described in the 10th pāda, Āvantī and Bāhlikī in the 11th, and Mg. with a reference to AMg. in the 12th (§3). The entire section, pādas 9-12, bears the title Bhāṣāvivecanam. It is followed in pādas 13-16 by *vibhāṣāḥ* (§3), in 17-18 by A., and in 19-20 by P. A portion of the 17th pāda has been anticipated in the 13th pāda, and this has not altered the numbering of the folios. Next to Saurasenī the language described most accurately is Apabhraṃśa. Unfortunately the condition of the MS. is so deplorable that it is not possible to utilize fully the valuable materials contained in it.

1. Vr. p. x f.—2. Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—3. That Kumāragiri was the name of the king and his surname was Vasantarāja shows EI. 4, 318 ff. Cf. particularly HULTZSCH, p. 327.—4. The name Kāṭeyavema was established by me first of all, GN. 1873, 201 f. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 237 changes the correct name into a wrong one, i.e. to Kātavema. The inscriptions, EI. 4, 318 ff., do not leave any doubt about the name.—5. De gr. Pr. p. 18. From the fact that Kāṭeyavema, in his commentary on the drama Prākṛta-mañjarī, does not mention this it can not be concluded that in case both the persons are identical Vasantarāja wrote his commentary after his treatise on Rhetorics and later than K.—6. De gr. Pr. p. 18; EI. 4, 327, strophe 17.—7. HULTZSCH, EI. 4, 328.—8. Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna nebst Text proben (Leipzig 1879) p. 29.—9. PSCHHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 17.—10. THIBAUT, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (Strassburg 1899; Grundriss III. 9) § 37.

§41. Very much similar to the grammar of Mārkaṇḍeya, particularly in the section on the dialects other than M., is the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmatarkavāgīśa. The only known MS. of this work, the Bengali manuscript No. 1106 of the India Office, is so much mutilated that it can scarcely be utilized. LASSEN has dealt with it in Inst. p. 19-23. From p. 20 it is proved that Rv. worked on the model of an earlier treatise of Laṅkeśvara, whereby is meant the Prākṛtakāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa, that is known also as Prākṛtalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa, or shortly also as Laṅkeśvara.¹ Of the Prākṛtakāmadhenu we have as yet found only fragments². If this Laṅkeśvara be identical with the author of Śivastuti which has been published in the Kāvya-mālā 1, 6-8, he is older than Appayadikṣita, who in the Kuvalayānanda, 73, 1 (ed. Benares saṁvat 1928), cites³ its fifth stanza; therefore, his age must have been earlier than the close of the 16th century A.D.⁴ and later than that of Rāmatarkavāgīśa. A worthless selection from Trivikrama is Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā of Narasimha, whereof the beginning⁵ has been published as Nos. 3.4 in the Grantha-pradarśanī Series. Besides the famous treatises there exist a large number of manuscripts. We know nothing about many of them except their titles and the names of the authors, or only one of the two. Subhacandra wrote one Śabdacintāmaṇi, which, according to HOERNLE⁶ contains two adhyāyas, each of which has four pādas, and essentially follows Hc. Like the South Indian Trivikramadeva and Siṃharāja (§38. 39) he begins his grammar with a number of Saṃjñāsūtras. Perhaps it is this very work that is referred to by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁷ as Audāryacintāmaṇi and is ascribed to one Subhasāgara.⁸ An incomplete work in verses with a prose commentary is the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa, from which PETERSON, Third Report p. 342-348, has given extracts. According to 343, 5 his teacher was Nṛsimha, or according to 348, 21 Narasimha, whereby perhaps the author of Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā is to be understood. According to 343, 6 it was written for children (*śiṣūhitam kurve prākṛtacandrikām*), according to 343, 19 he seems to hold Ārṣam to be identical with M., because he does not mention them there notwithstanding the fact that

he treats them all separately. The illustrative examples quoted by him show that he had utilized Hc. thoroughly well. His quotations from different dialects and their assignment to individual characters, pp. 346-348, are in the greatest measure taken word for word from earlier authors, like Bharata and Bhojadeva. Recent is Bhāradvāja p. 348. A Prākṛtacandrikā was written by Vāmanācārya, who calls himself Karaṇjakavisārvabhauma and is the author of a commentary on the Prākṛtapiṅgala as well.⁹ A compendium for beginners is Prākṛtamaṇḍipā of Appayadikṣita,¹⁰ the polyhistor, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmidhara, Bhoja, Puṣpanātha, Vararuci, a Vārtikārnabhāṣya and also Appayajvan (§32) as his authorities. In fact, however, his work is nothing better than an all incomplete extract from Trivikrama devoid of all of its merits; a small portion of it, i.e. up to 1, 4, 99 has been published as Nos. 3. 5. 6. 8-10. 13 in the Granthapradarśanī Series. Elsewhere are referred to Prākṛtakauṇḍī,¹¹ a Prākṛtavvyākaraṇa of Samantabhadra¹², etc. A Bhāṣārṇava was written by Candrasekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, according to Sāhityadarpaṇa 174, 2: Candrasekhara refers to one Prākṛtasāhityaratnākara in his commentary on Śakuntalā 175, 24, ed. FISCHER, where under 180, 5 he quotes one Bhāṣābheda, which perhaps was a work on Prākṛit. From Deśiprakāśa, quotes Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcch. 14, 5 p. 244, ed. STENZLER=40, 5 p. 503, ed. GODABOLE: *kāṇeli kanyakāmātā*. In the works of the scholiasts are found here and there Prākṛit Sūtras whereof it is not possible to trace the source.

1. To me this seems to be a reasonable statement. In RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 9, 239. No. 3157 the author is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as Rāvaṇa, and the colophon reads as *iti rāvaṇakṛtā prākṛitakāmadhenuḥ samāptā*. In No. 3158 in the colophon the author calls it Prākṛitāṇkeśvararāvaṇa. LASSEN, Inst. p. 9. considers according to COLEBROOKE, Prākṛitāṇkeśvara to be the name of the work, which according to him is different from Prākṛitakāmadhenu, whose authorship, he, in agreement with LEYDEN, ascribes to Vidyāvinoda. In Rāmataṛkāṅgīśa (LASSEN, Inst. p. 20) the author is said to be Laṇkeśvara. The author of Śivastuti and Kālāgnirudropaniṣad (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 542) is also so named. It is clearly a synonym of Rāvaṇa. That this Rāvaṇa "is obviously distinct from the ten-headed monster" as he is usually believed to be can with RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA be easily accepted. 2. The Nos. 3157 and 3158 of the Notices 9, 238 f. clearly contain different parts of the same work, which, according to 239, 5-6, seems to be a selection from a larger work. The first section seems to be treating the Apabhraṃśa of Piṅgala.—3. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Kāvyaṃālā 1, 7, note 1.—4. Kāvyaṃālā 1, 91 note 1; EI. 4, 271.—5. According to AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 81 it could be considered that the work existed in a complete form. Up till now only 8 pages have been printed.—6. I A. 2, 29.—7. Proc. ASB. 1875. 77.—8. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 952.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 337. 360. 564. From RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 4, 172, No. 1608 it is proved that Prākṛitacandrikā is an earlier and more voluminous work.—10. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 22; 2, 5, who has erred in respect of time. HUTZSCH, Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India 1, 67, No. 265 assigns the work to Cinabhōmmabhūpāla, as is proved also by the Colophon. Cf. also the printed edition pp. 21. 27.—11. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—12. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 361.

§42. With regard to the merit of the native grammarians of Prākṛit BLOCH has arrived at a quite wrong decision that he has summarized in four sentences: "1) Since we do not possess any manuscript of so earlier a time and presumably because we shall never come by any of them we alone can utilize the grammarians of Pkt. for our purpose. 2) The only means to check the correctness of their statements are our MSS. 3) In places where our MSS. differ from their statement it is the latter that is to be considered wrong till a verification is made with the help of some good MSS. 4) We should not admit that such forms of our MSS. as they pass over in silence did not exist in their time. The argumentum ex

silentio is not valid for any of the Pkt. grammarians." It is only the fourth hypothesis that is partly correct, the other three are basically wrong. The grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the MSS; but the MSS. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. In this connection I may refer to the remarks made above (§§ 22-25) with regard to Ś. Mg. Śākāri and Dhakkī. Only with the help of the statements of the grammarians we shall be able to draw an outline sketch of these dialects: the manuscripts are mostly disappointing. According to BLOCH², for example, the circumstance that Rohasena, the son of Cārudatta, speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., according to Pṛthivīdhara, but Ś. in STENZLER, should prove how little the scholiasts are to be relied upon. But it has already been shown above (§ 23, note 2) that such vestiges in the MSS. are not contributions of the scholiasts. Up to the time of publication of my edition of the Śakuntalā it was accepted that Sarvadāmana, pp. 155-162 spoke Ś. if no notice was taken of 155, 15; 158, 15 ed. CHE'ZY. The critical notes in my edition show the vagueness of these vestiges of Mg., and notwithstanding this, nobody doubts to-day that against the majority of the MSS. Mg. has to be reconstructed here. CAPPELLER³, therefore, had quite correctly drawn a parallel between Sarvadāmana and Rohasena. Surely it is true that the teachings of the grammarians require a detailed examination and further elaboration⁴. Besides, I do not find any reason to revise my opinion on Hc.⁵ Moreover, we should never forget that up to the present time only a small portion of the literature that the grammarians had before them has come to be known and that works like those of Hc. are based upon several earlier works. The few specimens of JŚ. (§21) make forthwith so much of disclosure for us regarding the sources from which Hc. came by the forms, in the section on Ś., that were not known to the older grammarians and were not found in the dramas. LASSEN, in 1837, could cover an endless number of forms from the grammarians alone, the forms that, to-day in a great measure, are abundantly found in literature, and I think that in course of time we, in our turn, shall have the same experience about ourselves. It is true that through carelessness the grammarians had committed monstrous blunders that have been corrected in the exegesis of the Veda with the help of tradition and in the case of Sanskrit-lexicography with the assistance of the native lexicographers. It is necessary that, instead of undervaluing them, efforts should be made to bring out critically edited texts as much as possible.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 48.—2. Vr. und Hc. p. 4.—3. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, 124.—4. JACOBI, GGA. 1888, 71.—5. Hc. 2, p. vi.

§ 43. HOFER was the first scholar to handle the grammar of Pkt. in *De Prakrita dialecto libri duo*, Berolini 1836¹. Almost about the same time appeared LASSEN's *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1837, based on richly more abundant materials. A supplement thereto, *die Radices Pracriticae* was published by DELIUS, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839. Up to that time none of the native grammars had been published and of the entire Pkt. literature there had appeared only a small number of dramas, the Mṛcch., Śāk., Vikr., Ratn., Prab., Mālatīm., Uttaraṛ., Mudrār, besides Kāvya-prakāśa and Sāhityadarpaṇa, all in very bad uncritical editions. Therefore, LASSEN was able to describe in detail Ś. only, M. in accordance with the statements of the grammarians and Mg. on the basis of Mṛcch., Śāk., and Prab. Under the conditions, LASSEN's work is an admirable performance. He effected improvements in a very large number of places

in the corrupt texts, correctly utilized them and planned the ground work on which the edifice of later research could be raised up. These he did with great acumen and in an excellent manner. In spite of all such qualities up till now he has found no follower. The works of WEBER on M.A. Mg., of EDUARD MÜLLER on AMg., of JACOBI on JM. are devoted to individual dialects : they will be referred to in appropriate places. COWELL, A short Introduction to the Ordinary Prākṛit of the Sanskrit Dramas, with a list of common irregular Prākṛit words, London 1875 is based upon Vr.; it is all elementary and does not go a long way towards attainment of its goal². RISHIKESH (rather more correctly Hṛṣīkeśa) SASTRI, A Prakṛita Grammar with English translation, Calcutta 1883, attempts to re-arrange the indigenous grammars on European pattern. But as he has used very defective texts and retained the forms he found in the manuscripts without working at them critically his grammar is not at all usable, especially because he has quoted only the well known rules. All new are his extracts from the Prākṛitakalpalatikā that is almost unknown. HAAG, in his *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1869, discusses a number of phonetical phenomena that are common to the known languages. HOERNLE³ has given a general survey of the history of Prākṛit—Philology and WEBER⁴ of the recent publications (1870-1881).

1. Cf. BENARY, *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1856, 863 ff.—2. Cf. FISCHER, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1875, 794 ff.—3. A Sketch of the History of Prākṛit Philology, Calcutta Review, October 1880. Cf. Centenary Review of the ASB. Calcutta 1885) II, p. 157 ff.—4. Hāla² (Leipzig 1881) p. vii f. with note.

§44. In this grammar an attempt has been made for the first time to treat the different Prākṛit dialects beside one another and to utilize the entire available materials. Subsequent to LASSEN, we have come to know of AMg. JM. and almost the whole of M., and as a matter of that, all the most important dialects with correlated literature. I have introduced all new Dh. D. Ā. JŚ. whereof we have up till now come by a few textual specimens. Ś. and M. have undergone a thorough revision. As already remarked above (§§19. 20. 23), most of the texts in AMg. Ś. Mg. have not as yet been critically edited and published; therefore, a greater part of them is not useful for the purpose of grammar. Hence the main task, at least with regard to Ś. and Mg., has been to collect trustworthy materials, and for this purpose I have utilized three to four different editions of many dramas, a task that has been tedious, painful and not always fruitful. But this has not been possible for AMg., and as it respects this dialect, the critical remarks will later require many improvements. Nevertheless I hope to have paved the way, in spite of the materials being very often faulty. As already remarked above, although Sanskrit is not the only source of Prākṛit a complete description of the latter has to be independently based upon it. Pāli, the Aśokan dialects, the Lepa dialect and the modern Indian languages have been quoted very sparingly for the purpose of comparison, though I have had plenty of materials in hand as the present volume, which exceeds much beyond the scope of the scheme of the Grundriss, would have become still bigger. Consequently linguistic hypotheses have been scrupulously avoided. In the first place it provides a sure philological grounding, and I think that I have succeeded in my efforts for most of the dialects. Necessary quotations have been amply furnished. But the knowledge of Pkt. and its literature is limited to such a small circle of scholars that to me it appears wistful to shift the evidences accurately

in support of the rules and to make at the same time a beginning of a lexicon.

II. PHONETICS.

§45. The phonetic system of Pkt. differs from that of Classical Skt. to the extent that there exist in Pkt. e^* , o^* , la (§226), and dialectically also the independent \tilde{n} (§237), \tilde{ha} (§242) and the composite sounds $\tilde{n}\tilde{na}$ (§282), yca , yja (§217), yha (§331), \tilde{ha} (§330), \tilde{ka} , \tilde{kh} , \tilde{ha} (§§302.324), \tilde{sta} (§310), \tilde{sta} , \tilde{sha} and \tilde{sa} (§303), and that on the contrary in all the Pkt. dialects the sounds r , l , ai , au^2 , \tilde{sa} except in Mg. $ci\tilde{s}thadi = ti\tilde{s}thati$ (§303), \tilde{h} , voiceless non-conjunct consonants are wanting, besides most of them do not have r , na , ya , \tilde{sa} and conjunct consonants of non-homogeneous types. Generally conjunctions of homogeneous consonants occur only when the first member is a nasal.³ In places of consonants that drop inside a word, between two vowels, there develops as a glide sound ya , that is written in all the dialects in Jaina manuscripts, and it is a distinctive feature of AMg., JM. and JŚ. (§187). In this grammar it has been transcribed by ya .

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT denies the existence of e^* and o^* , Prākṛtica p. 28 ff. Against that JACOBI, KZ. 25, 292 ff.; FISCHER, GGA., 1880, 325—2. In Pkt. ai has been retained only in the interjection ai . see §60.—3. C. 2. 14p. 18. 44; Hc. 1, 1; Triv. and Sr. in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 34 ff.; Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report 344, 1 ff.; Kalpacūṛṇi in LEUMANN, Av. 6, Note 4; Lakṣmināthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1, 2, p. 3, 4 ff., where read in the fifth line bha for ma , besides $saḍrapuṭṭhe hi be vi$, and in the sixth line something like $pāu natthi$ for $pāḍaḥ na hwaṇanti$ because very often $atthi$ stands for the plural $santi$ (§498). Neither $hwaṇanti$ nor $hṇti-bhavaṇanti$ fits in metrically. In line 6 read bha for ma and in line 7 read $au aḥ ba ya$. Accordingly ba as well should be wanting in Pkt. On this see §201.

§46. The accent-system of M. AMg. JM., of poetical A. and presumably also of JŚ. corresponds to that of the language of the Vedas essentially. In Pkt. takes place weakening, dropping as well as raising of vowels; besides there occurs doubling of consonants in certain cases; therefore, it could not be purely musical, on the other hand it must have been preponderantly expiatory. In Ś. Mg. Dh., besides, the system of accent is the same as that in Classical Skt. which mostly corresponds to that of Latin.¹ The relevant paragraphs furnish the details.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34, 568 ff.; 35, 140 ff. Besides JACOBI, ZDMG. 47, 574 ff.; KZ. 35, 578 ff.; GRIERSON, ZDMG. 49, 395 ff.

A. SONANTS AND VOWELS

1. SONANTS

§47. r was retained just dialectically only in A. (Hc. 4, 329; Ki. 5, 16; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra 2. 12, p. 15, 9); $rṇu = rṇam$ (Hc. 4, 329; Nāmisādhū l.c.); $sukṛdu$ (Hc. 4, 329), $sukṛdam$ (Ki. 5, 16) = $sukṛtam$; $grṇhāi = grṇhāti$, $grṇhanti = grṇhanti$, $grṇhe ppiṇu = *grṇhitvinam$ (§588) = $grṇhitvā$ (Hc. 4, 336. 341, 2. 394. 438, 1) $kṛdantaho = kṛtāntasya$ (Hc. 4, 370, 4). In most of the Apabhraṁśa dialects r is unknown as in all the Prākṛit languages. CP. $kṛṭa = gṛṭa$ in Ki. 5. 102 may be an incorrect reading for $khata$, as $taphahitapaka = dṛḍhahṛdayaka$ (5, 102) shows. In LASSEN Inst. p. 441 the example does not occur. As a sonant r might be pronounced with a tinge of a —, i — and u —¹. Like the consonantal r (§287-295) the sonantal r is assimilated to the preceding consonant, so that only the vowel remains. Thereafter, r following a consonant is transformed into a , i , and u . On initial r , see §56. 57, and on e^* for r , §53.

1. MAHLOW, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur 24, 10. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus 2, 2 f.; Kritik der Sonantentheorie p. 175 ff.; BECHTEL, Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher p. 128 ff. Further literature in WACKERNAGEL, Alt. gram. 28, shows that the original pronunciation was a r -vowel.

§48. As the vowel pronounced with *r* was not determined it was weakened in the same words not only in different dialects but even within the same dialect. The native grammarians consider the change of *r* to *a* as usual and they have enumerated under *gaṇas* the words that show a change of *r* into either *i* or *u* (Vr. 1, 27-29; Hc. 1, 126-139; Ki. 1, 27, 30, 32; Mk. fol. 9. 10; Pkl. p. 31 ff.; no classification in C. 2, 5 p. 15. 43) in stead of into *a*. Generally the texts illustrate their statements with examples taken from M., and they are to be reviewed accordingly. The examples, as far as possible, have been given in the following pages in conformity with the practice adopted by the grammarians.

§ 49. *a* develops for *r*, e.g. in M. *ghaa*=*ghṛta* (H. 22; read so with the variant reading), AMg. JM. *ghaya* (C. 2. 5) [read so with the variant reading]; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 123; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; 2, 6, 1, 9. 12; 2, 134; Vivāhap. 910; Uttar. 170. 432; Kappas.; Āv. 12, 12; T. 6, 4. 7; Erz.), but Ś. Mg. *ghida* (Mṛcch. 3, 12; 117, 8; 126, 5 [read so for *ghia*]).—PG. *taṇa*=*trṇa* (6, 33, likewise M. (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Ki. 1, 27; G. H. R.), AMg. (Āyār. 1, 1, 4, 6; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 129. 810. 812; Vivāhap. 120. 479. 500. 645. 658. 1245. 1250; Uttar. 106. 219. 371. 582. 695. 1048; Jiv. 356. 464. 465; Paṇṇav. 33. 43 etc.), *taṇaga*=*trṇaka* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 18; Dasav. 623, 1), *taṇailla* (fatty; Jiv. 355); JM. (Kl. 12; Dvār. 502, 31; 504, 13; Erz.), Ś. (Śak. 106. 13), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 334. 339); but also AMg. *tiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1526), JM. (Erz.), JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 313), Ś. (Vikr. 15, 11), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 358, 2.—M. *kaa*=*kṛta* (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 77; G. H. R.); PG. *adhikate*=*adhikṛtān* (5, 5), *kaḍa* (7, 51); AMg. *kaja* (Uvās; Ovav.) and *kaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Sūyag. 46. 74. 77. 104. 106. 133. 136. 151. 282. 368. 465; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Kappas.), also in compounds, such as in *akaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6), *dukkakaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; Sūyag. 233 f. 275. 284. 359; Uttar. 33), *vigaḍa*, *viḍaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 7; Sūyag. 344; Uttar. 53), *sukaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; 2, 4, 2, 3; Uttar. 76), *saṃkhaḍa*=*saṃskṛta* (Sūyag. 134. 150; Uttar. 199), *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§ 306. 345), *āhakaḍa*=**yāthakṛta* (§ 335); JM. *kaja* (Erz.; Kk.), *dukkaja* (Pāiyāl. 53; Erz.); JŚ. Ś. *kada* (Pav. 384, 36 [Text *kaja*] Mṛcch. 3, 19; 41, 18; 52, 12; Śak. 36, 16; 105, 15; 140, 13; Vikr. 16, 12; 21, 9; 23, 8), Mg. *kada* (Mṛcch. 40, 5; 133, 8; 159, 22) and *kaḍa* (Mṛcch. 17, 8; 32, 5; 127, 23. 24 etc.), *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11, 1; 40, 4); P. *kata* (Hc. 4, 322. 323); A. *kaa* (Hc. 4, 422, 10), *kaḷu*=*kṛtakah*=*kṛtah* (Hc. 4, 429, 1). But in Ś. Mg. the best texts and MSS. have very often *kida*, e.g. Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 21; 36, 4; 63, 12; Śak. 124, 7; 154, 9; 161, 5; Vikr. 33, 11; 35, 6; 72, 16; 84, 21), Mg. (Mṛcch. 112, 16; 121, 6; 165, 2), a form, that is correct perhaps only for these dialects and in any case that must remain in cases where *kṛta* constitutes the second member of compounds, thus Ś. *siddhikida* (Mṛcch. 6, 11. 13; 7, 5), *purākida* (Śak. 162, 13), *paccakkhikida* (Vikr. 72, 12), Mg. *duṣkida* (Mṛcch. 125, 1. 4). So also M. in *duhāia*=*dvidhākṛta* (Hc. 1, 126; R. 8, 106), *dohāia* (R.), whereas elsewhere *kia* in M. is incorrect. A. has also *i* beside *a* for *r*: *akia*=*akṛta* (Hc. 4, 396, 4), *kiaū*=*kṛtakam*=*kṛtam* (Hc. 4, 371), *kidu* (Hc. 4, 446). Cf. § 219.—*vasaha*=*vaṣabha* (Bh. 1, 27; C. 2, 5 p. 43; 3, 13; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 151); So. M. (G. R.); AMg. Vivāhap. 225; Uttar. 338; Kappas. § 4. 32. 61; Nāyādh. § 47), also *vasabha* (Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 7. 11; Vivāhap. 1048; Paṇṇav. 122; Aṇuog. 502; Kappas. § 114. 118); JM. *vasaha* (Dvār. 498, 24 Kk., Erz.) and *vasabha* (Erz.); JŚ. *vasaha* (Pav. 382, 26. 43); but Ś. always has *vasaha* (Mṛcch. 6. 7; Mālav. 65, 8; Bālar. 73. 18; 93, 10; 287, 15; Pras.

44, 13), which occurs wrongly also in M. (H. 460. 820.; in the first place in the variant reading and in the Bombay ed. there occurs correctly *va*^o).—AMg. *ghaṭṭha*=*ghṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 126; Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 3; 2, 5, 1, 3; 2, 10, 5; Paṇṇav. 96, 110; Jiv. 439. 415. 447. 449. 453. 483 ff.; Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *maṭṭhiā*, Ś. *maṭṭhā*=*myṭṭikā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 3; 2, 3, 2, 13; Vivāhap. 331. 447. 810. 1253. 1255; Thān. 321; Paṇhāv. 419. 494; Uttar. 758; Nāyādh. 621; Rāyap. 176; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 94, 16; 9, 8. 9; Śak. 79, 1; 155; 10; Bhartṛharinirveda 14, 5).—AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vyṭṭa* (round; Hc. 2, 29; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; 2, 4, 2, 7. 12; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 20; Vivāhap. 942; Uttar. 1022; Paṇṇav. 9 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—AMg. *vaṇhi*=*vyṣṇi* (Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262), *andhagavaṇhi*=*andhakavṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 678=Dasav. 613, 33; Vivāhap. 1394; Antag. 3).

§ 50. In all the dialects *r* is most frequently represented by *i*, which corresponds today to *ri*, the most usual pronunciation of *r* in India. Such words are grouped under the *ṛṣyādi* class in Vr. 1, 28; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 9 f.; Pkl. p. 31 and under the *kṛpādi* class in Hc. 1, 128, without an attempt to enumerate them exhaustively. Thus: M. AMg. Ś. *kīśa*=*krīśa* (Hc. 1, 128; H.; Uttar. 750; Uvās.; Śak. 53, 9).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. *kivina*=*kṛpaṇa* (Hc. 1, 128; G. H.; Kappas.; Kāleyak. 26, 1 [text *va*^o]; Mṛcch. 19, 6; 136, 18. 19).—AMg. *giddha*=*grdhra* (greedy; Sūyag. 105; Vivāhap. 450. 1128; Uttar. 593; Nāyādh. 433. 606); JM. Ś. Mg. (vulture; Vr. 12, 6; Mk. fol. 9; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 11; 79, 15; 80, 20; Mālav. 28, 12; Śak. 116, 3).—AMg. *giddhi*=*grddhi* (Hc. 1, 128; Sūyag. 363. 371. 406; Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.), *giddhiya*=*grddhika* (Paṇhāv. 150).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. A. *ḍiṭṭhi*=*ḍṛṣṭi* (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 3. 10. 17; 59, 24; 68, 22; 152, 25; Śak. 53, 8; 59, 7; 77, 10 etc.; Hc. 4, 330, 3).—M. *vimchua* (Bh. 1, 28; H. 237), *vimchua* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 1, 128; 2, 16. 89; Ki. 2, 68 [text *viṇṇao*, ed. Rāj. vicuol]), *vimchua* (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 16); *vicchua* (Mk. fol. 10), AMg. *vicchuya* (Thān. 311. 312; Paṇhāv. 47. 537; Nāyādh. 755; Vivāhap. 522; Jiv. 257), *vicchiya* (Uttar. 1064)¹=*vrśāka*.—M. *siāla*=*syāla* (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Ki. 132; Mk. fol. 9); AMg. JM. *siyāla* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Sūyag. 296; Paṇṇav. 49. 367. 369; Jiv. 356; Kk.), *siyāla* (Nāyādh. 511), *siyālatā* (Thān. 296), *siyāli* (Paṇṇav. 368); Ś. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 72, 22; Śak. 25, 9); Mg. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 22, 10; 113, 20; 120, 12; 122, 8; 127, 5; Śak. 116, 3), *siāli* (Mṛcch. 11, 20).—M. AMg. JM. A. *siṅga*=*śṛṅga* (Hc. 1, 130; Pāiyāl. 210; G. H.; Vivāhap. 326. 1042; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 337), according to Hc. 1, 130 also *saṅga*.—M. Ś. Mg. A. *hīa*=*hṛdaya* (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 17, 15; 27, 4. 19. 21; 37, 16 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 29, 21; 128, 2; 169, 6; Prab. 63, 15 [so read with M.]; Hc. s. v.); AMg. JM. *hiyaya* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ovav.; etc. Erz.; Kk.); Mg. mostly *haḍakka* (§ 194), also *haḷaka*, *haḷaa* (§ 244); P. *hitapa*, *hitapaka* (§ 191).

1. It will be possible to determine accurately in individual cases the correct form of this word when more critical editions will come into existence.

§ 51. We find *u* for *r* preferably before a labial consonant, or (§ 57) when there is *u* in the following syllable. All the grammarians group together the words which have *u* under the *ṛṣyādi* class. Thus: M. *nihua*=*nibhṛta* (Hc. 1, 131; Deśin. 5, 50; Mk. fol. 10; H. R.); AMg. JM. *nihuja* (Pāiyāl. 15; Uttar. 627; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *nihuda* (Śak. 53, 4. 6; Mudrār. 44, 6; Karmas 18, 19; 37, 16).—M. *nivua*=*nirepta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; G. H. R.; Śak. 96, 2); AMg. JM. *nivuya* (Kappas.; Erz.); Ś. *nivuda* (Śak. 70, 4; 98, 7; Vikr. 53, 1 [read so with the South Indian recension 651, 2

ed. PISCHEL]; Mudrār. 103, 7). Cf. §219.—M. AMg. JM. *pucchāi*=*prechati* and other forms of the root (Hc. 4, 97; H. R.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; etc.; Erz.); Ś. *pucchadi* (Mṛcch. 27, 17; 105, 8; 142, 9; Vikr. 18, 8); Mg. *puṣcadi* (Hc. 4, 295), *puṣcāmi* Prab. 51, 1; 62, 6); A. *pucchimi* (Vikr. 65, 3), *pucchahu* (Hc. 4, 364, 422. 9).—M. *puhāi*, *puhavi*=*prthvi* (§115. 139; Bh. 1, 29; C. 3, 30 p. 50; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.); AMg. JŚ. *puḍhavi* (Thāṇ. 135; Uttar. 1034. 1036; Sāyag. 19. 26. 325. 332; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2, ff.; Vivāhap. 920. 1099; Paṇṇav. 742; Dasav. 630, 17; Uvās.; etc.; Kattig. 401, 346); so also JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Śak. 59, 12) beside *puhavi* (Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 501, 23; Vikr. 11, 4; Prab. 39, 6); as Mg. (Mṛcch. 38, 7) and A. (Piṅgala 1, 30; Vikr. 55, 18) also have.—AMg. *phusaī*=*sprīai* (§486).—M. AMg. Ś. A. *munāla*=*mṛṇāla* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Śak. 88, 2; Jiv. 290; Rāyap. 55; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 24; Śak. 63, 2. 15; Karp. 41, 1; Vṛṣabh. 50, 1; Hc. 4, 444, 2).—M. *muṅga*=*mṛdaṅga* (Hc. 1, 46. 137; Mk. fol. 10); AMg. JM. *muṅga*, *mujṅga* (Paṇhāv. 512; Thāṇ. 481; Vivāhap. 797 [also the commentary]. 920; Rāyap. 20, 231; Jiv. 251; Paṇṇav. 99. 101; Erz.); Ś. *miḍaṅga* (Mālav. 19, 1; v. l. *mīaṅga*); according to Hc. 1, 137; Mk. fol. 10 also *miṅga*; Mg. *miḍaṅga* (Mṛcch. 122, 8; variant reading *mudaṅga* and also GODBOLE 337, 7).—JM. Ś. *vuttanta*=*vṛttānta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Erz.; Kk. Śak. 43, 6; Vikr. 52, 1; 72, 12; 81, 2).—AMg. JM. *vutthi*=*vṛṣṭi* (Hc. 1, 137; Pāiyāl. 227; Vivāhap. 331; Kappas.; Erz.); M. also *viṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 157; Ki. 1, 32; H. 261); *vuttha vṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 137); M. *uvvuttha* (G. 375); AMg. *silāvuttha* (Dasav. 630, 21); Ś. *pavuttha* Śak. 139, 15).—M. JM. A., sporadically in AMg., *kuṇai* JŚ. *kuṇadi*=**kṛṇāti*=Vedic * *kṛṇoti* (§508). On *mūsā*°, *mosā*°, beside *musa*°=*mṛṣā*° see §78.

§52. The vowel varies in the same words in many other cases as well as in those mentioned above. So M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *dadha* and JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha*=*dyḍha* (§242).—*dhaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 130) and *dhiṭṭha*=*dhrṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 130; C. 1, 24 p. 41).—M. *ṇiatta*=*nivṛtta* (Hc. 1, 132; G. H. R.) and *nivutṭa* (Hc. 1, 132).—AMg. JM. *maccu*=*mṛtyu* (Hc. 1, 130; Sūyag. 45; Paṇhāv. 401; Dvār. 501, 25; Erz.) and Ś. *miccu* (Hc. 1, 130; Mālav. 54, 16; Karpas. 32, 17).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *masina*=*maṣṇa* (Hc. 1, 130; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Pāiyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Uttarar. 11, 8; 163, 4) and *masaṇa* (Hc. 1, 130).—AMg. Ś. *miu*=*mṛdu* (Vivāhap. 943. 949; Ovav.; Kappas.; Vṛṣabh. 13, 13 [Text *midu*]), but always M. *maṭṭa* AMg. *maṭṭya*=*mṛduka* (Hc. 1, 127); H. R.; Vivāhap. 943. 954; Uttar. 1022; Jiv. 350. 549); (Aṇuog. 268; Nāyādh.). AMg. *maṭṭa* (Jiv. 508); M. *maṭṭa*=**mṛdukita*, *maṭṭi*=*mṛdvi* (G.)—*vandāraa* (Hc. 1, 132) and *vundāraa*=*vṛndāraka* (Hc. 1, 132; Ki. 1, 30).—AMg. *vaga*=*vṛka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282. 484 [text *vagga*, commentary *viga*]; Paṇṇav. 367), *vagi*=*vṛki* (Paṇṇav. 368) and AMg. *viga* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 12 [cf. the variant reading]; Nāyādh. 344), Ś. *vīa* (Uttarar. 105, 12). Cf. §219. According to Hc. 2, 110. *kṛṣṇa* in the sense of “black” becomes *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṣiṇa*, *kaṇha* and as a proper name it becomes only *kaṇha*, according to Bh. 3, 61 in the sense of “black” it always becomes *kaṣaṇa*, in the sense of “Kṛṣṇa” it becomes *kaṇha* only; according to Kaipal. p. 33 as a proper noun it becomes *kaṇha* and *kiṇha*; Mk. fol. 29 and Ki. 2, 56 make no distinction between *kaṣaṇa* and *kaṇha*. In the sense of “black” it occurs as M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa* (G. H. R.; Pracandap. 47, 4; Mṛcch. 2, 21; Vikr. 21, 8; 51, 10; 67, 18; Ratn. 311, 21; Mālatim. 103, 6; 224, 3; Mahāv. 98, 4) Venis. 61, 10), AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101; Paṇhāv. 285; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 644; Ovav., Bhag.; Dvār. 503, 6; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), also probably wrong, in M. (G. 563, the variant reading excepted), and Ś. (Mallikām. 122, 6); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha* (G.; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 18; Paṇṇav. 496 ff.; Jiv. 320; Caṇḍak. 86, 8. 9.

10 [in *kaṇhāhi*; text *kaṇṇa* and *kaṇva*], AMg. also *kinḥa* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1033; Rāyap. 50. 51. 104. 120. 126. 228; Paṇḥāv. 285 (beside *kaṣiṇa*) Paṇṇav. 496 ff. [always interchanging with *kaṇḥa*]; Jiv. 255. 272. 453. 457); as a proper noun M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. kaṇḥa* (H.; Āyār. p. 126, 1; Paṇṇav. 61; Nirayāv. §2, where also in the proper nouns *sukaṇḥa*, *mahākaṇḥa*, *virakaṇḥa*, *rāmakaṇḥa*, *senakaṇḥa*, *mahāsenakaṇḥa*; p. 80; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 497, 6, 33; 498, 34; 499; 37, etc. cait. 75, 14; 77, 3; 78, 10; 79, 6. 4; 92, 13 [mostly printed as *kaṇḥa*, °*da*, *kaṇḥa*]; Vṛṣabh. 9, 4; 18, 15; 23, 18 etc. (mostly printed as *kaṇḥa*)). Wrong is *kisaṇa* (Bālar. 141, 3; Karp. 50, 12 ed. Bomb., where the variant reading in Konow p. 48 has only *kaṣaṇa*) and *kinḥa* (Nirayāv. 79). Cf. also *kaṣaṇiya* = *kṛṣṇāyita*, *kaṣaṇapakḥa* = *kṛṣṇapakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 198. 268), *kaṣaṇasia* = **kṛṣṇasita* "the black-white" = Balabhadra (Deśin. 2, 23).—*vrddhi* in the sense of "growth" becomes *vuddhi* (Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40; Mk. fol. 24; AMg. Uvās. §50), and in the sense of "interest" it becomes AMg. *vaḍḍhi* (Uvās.). There are found also M. *parivaddhi* (Mk. fol. 24; R. 5, 2) and JM. *viddhi* (growth : Ki. 20). Cf. §53.

§53. Sometimes dialectically the three vowels occur even in the same words. Thus: *prākṛta* becomes *pāyaya* in AMg. (Hc. 1, 67; Nāyādh. §145; variant reading *pāyaya*, *pāyaya* in JM. (Erz., 2, 28) and *pāyaya* (Hc. 1, 67; Kalpacūṛṇi on Av. 6, 29), *pāia* in M., *pāiya* in JM. (cited under Hc. 1, 181; Vajjālagga 325, 2 Pāiyāl. 1) and *pāua* in M. (H. 2 [v. l. *pāia*, Vajjālagga 324]. 698; Karp. 5, 3), *pāuda* in Ś. (Karp. 5, 1; Mudrār. 82, 2. 5; Viddhaś. 25, 8 [read so everywhere], *pākida* in Mg. (Venis. 34, 20).—*prṣṭha* becomes in M. *paṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 131; G.), *puṭṭha* (Bh. 4, 20; R.), *puṭṭhi* (Bh. 4, 20; H. R.; Karp. 57, 6), in AMg. *piṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 35, Sūyag. 180. 285. 286; Nāyādh. §65; p. 938. 958. 959. 964. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.), *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 35. 129. Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Nāyādh. 940; Dasav. 632. 24), *puṭṭha* (Nirayāv. §17), *puṭṭhi* (Sūyag. 292), in JM. *piṭṭha*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Erz.), in Ś. D. *piṭṭha* (Vikr. 39, 3; Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 9; Mallikām. 145. 21; 191, 5; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), *piṭṭhi* (Kāṇṣav. 57, 9), *puṭṭha* (Pras. 41, 14; Ratn. 316, 22), *puṭṭhi* (Bālar. 238, 10), in Mg. *piṣṭa* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10), *piṣṭi* (Mṛcch. 165, 9 and in A. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Hc. 4, 329). According to Hc. 1, 129, in *prṣṭha*, *r* is changed to *a*, only, when the word occurs at the end of a compound. So M. JM. *mahāvattṭha* (Hc. 1, 129); Pratāpar. 214, 9 [°*pa*°]; Āv. 12, 23); Ś. *dharanivattṭha* (Uttarar. 63, 12; Bālar. 248, 5; 287, 16); however, also, probably wrong is JM. *dharanivittṭha* (Sagara 7, 12), Ś. *dharanipittṭha* [text. °*ṇipittṭha*; Bālar. 245, 15]. The printed text and the MSS. of Venis. 64, 18 oscillate between *kālapuṭṭha*, °*vuṭṭha*, °*piṭṭha*.—*bṛhaspati* forms *bahappḥai*, *bihappḥai*, *buhappḥai* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 138; Sr. fol. 36) and a number of other forms with a similar variation in vowels (§212). Here a mention should be made of AMg. *bahassai* (Sūyag. 709 [text *va*°], Thān. 82; Paṇṇav. 116 [text *va*°]), *bihassai* (Aṇug. 356 [text *vi*°]). Ovav. §36 [text *vi*°]; Ś. *bahappai* (Mallikām. 57, 3; 184, 3 [text *va*°]); *bihappḥadi* (Ratn. 310, 29).—In all the dialects *vrddha* is changed to *vuddha* (C. 2, 5; 3, 16 p. 49; 3, 26; Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40. 90; Mk. fol. 24; H.; Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 24; Ovav.; Erz., Ś. Mṛcch. 44, 4; 69, 20; 71, 22; Anarghar. 156, 5; Mg. Mṛcch. 117, 23; 120, 9; 124, 4 etc.), according to Bh. 1, 27 also to *vaddha*, and according to Hc. 1, 128; 2, 40 also to *viddha*.—*vinṭa* forms AMg. *vinṭa* (Hc. 1 139, Samav. 98); Paṇṇav. 40 [text *bi*°], *tālavinṭa* (Paṇḥāv. 33), *pattavinṭa* (Jiv. 681); commonly also *venṭa* with change of *i* to *e* before a double consonant (§119); so M. *venṭa* (Hc. 1, 139; 2, 31; Mk. fol. 26; H.; Śak. 119, 6), *tālaveṇṭa* (Karp. 82, 2); AMg. Jiv. 329 [text *be*°]; Paṇṇav. 40 [text *be*°]), *tālaveṇṭa* Nāyādh. §136), *pattaveṇṭa* (Jiv. 549 [text °*be*°]); Ś. Viddhaś. 14, 13), *tālaveṇṭa* (Vikr. 75,

10; Uttarar. 16, 7; Viddhaś. 61, 1; Veniś. 92, 22 [so it is to be read]; Bālar. 131, 13 [so it is to be read], *tālavēṇṭaa* (Mṛcch. 38, 4; 59, 7; Mg. (Mṛcch. 21, 16). Hc. [1, 67] has *tālavēṇṭa* also by the side of *tālavēṇṭa* (2, 31), Bh. (10) has *tālavēṇṭaa* by the side of *tālavēṇṭaa*. Further Hc. 1, 139 teaches also *vōṇṭa* 1, 67; he has *tālavōṇṭa* along with *tālavēṇṭa* i.e., with the change of *u* to *ō* before a double consonant (§ 125). In AMg. abundant is *tāliyaṇṭa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṇhāv. 236. 533; Aṇuttar. 10; Nāyādh. 277; Vivāhap. 807. 831. 964; Ovav. § 52 [so it is to be read]; Dasav. 616, 38; 626, 3) *tāliyaṇṭaka* (Paṇhāv. 488 = **tāliyaṇṭa* with a change of *r* into *a*, as in Pāli *vaṇṭa*).

§ 54. BOLLESEN¹ has propounded the law of assimilation, according to which, for example, only *miatiṇhiā* or *maatāṇhiā* = *myatṛṣṇikā* has to be declared as the correct form. PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT², in his turn, has postulated dissimilation in cases like *mianka* = *mygāṅka* beside *mainda* = *mygendra*, *visaṅkhala* = *viśṛṅkhala* beside *siṅkhalā* = *śṛṅkhalā* (§ 213). Taking into consideration the great divergence between statements of the grammarians and the manuscripts it is not possible to frame any accurate rule. In M., they say *maatāṇhā* (R.) *maatāṇhiā* (Sarasvatik. 172, 18), besides *mudhamia*, Ś. *miatāṇhā* (Dhūrtas. 16, 6; v. l. *maatāṇhā*), *miatiṇhā* (Anarghar. 60, 4), *maatāṇhiā* (Vikr. 17, 1), *maatāṇhiā* (Viddhaś. 47, 9; but ed. Calc. 36, 1 *miatāṇhiā*), *miatiṇhiā* (Viddhaś. 115, 5); further, indeed M. *maīnda* (G. R.), and M. Ś. *maalaṇchana*, JM. *mājalaṇchana* = *mygalāṇchana* (H.; Karp. 65, 10; 105, 7; Mṛcch. 169, 14, Vikr. 43, 11; 45, 20³, Pāīyal 5, Dvār. 500, 18, Erz), but beside *maṇka* (Hc. 1, 130; also in A. 4, 396, 1), JM. *majaṅka* (Erz), in M. D. Ś. Mg. common *mianka* (Hc. 1, 130, G. H. R.; Karp. 60, 1; 84, 8; D. Mṛcch. 101, 11, Ś. Vikr. 58, 10; Viddhaś. 109, 5; Karp. 105, 7; Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 25); JM. has also *miyaṅka* (Erz). Beside Ś. *maa* = *myga* stand *miā* = *mygayā* (Śak. 29, 2, 3) and M. Ś. *maī* = *mygi* (Śak. 85, 2, Prab. 67, 12); Ś. *maavahū* = *mygavadhū* (Śak. 86, 4), beside Ś. *sāhāmia* = *śākhāmīga* (Mṛcch. 69, 11, Vikr. 81, 13), AMg. *iḥāmīya* (Jiv. 481. 492. 508; Nāyādh. 721; Rāyap. 58 [°ga]); likewise AMg. generally only *miga*, *miya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 119 ff; Uttar. 338. 412. 499. 595 601; Dasav. N. 649, 7; Sūyag. 52. 54. 56. 317, Ovav. § 37) *miyasirāo* = *mygasirāḥ* (Thān. 81) *miḡatva* = *myḡovya* (Uttar. 498), speak against JM. *maya* (Dvār. 501, 13), *mayaacchī* = *mygākṣī* (Rṣabhap. 26), M. *maacchī* (Karp. 65, 4). In compounds it is the euphony that has undoubtedly assisted in the choice of vowels.

§ 1. On vikr. 17, 1, p. 216.—2. Specimen des Setubandha (Göttingen 1873) p. 83 on 2, 2.—3. The v. l. has *miā* and the same occurs in Viddhaś. 63, 4 also.

§ 55. The *r* of nouns ending in *r* is changed into *u*, before the suffix—*ka*, and also when such a noun is the first member of a compound (Hc. 1, 134); PG. *jāmātukasa* = *jāmāṭṛkasya* (6, 14), *bhātukāṇa* = *bhrāṭṛkāṇām* (6, 18); M. *jāmāua* = *jāmāṭṛka* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Mk. fol. 10; H.); JM. *jāmāuya* (Erz.); Ś. *jāmādua* (Mahāv. 27, 22; Mallikām. 209, 22); *jāmādusadda* = *jāmāṭṛsabda* (Mallikām. 209, 1); JM. *bhāuvacchala* = *bhrāṭṛvatsala* (Dvār. 503, 38; 507, 30), *bhāughāyaga* = *bhrāṭṛghātaka*, *bhāuya* = *bhrāṭṛka* (Erz.), Ś. *bhādusaa* = *bhrāṭṛsata* (Venīś. 59, 3); Ś. *bhādua* (Vikr. 75, 8); Mg. *vañcidabhāduka* = *vañcitabhāṭṛka* (Mṛcch. 129, 6); AMg. *puttanattupariyāra* = *putranapṭṛparivāra* (Vivāhap. 482), *ammāpiusantie* (Āyār. 2, 15, 15), *ammāpiusussūsaga* (Vivāhap. 601), *māupiusujāya* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 11), *māuḡya*, *piusukka* = *mātrojaḥ*, *pitṛśukra* (Sūyag. 817. 822; Thān. 159; Vivāhap. 111), *māuya* (Nāyādh. 1430); Ś. *mādughara* (Mṛcch. 54, 4); Mg. *mādūkā* (Mṛcch. 122, 5); M. *piuvaha* = *pitṛvadhā* (G. 484), JM. *nattuya* = *napṭṛka* (Āv. 8, 31); AMg. *nattui* = *napṭṛki* (Kappas. § 109). How-

ever, *i* as well, does not occur rarely: *M. nattia=naṭṭika* (Hc. 1,137; Sarasvatik. 8,13), *taṭṭighaḍaṇā=vaṣṭṭighaṇā* (G. 704), *māihara* (Hc. 1, 135); *AMg. māimarana, bhāimarana* (Sūyag. 787), *māirakkhiya* (Ovav. § 72); *Ś. mādinacchala* (Śak. 158,12); *AMg. peiya=paṭṭika* (Vivāhap. 113); *JM. bhāivacchala, bhāighāyaya* (Dvār. 501, 3. 38), *bhāivahaga=bhrātṛva-dhaka* (Erz. 14,28; 23,19), *bhāisoga=bhrātṛśoka* (Erz. 53,11); *AMg. am-māṭṭisamāna, bhāisamāna* (Thāp. 284); *A. pūmāimosana=piṭmātṛmoṣana* (Erz. 158,3); *AMg. bhāṭṭidāraṇa=bhātṛdāraka* (Paṇṇav. 366), *S. bhāṭṭi-dāraa* (Mahāv. 28,2;32,22); *Ś. bhāṭṭidārā* (Lalitav. 560, 9; 561, 6. 12; 562,22; 563,5; Mālatīm. 72, 2.4.8; 73,5; 85,3; Nāgān. 10,9.13; 12,5.10; 13,4, etc.) In declension, the masculine nouns are inflected like *a*—, *i*—and *u*—stems, the feminine ones, like *ā*—stems; and *mātṛ* also is declined like *i*—and *ū*—stems (§ 389—392).

§ 56. Generally the initial *r* becomes *ri* (Vr. 1,30; C. 2,5; Hc. 1, 140; Ki. 1,28; Mk. fol. 11), and *li* in *Mg.* So *M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. riddhi=ṛddhi* (Pāṭyāl. 62; G. H; Sūyag. 954; Ovav.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 400, 325; 403, 370; Mṛcch. 6, 4; 2¹, 7; 77, 10; 94, 19; Hc. 4,418,8).—*M. AMg. JM. Ś. rikkha* (Hc. 2,19; Pāṭyāl. 96; H.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Bālar. 221,5; 250,18) and *M. AMg. Ś. riccha=ṛkṣa* (Vr. 1, 30; 3. 30; Hc. 1, 140; 2, 19; Pāṭyāl. 128; R.; Rāyap. 124; Śak. 35, 9; Anarghar. 156, 5).—*M. JM. riṇa* (Bh. 1, 30; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Mk. fol. 11; H.; Kk.); *Ś. ariṇa=ariṇa* (Mṛcch. 64, 22; Śak. 24, 13; 141, 10); *Mg. ṭiṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 19) with metrical lengthening of *i* (§ 73).—*AMg. riu=ṛtu* (Hc. 1, 141. 209; Pāṭyāl. 208; Samav. 119; Nirayāv. 81); *Ś. ridu* (Bālar. 131,12).—*AMg. riuvēya=ṛveda* (Thāp. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirayāv. 44; Ovav. § 77 [so to be read]; Kappas. § 10).—*M. AMg. risaha=ṛsabha* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 141; R. [as a proper noun]; Paṇhāv. 270; Vivāhap. 10; Uvās.; Ovav.), *AMg. Ś. also. risabha* (Thāp. 266 [as a proper noun]; Śak. 95, 7).—*Ś. ricāim=ṛcaḥ* (Ratn. 302, 11).—*AMg. JM. Ś. risi=ṛsi* (Hc. 1, 141; Pāṭyāl. 32; Sūyag. 202; Erz.; Mṛcch. 326, 14 [interpolation]); *Mg. liṣi* (Prab. 46, 15. 16; 47, 1); *AMg. mahārisi* (Sūyag. 203; Nāyādh. 1475). In cases, like *AMg. rāyarisi=rājārṣi* (Vivāhap. 908.915.916; Nāyādh. 600 ff. 1022; Uttar. 279 ff. 563), *māhanarisi=brahmaṛṣi* (§ 250; Nirayāv. 48, 50 ff.), *JM. maharisi=mahārṣi* (Erz.) *Ś. sattarisi=saptārṣi* (Viddhaś. 49, 4.6.8), *JM. dvāyānarisi=dvīpāyanārṣi* (Dvār. 496, 7. 38; 497, 3) the existence of a separation—vowel (§ 137) has to be accepted; all these forms, therefore, directly go back to Sanskrit.

§ 57. An initial *r* develops, not rarely, into *a*, *i*, *u*, besides into *ri*. So *M. AMg. JM. Ā. A. acchāi P. acchati=ṛccali* (§ 480).—*AMg. accha=ṛkṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345, by the side of *riccha*; Paṇṇav. 49.367), *acchī* (Paṇṇav. 368); cf. Skt. *acchabhalla*.—*AMg. aṇa=ṛṇa* (Hc. 1, 141; Paṇhāv. 150).—*AMg. JM. iddhi=ṛddhi* (Thāp. 80.178; Uttar. 110.666; Vivāhap. 55.221; Nāyādh. 990; Ovav. § 33. 63; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. § 16; Dasav. 635,38; 640,5; Dasav. N. 652, 28). As LEUMANN rightly remarks (Aup. S. s. v. *riddhi*) *iddhi* is the form that occurs in older texts and *riddhi*, in later texts. The same holds good for *AMg.* as well in the case of other forms with *ri*° that are found by the side of such as have some vowel.—*AMg. Ś. isi=ṛsi* (Vr. 1, 28; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Ki. 1,32; Mk. fol. 10; Paṇhāv. 448 [suisi]; Uttar. 375. 377. 630; Vivāhap. 795.851; Śak. 41, 1; 61, 11; 70, 6; 79, 7; 98, 8; 155, 9; Vikr. 80, 17; Uttarar. 123, 10; Unmattar. 3, 7 etc.); in proper nouns *AMg. isigutta, isiguttiya, isidatta, isipāliya* (Kappas.), and in compounds like *AMg. Ś. mahesi=mahārṣi* (Sūyag. 74.137; Uttar. 717.720.815; Anarghar. 151, 10; Unmattar. 4, 18); *M.Ś. rāesi=rājārṣi*

G.; Śak. 19, 5; 20, 12; 21, 4; 50, 1; 52, 16; 57, 12; Vikr. 6, 13. 16; 7. 2; 8, 14; 10, 2.4.14 etc.).—AMg. *uu=rtu* (Hc. 1, 131.141.209; Vivāhap. 423.798; Paṇhāv 464.534; Nāyādh. 344.912 916.918; Aṇuog. 242.432; Dasav. 627, 11; Dasav. N.648, 14); Ś. *udu* (Śak. 2, 8). Cf. § 157. On the likely M. *uu* see § 54.—AMg. Ś. *ujju=rju*, (Hc. 1, 131.141; 2, 98; Paṇnav. 847; Aṇuog. 541.542 552.633; Uttar. 698.698; Ovav.; Kāmsav. 57,20), AMg. *ujjukaḍa=rjukṛta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1); usually found *ujjua=rjuka* (Vr. 3, 52); so M. (H.R.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 88, 18; 90,21¹; Śak. 80, 4; 130, 5; Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Mudrār. 192, 13; Anarghar. 113, 9; Kāṇas. 20, 13, etc.), *adiujjua* (Ratn. 309, 24; Priyad. 43, 15); AMg. *ujjuga* Paṇhāv. 381; Uvās.), *ujjuya* (Pāiyāl. 175; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; 2, 3, 2, 14. 16; Uttar. 170; Ovav.; Kappas.), *anujjuya* (Uttar. 990).—*usaha=rṣabha* (C.2, 5 p. 43; 3,34 p. 51; Hc. 1, 131.133); AMg. *usabha* (Āyār. 2,15,21; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *usabha* (Hc. 1, 24; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 21; Erz.); JM. *usabhaya* (Āv. 46, 21), AMg. *usabhadatta* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Kappas.); AMg. *usabhasena* (Kappas.).—According to Kī. 1, 31 *ṛṇa* always becomes *uṇa*. A mention ought to be made of *riṇa* (§ 56) and *aṇa* (§ 57) only.

1. So it is to be read; cf. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 98. GODABOLE 249, 9; 256, 1 writes *ujja*, what the scholiast translates by *ujjēala* and *udiyata*.

§ 58. Corresponding to the development of *r* into *i*, *u*, in the declension of *r*—stems, *r̄*—develops into *ī*, *ū*: AMg. *ammāpūṇam*, *ammāpūṇam* (§ 391. 392). Skt. *īr* and *ūr* originating from earlier *r̄* are regularly treated according to the phonetic law of Pkt: M. JM. *tirai*, *tirae* *tiryate* (§ 537); M. *paiṇṇa*=*prakīrṇa* (G.H.R.), *viṇṇa*=*vikīrṇa* (H.), *vivaiṇṇa*=*vīprakīrṇa* (H.R.); JM. *viṇṇa*=*vitīrṇa* (Erz.); M. *pūrai*=*pūryate* (§ 537); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pūṇa*=*pūṇa* (H. R.); Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Prab. 57, 2). By the side of M. Ś. *jīṇa*=*jīrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; H.; Pratāp. 201, 13; Mṛcch. 93, 9), Mg. *jīṇa* (Mṛcch. 162, 23), there is found very abundantly M. AMg. JM. Ś. *juṇṇa*=*Vedic jūrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; G.H.; Karp. 88, 3; Āyār. 2, 16, 9, Vivāhap. 1308; Nāyādh. 321. 983. 985. 987; Uttar. 440; Rāyap. 258f.; Aṇuog. 292; Āv. 37, 26; 40, 16; Erz.; Śak. 35, 9; Karp. 53, 5; Viddhaś. 114, 6; Mallikām. 88, 23; Hāsy. 25, 5); AMg. *parijūṇa* Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1; Thāp. 540; Uttar. 63); AMg. *juṇṇiya* (Nāyādh. 348); JM. *juṇṇaga* (Āv. 41, 1). By the side of *tīṭha*=*tīrtha*, M. has *tūha*=**tūrtha* (Hc. 1, 104; H.; Sarasvatik. 44, 12); *uttūha*=**uttūrtha* (steep, fountain; Deśin. 1, 94); PG. *tūthike*=**tūrthikān*=*tīrthikān* (5, 5); AMg. *aṇṇaūtthiya*=**anyatūrthika*¹ (Vivāhāp. 129. 130. 137. 139. 142. 178. 323. 324 etc.; Nāyādh. 984 ff.; Thāp. 147; Ovav.), *paraūtthiya*=**paratūrthika*². It is wrong³ to derive⁴ *tūha* directly from earlier **tūrtha*.

1. WEBER, IS. 16, 46. 299. Note 2; LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 95.—2. LEUMANN Lc.—3. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 680.—4. WACKERNAGEL, Alt. Gr. 24.

§ 59. Following a consonant *l* develops into *ili*: *kilitta*=*klṛpta* (Vr. 1, 33; Hc., 145; Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11); *kiliitti*=*klṛpti* (Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11). According to Kī. 5, 16, in A., it either remains or develops into *a*: *klitta*, *katta*=*klṛpta*. Hc. (1, 145; 4, 329) accepts the presence of *l* in *klinna* "moistened" (FISCHER on Hc. 1, 145) also. The forms *kiliṇṇa* and A. *kiṇṇa*, quoted by him, are explained as having originated from *klinna* (§ 136). Single *l* develops into *li* in *liāra* (Mk. fol. 11), *likāra* (Kalpal. p. 36)=*lkāra*.

2. VOWELS.

a) THE DIPHTHONGS *ai* AND *au*

§60. In Pkt., *ai* has been retained as an interjection only, and that also in poetry only (Hc. 1, 169); commonly, in lieu of it, is also used M. Ś. *ai*=Skt. *ayi* (Vr. 9, 12; Hc. 1, 169; 2, 205; H.; Mṛcch. 63,

13; 64, 25; 87, 21; Vikr. 28, 10; 42, 19; 45, 2; Mālatīm. 74, 5; 247, 1; 264, 3 etc). Some scholars, according to Hc. 1, 1 = Prākṛtacandrikā 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, even in Pkt., permit *ai* in words like *kaiava* = *kailava*, *airāvaṇa* (Bhaṭṭikāvya 13, 33). In fact, however, the places where *ai* is found to exist the text gives an incorrect reading (PISCHEL on Hc. 1. 1). Mk. fol. 12 rejects it outright. Generally *ai* develops into *e*, and before a doubled constant, into *ē*: PG. *vijayavejayike* = *vijayavaijayikān* (6, 9). — M. AMg. JM. *Ś. erāvaṇa* = *airāvaṇa* (Bh. 1, 35; Vr. 2, 11; Hc. 1, 148, 208; Ki. 2, 31; Mk. fol. 15; R.; Sūyag. 317; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68, 14); A. *erāvai* = *airāvaṇa* (Piṅgala 1, 24); cf. §246. — AMg. *esajja* = *aiśvarya* (Thāṇ. 450). JŚ. *ejagga* = *aikāgrya* (Pav. 388, 1). — Ś. *edihāsia* = *aitihāsika* (Lalitav. 555, 2). — M. *keḍhaba* = *kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2, 21, 29; Hc. 1, 148, 196, 240; Ki. 2, 11; Mk. fol. 16). — M. *geria* = *gairika* (Karp. 80, 10), AMg. *geruya* = **gairuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Dasav. 619, 41). — AMg. *neyāūya* = **naiyāuka* = *naiyāyika* (Sūyag. 117, 361; 994 ff. [ne]; Nāyādh. §144; Uttar. 158, 180, 238, 324; Ovav.), *aneyāūya* (Sūyag. 736). — AMg. *mehuṇa* = *maithuna* (Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2, 9, 1; 2, 2, 1, 12, 2, 10; Sūyag. 409, 816, 822 f. 923, 994; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), JM. *mehuṇaya* (Erz.), JŚ. *medhuṇa* (Kattig. 399, 306; text °hu°). — M. *vehavva* = *vaidhavya* (G.H.R.). — AMg. JM. *vejāḍḍha* = *vaitāḍḍhya* (C. 2, 6; Vivāhap. 479; Thāṇ. 73; Vivāgas. 91; Nirayāv. 79; Erz.). — M. AMg. JM. *sela* = *śaila* (Bh. 1, 35; Pāiyāl. 50; G. R.; Mṛcch. 41, 16; Karp. 49, 6; Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8; 2, 6, 1, 2; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but CP. *śaila* (Hc. 4, 326). — M. AMg. JM. *Ś. Mg. t'ella* = *taila* (§90). — M. JM. AMg. *četta* = *caitra* (Karp. 12, 4, 9; Viddhaś. 25, 2; Ki. 19; Āyār. 2, 15, 6, Kappas.). — M. JM. *me'tti* = *maitrī* (H. R.; Ki. 7; Erz.). — M. JM. *Ś. vējja* = *vaidya* (Hc. 1, 148; 2, 24; H.; Āv. 16, 8; Erz.; Vikr. 47, 2; Mālav. 26, 5; Karp. 104, 7). — M. *Ś. sēṇṇa* = *sainya* (§282). — On the development of *i* for *ē* from *ai*, see §84.

§61. The grammarians permit the use of *ai* compulsorily in the case of some words and optionally in that of others in lieu of *e*. The words in which there must be *ai* have been grouped by them under the *daityādi* class (Vr. 1, 36; Hc. 1, 151; Ki. 1, 37; Mk. fol. 12; Pkl. p. 36). But common to all of them are the words M. *daicca* = *daitya* (Pāiyāl. 26, 99; G.); *vaideha* (Ki. °hī) = *vaideha*; AMg. *vaisāha* = *vaiśakha* (Āyār. 2, 15, 25 [beside *ve°i*]; Vivāhap. 1426; Nirayāv. 10; Uttar. 768; Kappas.). Further Hc. and C. [2, 6], in addition, have *aisaria* = *aiśvarya*, wherefor AMg. has *esajja* (§60); Hc. alone has *dainna* = *dainya*, *vaijavana* = *vaijavana*; *daivaya* = *daivata*; *vaiālia* = *vaitāliya*; *vaidabbha* = *vaidarbha*; *vaissānara* = *vaiśvānara*; *vaiśāla* = *vaiśāla*. Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. add also *saīra* = *svaira*, which Pāiyāl. 13, 15 also has; Bh. Hc. Mk. have *vaiesā* = *vaidesā*, Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. M. *kaiava* (G. H.), *kaiyava* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.). Ki. and Pkl. have in addition, AMg. *vaissa* = *vaiśya* (Vivāsagas. 152; Uttar. 754), by the side whereof AMg. has *vēssa* (Sūyag. 373), further *vaidesia* = *vaideśya* and *vesāia* = *vaiśayika*; besides Ki. alone has *vaisamma* = *vaiśamya*, Pkl. *khaitta* = *kṣaitra*. In the case of all other words the statements of the grammarians are at variance. Vr. 1, 37 and Ki. 1, 38 permit both *ai* and *e*, side by side, only in *daiva*. Hc. 1, 153 has a special rule with regard to this word, and he knows yet others with the similar phonetic variation; besides like Pkl. p. 37 and Triv. 1, 2, 102 he includes all such words in the *vairādi* group, wherein Triv. includes also *daiva*. Mk. fol. 12 has a *daivādi* class. According Bh. on Vr. 1, 37 the word *daiva* is pronounced as *daīva*, but according to Vr. 3, 52 the word, on account of development of *e* along with reduplication of *v*, becomes *dēvva*. Both of them are found in Ki. as well, whereas Hc. has *dēvva*, *daīva* and *daivva*; Mk., as it seems, prescribes *dēvva* and *daivva*. But *dēvva* and *daivva* are = *daivya*; A. *daiva* (Hc. 4, 331, 340,

1; 389). According to Mk. fol. 66 and Rv. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 153) *ai* is not used in this word in Ś. that is mainly implied by the exclusion of *ai* from Ś. by Rv. And in fact, according to the best MSS. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 148) *ai* in Ś. and Mg. develops into *e* only, and never into *ai*, not even in the words in which the other dialects must have only *ai*. Thus: *kedava*=*kaitava* (Śak. 106, 6), *vesāha* (Viddhaś. 77, 7), *sera*=*svaira* (Mṛcch. 143, 15; Mukund. 70, 18, 19). In the words, showing variation between *ai* and *e*, Ś. and Mg. always have *e*. So Ś. Mg. *d'evva* (Mṛcch. 20, 24; Śak. 60, 17; 71, 4; 161, 12; Mālav. 57, 19; Ratn. 317, 32; Mṛcch. 140, 10).—According to Bh. 1, 35 *kailāsa* becomes *kelāsa*, but according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes *kailāsa* or *kelāsa*; Pāiyāl. 97 has *kailāsa*, M. (G.R. Bālar. 181, 14) and Ś. (Vikr. 41, 3; 52, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 9) has *kelāsa*. According to Bh. 1, 36, C. 2, 6 *vaira* becomes *vaira*, and according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes also *vera*. So JM. *vaira* (Erz.), *vairi*=*vairin* (Erz.; Kk.) by the side of M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vera* (R.; Sūyag. 16, 359. 375. 406. 872. 891; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5; Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 24, 4; 148, 1; Mahāv. 52, 18, 19; Prab. 9, 16); Mg. *vela* (Mṛcch. 21, 15, 19; 133, 8; 165, 2); M. JM. *veri*- (G.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *veriya*=*vairika* (Kk.), A. *veria* (Hc. 4, 439, 1), Mg. *velia* (Mṛcch. 126, 6).—According to Kī. *kairava* forms *kairava*, and according to Hc. Mk. Pkl. also *kerava*. For *caitra*, Kī. prescribes *caitta*, but Hc. Mk. Pkl. have also *ce'tta*, and it is found in M. AMg. JM. (§60); for *jaitra*, Mk. has *jaitta* and *je'tta*, and for *bhairava*, Bh. Hc. Kī. have *bhairava*, and Mk. Pkl. have *bherava* as well. In M. is found *bhairavi* (G.), in AMg., JM. *bherava* (Sūyag. 129. 130; Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 6, 5; 2, 15, 15; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), in Ś. *mahābheravi*. (Prab. 65, 4; 66, 10 [it is to be read as such]), Mg. *mahābhelava* (Prab. 58, 18 [so it is to be read]). In the proper noun *bhairavānanda* (Karp. 24, 2 ff.) mostly the MSS., as in the Bombay edition 25, 4 ff., have *bhaira*, which was rightly corrected to *bhera* by KONOW, as it is in Kāleyak. 16, 14. According to Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl. *vaiśampāyana* forms *vaiśampāṇa*, according to Hc. *ve*° also; *vaiśravaṇa*, according to Hc., becomes *vaiśavaṇa* and *ve*°, and in AMg. JM. it is *vesamaṇa* (Nāyādh. 852. 853; Uttar. 677; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Hc. prescribes variation between *ai* and *e* also in the case of *vaitālika* and *vaiśika*, the words in which according to Bh. there is *ai*; AMg. has *vesiya* (Aṇuog.). All the gaṇas of the grammarians are ākṛtigaṇas, and they are to be augmented further from literature, like AMg. *vairoyaṇa*=*vairocana* (Sūyag. 306; Bhag.); *vaikuṇṭha*=*vaikuṇṭha* (Pāiyāl. 21) etc.

§61^a. Like *ai*, there are some who, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prā-kṛtacandrikā, 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, permit also *au*: *sauaria*=*saudarya*, *kaurava*, *kaulava* (C.)=*kaurava*. Such errors of transcription are numerous in MSS. Generally—*au* develops into *o* (Vr. 1, 41; C. 2, 8; Hc. 1, 159; Kī. 1, 39; Mk. fol. 13), and into *ō* before double consonants: PG. *kolikā*=*kauḷikāḥ* (6, 39), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6, 16); M. *kosia* (Hc.; G. 306), Ś. *kosia* (Śak. 20, 12).—Ś. *orasa*=*aurasa* (Vikr. 80, 4).—AMg. *ovamma*=*aupamya* (Ovav.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha*=*auśadha* (§223).—AMg. JM. *kouya*, *kouga*=*kautuka* (Pāiyāl. 156; Sūyag. 730; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *komu*=*kaumudī* (Bh. 1, 41; Hc.; Kī.; H.; Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *komudī* (Vikr. 23, 20; Priyad. 19, 11; 40, 5).—Ś. *kosambi*=*kauśāmbī* (Bh.; Hc.; Ratn. 310, 21), Ś. *kosambiā*=*kauśāmbikā* Ratn. 308, 29).—M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*=*kautūhata* (G.; Uttar. 631; Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *koūhala* (Mṛcch. 68, 14; Śak. 19, 3; 121, 10; 129, 1; Vikr. 19, 7; Mālatim. 257, 1; Mudrār. 43, 5; Viddhaś. 15, 2; Pras. 19, 4; Cait. 42, 1; 44, 12), *koūhalilla* (Bālar. 168, 3); M. AMg. JM. *kouhalla*=*kautūhalya* (Hc. 1, 117. 171; 2, 99; Pāiyāl. 156; G. H.; Karp. 57, 3;

Vivāhap. 11. 12. 812), AMg. JM. also *kouhalla* (Ovav.; Kk.). On *kohala* see § 123.—M. AMg. JM. D. A. *do=doau* (§ 436).—JM. *dovai=dyaupati* (Kk.).—AMg. *dovai=draupadi* (Nāyādh. 1228), Mg. *dovadi* (Mr̥ch. 11, 7; 16, 23; 128, 14 [so it is to be read, as it is in most of the MSS.; *dōppadi* (129.6) is not=*draupadi*, but=*duṣpatiḥ*]).—JŚ. *dhoda=dhauta* (Pav. 379, 1).—M. AMg. *porāṇa=paurāṇa* (H.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 74, 139; Hc. 4, 287), JM. *porāṇa* (Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sohagga=saubhāgya* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 68, 17; Śak. 71, 8; Vikr. 32, 17; Mahāv. 34, 11; Prab. 37, 16; 38, 1, 39, 6).—M. JM. *kōṭthua=kaustubha* (Bh.; Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvāna=yauvana* (§ 90).—M. *dōcca=dauya* (H. 84).—M. Ś. *dōbballa=daurbalya* (G. H. R.; Śak. 63, 1).—JM. *pavōṭta=prapautra* (Āv. 8, 31).—M. Ś. *mōṭṭia*, JM. *mōṭṭiya=mauktika* (G. H. R.; Mr̥ch. 70, 25; 71, 3; Karp. 73, 5; 82, 8; Viddhaś. 108, 2; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *sōkkha=saukhyā* (Mk.; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kī. 9; Pav. 381, 19, 20; 383, 75; 385, 69; Kattig. 402, 361. 362. 369; Mālatīm. 82, 3; Uttarak. 121, 4; Hc. 4, 332, 1), Mg. *śōkkha* (Prab. 28, 15; 56, 1; 58, 16). M. JM. Ś. *sōmma=sauṃya* (G. R.; Kī. 7; Ratn. 317, 31; Mahāv. 6, 8; Uttarak. 31, 20; 62, 8; 71, 8; 92, 8; Anarghar. 149, 9; Kamsav. 9, 2), by the side of AMg. JM. *soma* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—Like the development of *ai* into *āi*, a number of words show a change of *au* into *āi*. The grammarians have collected them together in the *paurāḍi ākṛtiḡaṇa* (Vr. 1, 42; Hc. 1, 162; Kī. 1, 41; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 38). But there is the difference that while the number of words that have *āi* beside *e* for *ai* is very large, the number of words that have *āi* along with *o* for *au* is very small. Bh. on Vr. 1, 42 permits *kośala* by the side of *kāśala*, which alone is found in Hc. Kī. Mk.; Hc. 1, 161. 162. has *koṅcheaṇa* by the side of *kāṅcheaṇa*; Mk. fol. 13 permits *moṇa* by the side of *maṇa*, which Hc. has, and *moli* by the side of *maṇli*, which Hc. and Pkl. also have, even though he refers to Karp. 6, 9. According to Mk. *āi* does not occur in Ś. in *kaurava* and *gaurava*, according to Pkl., not in *paura* and *kaurava*. In lieu of *o* is prescribed *āi* in *paura* by Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *kaurava* by Bh. C. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *pauruṣa* by Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl., in *saura* and *kaula* by Hc. C., in *gauḍa* by Hc. Pkl., in *kṣaurita* by Mk. Pkl., in *saudha* by Hc., in *kṣaura* by Mk., and in *aucitya* by Pkl. The instances met with are : M. *kāṭla* (G.) and *kola* (Karp. 25, 2=Kāleyaka. 16, 21 [text *kau*]).—M. *gaṭḍa* (G.), but AMg. A. *goda* (Paṇhāv. 41 [text *gau*], but cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 510;] Piṅgala 2, 112. 138).—M. JM. *paūra=paura* (G.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but Ś. *pora* (Śak. 138, 11; Mudrār. 42, 10 [text *pau*]); 161, 1; Mālatīm. 288, 3; Uttarak. 27, 3; Bālar. 149, 21; Kāleyak. 22, 5), Mg. *pola* (Mr̥ch. 167, 1. 2 [edition *pau*]); therefore, in Mr̥ch. 160, 11 *paṭḷā* is to be corrected as *polā*.—Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. have *paurisa=pauruṣa*, but JM. *porisa* (Erz.), AMg. *poriṣi* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 4; Samav. 74; Uvās.; Kappas.), *poriṣiya* (Sūyag. 281), *aporisiya* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 1113). Cf. § 124.—*maṇa=mauna* (Hc. Mk.), and so in Ś. (Viddhaś. 46, 11), is certainly an error for *moṇa*, as in M. AMg. JM. (Mk.; H.; Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; 1, 2, 6, 3; Sūyag. 120. 123. 495. 502; Paṇhāv. 403; Erz.; Rṣabhap.).—M. AMg. JM. *maṇli=mauli* (G.; Karp. 2, 5; Sūyag. 730. 766; Thāp. 480; Ovav. § 33; Kk.) and M. *moli* (Karp. 6, 9). In Ś. there is *moli* (Karp. 112, 3; Mallikām. 183, 5; Pras. 33, 6 [text *mau*]), but *maṇli* (Vikr. 75, 11; Mālatīm. 218, 1). But in the Bombay edition (1888) of Vikr. (122, 1) and as a v. l. in SHANKAR P. PAṆDIT (131, 4), in Mālatīm., the MS. N. and the Madras edition, there is *moli*, which occurs in the Bombay 1892 edition as *mauli* (167, 2). Presumably in both the places

the correct form would be *molī*. Hc. has *sāuha*=*saudha*, but Ś. *sodha* (Mālatīm. 292, 4). The variation, therefore, is far more dialectical than estimated by the grammarians. For Ś. Mg. only *ho* should be correct. According to Vr. 1, 43; Hc. 1, 163; Ki. 1, 42 *gaurava* develops into both *gaurava* and *gārava*, and according to Mk. fol. 13, it develops also into *gorava*, which he alone assigns to Ś. JM. has *gaurava* (Erz.), M. Ś. *gorava* (H.; Adbhutad. 54, 10), M. AMg. JM. *gārava* (G. H. R.; Dasav. 635, 38; Paṇhāv. 307; Uttar. 902; Erz.); JM. *ja* (KI. 6). To Pāli *garu* belongs *gārava*, Pkt. *garua*, *garuja*=*guruka* (§ 123), Skt. *garīyas*, *garīṣṭha*. On *u* for *o* from *au* see § 84.

(b) LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 62. A short vowel, before *r* + consonant, especially sibilant, and sibilant+following *ya*, *ra*, *va* or sibilant, is very often lengthened and the consonant group is simplified. The cases of lengthening are more abundant in M. and, especially, in AMg. and JM. than in Ś. Mg. which often retain the short vowel and assimilate the consonants. Thus:—*r* + consonant: PG. *kātūṇaṃ*, P. *kātūṇaṃ*, AMg. JM. *kāūṇaṃ*=**kartvāṇaṃ* (§ 585. 586); VG. *kātūṇa*, JŚ. *kādūṇa* (§ 21), M. JM. *kāūṇa*=**kartvāṇa* (§ 586); M. AMg. JM. *kāum*, Ś. Mg. *kādum*=*kartum* (§ 574); M. *kāvva*, AMg. JM. *kāyavva*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *kādavva*=*kartavya* (§ 570).—*gāyari*=**gāgari*=*gaggari*=Skt. *gargari* (Deśin. 2, 89).—M. *dūhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1, 115. 192; Karp. 86, 2), and on its analogy Ś. *sūhava*=*subhaga* (Hc. 1, 113. 192; Mallikām. 126, 2).—AMg. JM. *nīṇai*=*nirṇayati* (Nirayāv. § 17; Uttar. 578, Erz.); JM. *nīṇha*=*nirṇayata* (Dvār. 496, 5); *nīṇijamāṇa*=*nirṇijamāṇa* (Āv. 2 4, 4; 25, 34), *nīṇehi*=*nirṇesjati*, *nīṇūṇa*=*nirṇiya* (Erz.); AMg. JM. *nīṇiya*=*nirṇita* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.).—A *sāva*=*sarva* (Hc. 4, 420, 5=Sarasvatik. 158, 22). In the case of *r*+stop or nasal generally the vowel remains short and the consonants are assimilated.—AMg. *parimāsi*=*parimarsin* (Thāp. 313).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa*=*sparśa* (Hc. 2, 92; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 2; 1, 4, 2, 2, 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 5; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 170. 172. 257. 337; Paṇnav. 8. 10. 380; Āṇuog. 268; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 384, 47).—M. AMg. JM. *vāsa*=*varṣa* (Hc. 1, 43; H.; Sūyag. 148; Vivāhap. 427. 479. 1243; Uttar. 673; Dasav. 632, 42; Samav. 166; Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *vāsai*=*varṣati* (Dasav. N. 648, 7. 13. 14), *vāsiukāma*=*varṣiukāma* Thāp. 155), but Ś. *vassāridu*=*varṣartu* (Viddhaś. 99, 1; v. l. *vāsā*°); Mg. *vaśṣadi* (Mṛch. 79, 9).—AMg. *sāsava*=*sāṣapa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3). In AMg. sometimes the vowel followed by *l* + consonant is also lengthened: AMg. *phāguṇa*=*phalguna* (Vivāhap. 1426) by the side of *phagguṇa*, *phaggumitta* (Kappas.), *phagguṇi* (Uvās.), M. *phaggu* (H.), Ś. *uttaraphagguṇi*, *phagguṇa* (Karp. 18, 6; 20, 6; Dhanamjayav. 11, 7); AMg. *vāgala*=*valkala* (Nāyādh. 1275; Nirayāv. 54), *vāga*=*valka* (Ovav. § 74; text *vāka*), but M.Ś. *vakkala* (G.; Śak. 10. 12; 27, 10; Vikr. 84, 20; Anarghar. 58, 11), M. *avavakkala*=*apavalkala* (G.), Mg. *nivavakkala*=*nirvalkala* (Mṛch. 22, 7).

§ 63. A sibilant + *ya*: AMg. *nāsasi*=*naśyasi* (Uttar. 712); M. *nāsai*, *nāsanti*, *nāsasu* (H. R.); JM. *nāsai*, *nāsanti* (Erz.), by the side of AMg. *nassāmi* (Uttar. 713); AMg. *nassai* (Hc. 4, 178. 230; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5 [v. l. *nāsai*], *nassamāṇa* (Uvās.), *vinassai* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5); JM. *nassāmo*, *nassa* (Erz.); Ś. *nassadi* (Śak. 95, 8); Mg. *vinassadu* (Mṛch. 118, 19).—AMg. JM. *pāsai*=*paśyati* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; Sūyag. 91; Vivāhap. 156, 231. 274. 275. 284. 1325 ff.; Vivāgas. 139; Nandis. 363, 371; Rāyap. 21. 240; Jiv. 339 ff.; Dasav. 643, 13 etc.; Erz.); AMg. *pāsiyavvaṇ* na *pāsai* *pāsiukāma* na *pāsai* *pāsittā* vi na *pāsai* (Paṇnav. 667), *anupassiyā* (absol., Sūyag. 122); *pāsa* (eye; Deśin. 6, 75; Triv. in BB. 6, 104).

AMg. *kisanti*=*klīsyante* (Uttar. 576), but JM. *kilissai* (Erz.), Ś. *adi kilissadi* (Mālav. 7, 17).—AMg. JM. *sisa*=*śisya* (Hc. 1, 43; 4, 265; Pāṇyā. 101; Dasav. N.645, 12. 13; Kappas.; Āv. 40, 8 ff; 41, 11; Dvār. 499, 13; Erz.); *sisa*=*śisyaka*. (Āv. 40, 22; Dvār. 498, 13), by the side of JM. Ś. *sissa* (Āv. 33, 21; Priyad. 35, 5; Hāsy. 25, 13; 27, 19; 34, 3. 6. 10; Mallikām. 156, 23; Kāleyaka. 18, 3. 9; 19, 13; 24, 14; incorrect *sisa* 16, 8; Ś. *susissa*=*śuśisya* (Śak. 77, 11), *sissā*=*śisyā* (Mallikām. 219, 20); AMg. *sissanī* (girl disciple; Vivāhap. 342 [text °ssi°]; Nāyādh. 1498; Samav. 241).—M. *tūsai* (Vr. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Ki. 4, 68; H.), JŚ. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400, 335), but Ś *tussadi* (Mālav. 8, 3).—AMg. JM. *maṇūsa*=*manuṣya* (Hc. 1, 43; Sūyag. 180; Vivāhap. 79. 341. 361. 425; Uttar. 175; Paṇṇav. 706; Dasav. N.653, 11; Ovav.; Āv. 26, 34; Erz.), AMg. *maṇūsi* (Paṇṇav. 706), but also *maṇussa* (Vivāhap. 362. 717; Paṇṇav. 367; Uvās.), and so also JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 308) and always M. Ś. (2, 26^b p.42; Pāṇyā. 60; H.; Mṛcch. 44, 2. 3; 71, 9; 117, 18; 136, 7), Mg. *maṇuśśa* (Mṛcch. 11, 24; 13, 4; 17, 17; 30, 21; 125, 21; 164, 6), *maṇuśśaa* (Mṛcch. 131, 10), *maṇuśśaka* (Mṛcch. 113, 21).—The same lengthening takes place in Mg. in the genitive forms like *kāmāha* from * *kāmāsa*=*kāmasya*, *cālittāha*=*cālitrasya*, *salilāha*=*śarirasya*, which in A. *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, etc. show subsequently shortened *a* (§ 264. 315 366); further in the genitive like A. *kāsu*, *jāsu*, *tāsu*=*kasya*, *yasya*, *lasya* (§ 425) and the forms of the future like A. *karisu*=**kariyam*=*karisyāmi*, *pāvisu*=**prāpiyam*=*prāpsyāmi*, *pekkhihimi*=**prekṣiyāmi*=**prekṣiye*, *sahihimi*=*sahisyē*; *karihisi*=*karisyasi* (§ 315. 520. 525. 531. 533).

§ 64. Sibilant + *ra* : M. *sāsū*=*śvaśrū* (H.), Ś. *sāsue*=**śvaśruke* (Bālar. 153, 20).—M. *misa*=*miśra* (Hc. 1, 43; 2, 170; H); AMg. *misajāya*=*miśrajāta* (Ovav.), *miśaya*=*miśraka* (Thān. 129 f.; Kappas.), *miśijai* (Uvās.), *miśiya* (Kappas.); *miśālia* (Hc. 2, 170); but *missai* (Hc. 4, 28); Ś. *missa* (Mṛcch. 69, 12; Śak. 18, 3), *missid*=*miśrikā* (Śak. 142, 10), *missida* (Prab. 29, 8); Mg. *miśśa* (Mṛcch. 11, 6; 117, 8).—AMg. *visa*=*visra* (Sūyag. 753).—M. JM. *visamai*=*viśramyati* by the side of Ś. *vissamiadu* (§ 489).—M. *visambha*=*viśrambha* (Hc. 1, 43; H.R.), but Ś. *vissambha* (Mṛcch. 74, 8 [so it is to be read with v. l. and GODABOLE's edition 213, 1]; Śak. 19, 4; Mālatim. 105., [So AD.]; 210, 7 [So N.])—Ś. *ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555, 1).—AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrāpayata* (Vivāhap. 957, *ūsaviya*=**ucchrāpita* (Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta* (Sūyag. 771. 958 [text u°]; Paṇhāv. 287; Nāyādh. 481; Uttar. 664; Nandis. 63. 68; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but AMg. *ussiya* (Sūyag. 309), *samussiya* (Sūyag. 275) beside °*ūsi*° Sūyag. 281), *ussaviya* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1), Ś. *ussāvedī*=*ucchrāpayati* (Uttarar. 61, 2).—Sibilant + *va* : M. AMg. JM. *āsa*=*aśva* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 43; R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 503; Vivasag. 61; Uttar. 195. 217. 336. 500. 501; Nāyādh. 731. 780. 1233. 1266. 1388. 1456; Paṇṇav. 367; Anuog. 507; Nirayāv.; Ovav., Āv. 35, 12. 13. 16. 21 24; Erz.; Kk.), beside *assa* (Bh. 1, 2; Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 11. 12; 2, 15, 20; Sūyag. 182; Uttar. 617; Āv. 11, 18 ff.), as Ś. always has (Mṛcch. 69, 10; Bālar. 238, 8).—M. *nisāsai*; AMg. *nisasanti*; JM. *nisasiṇa*=*niśvasya* (Erz.); Ś. *nisasadi*, Mg. *niśśadu*; M. *ūsasai*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūśśadu*; M. *visasai*; AMg. *visase*; Ś. *visasadi*; also AMg. *ussasai*, *nissasai*, from *śvas*, preceded by *niḥ*, *ud*, *vi* (§ 327^a. 496).—AMg. JM. Ś. *visattha*=*viśvasta* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99, 24; 100, 4; 105, 1; Śak. 70, 9; Vikr. 8, 8; 23, 6; 47, 1). A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (Hc. 4, 366. 422, 22), equated to *sarva* by Hc.—Sibilant + sibilant, originating through the process of assimilation in Pkt., in Skt.=*h*+sibilant : M. AMg. JM.

Ś. *ūsava*, *ūsaa*=*utsava* from **ussava*, **ussaa* (§ 327^a).—M. *ūsua*=*utsuka*, by the side of AMg. JM. *ussuṣya*, Ś. *ussua* (§ 327^a).—M. *visaria*=**vismarita*=*vismṛta*, JŚ. *visariya*, beside JM. *vissariya* (§ 478).—M. *ṇisaṅka*=*niḥsaṅka* (G.H.), AMg. *ṇisaṅka* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 2), A., with metrical short-ening, *ṇisaṅka* (Hc. 4, 396, 1; 401, 2) by the side of JM. *nissaṅka* (Erz.).—M.Ś. *ṇisaṅka*=*niḥsaṅka* (Hc. 1, 4 3; G. H. R.; Uttarar. 92, 10) by the side of *nissaṅka* (Hc. 1, 13).—M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha*=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1, 13. 115; Kī. 2, 113; Pāiyāl. 234; H. R.; Āv. 12, 31; Karp. 82, 7; Mālatīm. 79, 2; Vikr. 60, 18), Ś. *dūsahattaṇa*=*duhsahatva* (Mālatīm. 81, 2) by the side of Ś. *dussaha* (Hc. 1, 13. 115; Kī 2, 113; Prab. 44, 1) and poetical M. *dusaha* (Hc. 1, 115; G. H.).—AMg. *teṣākamma*=**tejahkarmaṇ* (Ovav).—*maṇāsīlā*=*maṇaḥsīlā* (Hc. 1, 26 43) by the side of *maṇosīlā*, *maṇasīlā* (§ 347) and *maṇamsīlā* (§ 74).

§ 65. In other cases the lengthening of vowels is exceptional, partly just dialectical. AMg. JM. *gāuṣya*=*ga'vyūta* (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *jihā*=*jihvā* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 92; 2, 57; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 251; G. H. R.; Āyār. p. 137, 7. 9; Vivāhap. 943; Paṇṇav. 101; Jiv. 883; Uttar. 943 (by the side of *jibbhā* § 332); Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 403; Vikr. 15, 3; 16, 12; 18, 10; Karp. 66, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 9; Caṇḍak. 17, 3; Mallikām. 90, 23; Kamsav. 7, 17); Mg. *jihā* (Mṛcch. 167, 3).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dāhiṇa* from **dāhiṇa* (§ 323)=*dakṣiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Ratn. 293, 3; Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 2; 2, 1, 2, 6; Jiv. 345; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 97, 15; 117, 18; Veṇis. 61, 6; Bālar. 249, 7); AMg. *dāhiṇilla* (Ṭhān. 264 ff.; 358; Vivāgas. 180; Paṇṇav. 102 ff; Vivāhap. 218. 880. 1288 ff. 1331 ff. 1874.; Nāyādh. 333. 335. 867. 1349; Jiv. 227 ff. 345; Rāyap. 72. 73); AMg. *āyāhiṇa*, *paṇyāhiṇa*=*ādakṣiṇa*, *pradakṣiṇa* (Sūyag. 1017; Vivāhap. 161. 162; Nirayāv. §4; Uvās.; Ovav. (text *āda*)), *pāyāhiṇa* (Uttar. 302); by the side of PG. *dakṣiṇa* (6, 28), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *Ā. dakkhiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Pratāpar. 215, 19; Sūyag. 574; Erz.; Mṛcch. 9, 9; 155, 4; Vikr. 20, 2; 31, 5; 45, 2; 76, 17; Bālar. 264, 4; 278, 19; Mṛcch. 99, 19), Mg. *dakṣhiṇa* (Mṛcch. 130, 5; 164, 7; 168, 18; Caṇḍak. 64, 9; 66, 13; 71, 9), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* (Caṇḍak. 3, 16); AMg. *dakkhiṇilla* (Samav. 144; Nāyādh. 866. 921. 929. 930. 1350).—PG. *dūḍha*=*dugḍha* (6, 31).—M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* (daughter)=**dhuktā*, **dhūtā*, with a march over to the *ā*-declension (§ 212. 392).—AMg. JM. *bhāsa*=*bhasman* (Ṭhān. 589; Paṇhāv. 507; Antag. 68; Vivāhap. 171. 1033. 1232. 1247. 1254. 1281. 1282; Kappas.; Sagara 4, 9), but Ś. *bhassa* (Hāsy. 27, 19; 41, 4).—*rāyagāi* (leech; Deśin. 7, 5) from **rātagati*=**raktagati*.

§ 66. As described under § 119. 122. 125, *e*, *o*, that developed from *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*, whether original or going back to *r*, before consonant-groups are, in certain dialects, lengthened, and in such cases the consonant-groups are simplified. AMg. *koḍha* from **koṭṭha*=**kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha* (Nāyādh. 1046. 1047. 1177; Uvās. § 148; Vivāgas. 33, 34 [text *koḍḍha*]. 198), *koḍhi*-(Paṇhāv. 523) from and by the side of *koṭṭhi*-Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3), *kuṭṭhi*-(Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 1)=*kuṣṭhin*, *koḍhiya*=**kuṣṭhika* (Vivāgas. 177).—AMg. *gūhi* (greed) from **geḍdhi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*gyddhi* (Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 2; Sūyag. 97. 321. 348; Paṇhāv. 147. 148. 323; Samav. 83. 113; Vivāhap. 1026; Uttar. 217).—*ṇelaccha* (eunuch; Pāiyāl. 235; Hc. 1, 174; Deśin. 4, 44) from **ṇellaccha*, **ṇillaccha*=*nirlakṣa* (BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v.), however, *lakṣa*=*lakṣaṇa* "sex mark".—AMg. *dehaī* (Uttar. 571)=*deḥkaī* from **dikkhaī*=**dykṣati* (§ 554), *dehe*=**dykṣet* (Dasav. 631, 22), *dehae*=**dykṣate* (Sūyag. 52), *dehamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 794 f.); A. *drehi* (glance; Hc. 4, 422, 6).—AMg. JM. *seḍhi* (series), from **seṭṭhi* for

**siṭṭhi* = *śiṭṭhi* (Thān. 464. 546. 588; Paṇhāv. 271. 272; Samav. 220; Vivāhap. 410. 481. 991. 1308. 1669. 1675 ff. 1870. 1875 ff. Rāyap. 49. 90. 258; Jiv. 351. 456. 707. 709; Aṇuog. 218. 221 ff. 245 ff. 381 etc; Paṇnav. 396. 398. 401 ff. 627. 847; Nandis. 165. 371; Uttar. 829. 882. 887; Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *sedhīya* (Paṇnav. 846; Ovav.), *aṇusedhī* (Vivāhap. 1680 f. 1877 ff.), *pasedhī* (Rāyap. 49. 90), *visedhī* (Vivāhap. 1680 f.; 1877 ff.; Nandis. 373)¹.—M. *soṇāra* (H. 191) from **so ṇṇāra* = *suṇṇāra* (v. l. to H. 191) = *svaṇṇakāra*².—*ohala* (mortar; Hc 1, 171; Mk. fol. 8) from *o'kkhala* (Vr. 1, 21; Hc. 1, 171; Ki. 1, 24) = AMg. *ukkhala* (Deśin. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 9; Paṇhāv. 34), AMg. *ukkhalaḡa* (Sūyag. 250) = *udūkhala*, which occurs also as *udūhala* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1) in AMg. and *uūhala* (Hc. 1, 171) in M³. The long vowel in M. AMg. JM. *chūḍha* = *kṣubdha* (Hc. 2, 19. 92. 127; H. R.; Paṇhāv. 201; Dasav. 641, 15; Uttar. 758; Āv. 14, 18; 18, 13; 25, 4; 41, 7; Erz.) and in the compound words M. AMg. *ucchūḍha* (Hc. 2, 127; H. v.l.; Paṇhāv. 268; Nāyādh. § 4. 46; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *paliucchūḍha* = *paryutkṣubdha* (Ovav. p. 30, 3 [so it is to be read]); AMg. JM. *nicchūḍha* (Vivāgas. 84. 143; Nāyādh. 825. 833. 1174. 1313. 1411; Paṇnav. 828. 835; Nandis. 380; Paṇhāv. 151; Āv. 16, 1; 21, 5 [so it is to be read in accordance with the MSS.]), M. *paricchūḍha* (Deśin. 6, 25; R.), M. *vicchūḍha* (Pāiyāl. 84; G. R.), M. *vicchūḍhanavā* (R.) are to be explained as having developed due to analogy with *ūḍha*, *gūḍha*, *mūḍha*, *rūḍha*. AMg., in fact, has *bha* in the root in words like *chubhanti* (Paṇhāv. 56; text **bbh°*), *chubhe'jja* (Dasav. 652, 24), *chubhūtā* (Uttar. 499), *ucchubhāi* (Nāyādh. 325), *ucchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), *nicchubhāi* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇnav. 827. 832. 834), *nicchubhanti* (Nāyādh. 516; Vivāgas. 84), *nicchubhāvei* (Nāyādh. 823. 824. 1313; Vivāgas. 86. 143), *nicchubhāviya* (Nāyādh. 823; Vivāgas. 87), *vicchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), and it is occasionally found in JM. also, as in *chubhāi* (Erz.) and in the passive *chubhāi* Āv. 2¹, 3), *nicchubhāi* (Āv. 42, 35), but JM. has also *chuhāmi*, *chuhāi* (Erz.), M. has throughout *vicchuhāi* (H. R.), *vicchuhāre*, (Hc. 3, 142), and wherefrom is deduced the root *chuh*, from which the participles are formed on analogy⁴. The normal development of Skt. *kṣubdha* is into *chuddha* (Bh. 3. 30). Cf. *jaḍha* § 67. 565.—*mūsala* (mallet; Hc. 1, 113), by the side of the normal *musala* (H. R.), is derived from the present stem *muṣya*, *muṣya*-(Dhātupāṭha, 26, 111, *muṣa*, *muṣa khaṇḍana*) and, therefore, = **muṣyala*⁵.

1. *sedhī* is without exception, explained by the commentators as *śreṇi* and has been taken also as *średhī* (Hc. Liṅgānuśāsana, 2, 25, Uṇādiganaśūtra 631), *średhī* (B.R. s.v.) into Skt.—2. Thus more correctly than KZ. 34, 573; *u* is to be explained according to §152, and the contraction, according to §167-3. Mk. fol. 8f. has *uḍkhala*; cf. §148.—4. S. GOLDSCHMIDT contests the association of *chuhai* and *kṣubh*, *Prakritica* p. 20 on insufficient grounds. Cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *uchūḍha*; FISCHER, BB. 15, 123f. and §120-5 Cf. Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakośa 3 with v. l.

§ 67. In contrast to *ē*, *o* before consonant-groups becomes sometimes *a* and is not lengthened even when the consonant-groups are simplified. In such cases the accent originally fell on the ending. M. *marāḍhi* = NIA. *marāṭhi* = *māhāraṣṭri* (Karp. 10, 5; cf. § 354).—*jaḍha* (forsaken), AMg. *vijaḍha*, *vippajaḍha* for **jāḍha*, from the root *jah*, inferred from the present form *jahāi* = *jahāti* of the root *hā* (§ 565).—AMg. *aḍha* = *aṣṭa* (8), AMg. JM. *aḍhayāṭisam*, AMg. *aḍhayāla* (48, *aḍha: aṭṭim* (68), A *aḍhāisa* (28), *aḍhadlisa* (48), AMg. *aḍhārcama* (18.) (§ 442. 449).—In compound words formed with *ṣṛṣṭa*, from *ṣrj*: AMg. *ūsadha* = *uṣṣṣṭa*, "separation", "selection", "expelled", "isolation", (Āyār. 2,

2, 1, 7), "exquisite", "preferable" (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 6. 16; Dasav. 623, 13); AMg. *nisadha*=*niṣṣṭa* (Nāyādh. 1276); M. *visadha*=*viṣṣṭa*, "released" (R. 6, 66), "given up" (R. 11, 89), "unequal", "uneven" (Hc. 1, 241; Pāṇyāl. 207), "non-violent" or "healthy", (Deśin. 7, 62)¹; AMg. JM. *samosadha*=*samavasṣṭa* "what has occurred", "what has arrived" (e.g. Vivāhap. 211. 257. 622; Nāyādh. 558. 567. 619. 671. 874. 967. 1331. 1446. 1454 f. etc.; Vivāgas. 103; Nirāyāv. 41. 43. 74; Dasav. 624, 21; Uvās.; Āv. 16, 20; Dvār. 497, 27)².

1. Hc. traces the word in the sense of "uneven" to *viṣama*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT in R. assigns to it the meanings "self-released", "tried" and explains it as=**viṣratha*=*viṣṭha*. 2. The Indian editions mostly write *samosadha* (e.g. Vivāhap. 511. 514. 788ff. 912. 934. 971. 978. 988. etc.; Vivāgas. 160. 200. 214. 248; Nāyādh. 973. 982. 1018. 1025 etc.), also **saffa* (Rāyap. 12. 232) and **sadda* (Rāyap. 233). Cf. 235.

§ 68. In AMg., before the enclitic *eva*, on account of which the preceding word becomes more prominent, the *a* of the syllable *am* of such a preceding word very often undergoes lengthening and thereby, against § 348, *m* gets retained: *evāmeva* (Vivāhap. 162; Uvās. § 219); *khippāmeva*=*kṣiprameva* (Āyār. 2, 6, 2, 3; p. 130, 1; Vivāhap. 106. 154. 241; Samav. 100; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *bhogāmeva* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 2); *puvāmeva*=*pūrvameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 4); *juttāmeva*=*yuktameva* (Vivāhap. 503. 790; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.); *saṃjāyāmeva*=*saṃjyātameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2, 4, 4. 5, 2. 4. 6 etc.). This takes place also before pure Prākṛit *m*, that is changed into *m*, as in *tāmeva jāṇappavaram*=*tadeva yānapravaram* (Uvās. § 211), and also before the first secondary anusvāra, which also is changed into *m*, as in *jeṇāmeva cāuggaṇṭe āsarahe teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi*=*yenaiṇa caturghaṇṭo 'svarathas tenaivopāgacchati* (Nāyādh. § 133); *jeṇāmeva rājagihe ṇāyare jeṇāmeva guṇasilaḥ ceṇe teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Nāyādh. 373); *jeṇāmeva sohamme kappe...teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Kappas. § 29). In this case the original *ā* remains, against § 83: *jāmeva disaṃ pāubbhūyā tāmeva disaṃ paḍigayā*=*yāmevadiṣaṃ prādurbhūtāstāmeva disaṃ pratigatāḥ* (Vivāhap. 190; Vivāgas. 38 [where there is *disim*]), more often in the feminine=**bhūtā*, **gatā* (Vivāgas. 4; Uvās. § 61. 211. 249; Nirāyāv. § 5; Ovav. § 59; Nāyādh. § 5); cf. further Sūyag. 1012; Ovav. § 60. 61; Kappas. § 28; *tāmeva paṣe jjaṃ*=*tāmeva paṣiṣayyāṃ* (Ovav. § 72). The same lengthening takes place also in AMg. before *avi*: *kisāmavi*=*kṛśamapi* (Sūyag. 1); *taṇāmavi*=*tṛṇamapi* (Uttar. 219); *annāyārāmavi*=*anyataramapi*, *aṇudisāmavi*=*anudisamapi* (Dasav. 625, 15. 37).

§ 69. A short vowel is lengthened in declensional forms before the ablative sing. forming suffixes Skt.—*tas*, Pkt.—*hi*, *-hinto*, and *i* as well as *u* is lengthened in such cases even before a plural ending beginning with a consonant (§ 365. 379. 381). In derivative words used adverbially original short *a* remains mostly before. *tas*: AMg. JM. *aggao* (Hc. 1, 37; Nāyādh. 1107; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), S. *aggad* (Mṛcch. 40, 14; 151. 18; 327, 1; Śak. 37, 7; 131, 10; Vikr. 25, 15; 33, 4; 41, 11; 42, 18; Ratn. 317, 12. 14), Mg. *aggado* (Mṛcch. 119, 3. 6; 121, 10; 126, 14; 132, 3; 136, 21).—S. Mg. D. *aṇṇado*=*anyataḥ* (Śak. 17, 4; Mṛcch. 29, 33; 96, 25; 102, 18).—Used as pure abl. AMg. *piṭṭhāo*=*piṭṭhāt* (Nāyādh. 938. 964) and *piṭṭhāhi* (Nāyādh. 958. 959), but in an adverbial sense *piṭṭhao* (Sūyag. 180. 186. 204. 213; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1107; Uttar. 29. 69; Uvās.; Ovav.); likewise JM. *piṭṭhao* (Erz.), S. D. *piṭṭhodo* (Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 6; Mallikāṃ 145, 21; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), S. *piṭṭhodo* (Ratn. 316, 22), Mg. *piṭṭado* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10).—AMg. *davvao khēttao kālao bhāvao guṇao*=*dravyataḥ kṣetrataḥ kālato bhāvato guṇataḥ* (Vivāhap. 203. 204; and without *guṇao* 157; Uttar. 1014; Ovav. § 28; Kappas. 118),

davvao vanṇao gandhao rasao phāsao (Vivāhap. 29), *soṃyao ghāṇao phāsao* = *śrotrato ghrāṇataḥ sparśataḥ* by the side of *cakkhūo, jibbhāo, jīhāo* = *cakṣustaḥ, jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5, 1-5).—*Ś. jammado* = *janmataḥ* (Ratn. 298, 11).—But always *Ś. kāraṇādo*, Mg. *kālaṇādo* = *kāraṇataḥ* (Mṛcch. 39, 14, 22; 55, 16; 60, 25; 61, 23; 74, 14; 78, 3; 147, 17, 18 etc.; Mg. 133, 1; 140, 14; 158, 21; 165, 7); JM. *dūrāo* (Erz.), *Ś. dūrādo* (Hc. 4, 276), *P. tūrāto* (Hc. 4, 321), but Mg. *dūlado* (Mṛcch. 121, 11); M. *pacchao* (R.), commonly found *pacchā* (G. H. R.) = *paścāt*, but *Ś. pacchādo* (Mṛcch. 71, 22). In Mṛcch. 9, 9 occur *dakkhiṇādo, vāmādo* in connection with the abl. of the feminine *chāā* = *chāyā*; besides there occurs *Ś. Mg. vāmado* (Mṛcch. 14, 8; 13, 25; 14, 7). On the shortening of vowels in pure ablative see § 99.

§ 70. A final short vowel is sometimes lengthened in formation of a compound. It so happens in AMg. JM. before the suffixes—*mayā, -*mayika*. Thus: AMg. *raṃajāmāyā* = *raṃajamāyā* (Uvās.), *phālīharajāṇāmāyā* = *sphaṭīkaratnamāyā* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. JM. *savvarajāṇāmāyā* (Vivāhap. 1322, 1323, 1448; Jiv. 483; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; and *mayi* (Thān. 266); AMg. *vairāmāyā* = *vajramāyā* (Vivāhap. 1441; Jiv. 494, 563, 883; Samav. 102, 132; Rāyap. 63, 69, 105; Ovav.), *riṭṭhāmāyā* = *ariṣṭamāyā* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), *verulijāmāyā* = *vaidūryamāyā* (Jiv. 494; Rāyap. 105), *savvaphālījāmāyā* = *sarvasphaṭīkikamāyā* (Paṇṇav. 115); *āgāsaphālījāmāyā* = *ākāsasphaṭīkikamāyā* (Samav. 97; Ovav.). But JM. *raṃajāmāyā* (Erz.) by the side of *°nā* (T. 5, 12); AMg. *nāṇamaṇimāyā* Jiv. 494), *āhāramāyā* (Dasav. 631, 24), *purāṇuvillimāyā* (Dasav. N. 661, 5); JŚ. *puḡgalamāyā, uvaogamāyā, poḡgaladavvamāyā* = **puḡgalamayika, upayogamāyā, puḡgaladravyamāyā* (Pav. 384, 36, 49, 58), *asuimāyā* (Kattig. 400, 337); *vārimai* by the side of *vārimai* = *vārimayī* (Hc. 1, 4); M. *ṇehamaia* = **snehamayika* (H. 450). Lengthening takes place, further, in compounds with numerals for 5, 6, 7 and 8: *pañcā, chā°, sattā°, añṭhā°* (§ 440ff.), likewise with *añṇā°* = *agūṇā°* and *aḍḍhā°* = *ardhā°* (§ 444, 450); similar is the case with the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of *pra*, in which already in Skt. the quantity of the vowel underwent variation, as in *pradeśa, prādeśa* (Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakośa 25). So M. *paḍa* (G.) and M. Mg., *pāḍa* = *prakaṭa* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; G. H. R.; Vajjāl. 325, 23; Mṛcch. 40, 6); JM. *payaḍa* (Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *pāgaḍa* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *pāḍia* = *prakaṭita* (H.); AMg. *pāgaḍiṃja* (Ovav.).—M. *pāroha* = *praroḥa* (Hc. 1, 44; G. H. R.).—M. *pasutta* and *pāsutta* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; G. H. R.), However, *Ś. pasutta* (Mṛcch. 44, 18; 50, 23).—M. *pasiddhi* = *prasiddhi* (G.) and *pāsiddhi* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5).—AMg. *pāvayaṇa* = *pravacana* (Hc. 1, 44; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.).—Also M. *pāsijjai* = *prasvidyate* (H. 771) and AMg. *pāsavaṇa* = *prasaravaṇa* (Uvās.) may more appropriately be put here than under § 64—AMg. *abhūi* = *abhijit* (Kappas.), *vīvavittā* = **vyativrajitvā* (Ovav. § 63), *vīvayamāṇe* (Uvās. § 79; so it is to be read; see § 151). In many cases the lengthening is purely metrical, as in M. *diṭṭhipahammi* = *drṣṭhipathe* (H. 456), *nāhikamala* = *nābhikamala*, *araṇvilāsa* = *araṇvilāsa* (G. 13, 111; AMg. *girivara* (Sūyag. 110); JM. *verulijāmanimoṭṭa* = *vaidūryamaṇimauṇi* (Erz. 29, 28). So also *paihara* = *patighara* (Hc. 1, 4) by the side of *pai.ara*, *Ś. padighara* (Mālatīm. 243, 4); *velūvaṇa* by the side of *veluvaṇa* = *veṇuvana* (Hc. 1, 4). In the dialect of Śākāra in Mṛcch. *a* appears to have sometimes been lengthened before the suffix—*ka*: *cāludattāke* (127, 23; 128, 6; 149, 25); *cāludattākam* (127, 25; 166, 18); *cāludattākeṇa* (133, 1; 137, 1; 151, 23); *vāsudevākam* (121, 16); *guḍāha* = *guḍaka* (116, 25; cf. § 206); *ṣaputtākam* = *ṣaputrakam* (166, 18). The same lengthening is found also in AMg. *muhuttāga* = *muhūrtaka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6), *piḷāga* = *piṭaka* (Sūyag. 208), *khuddāga*, *°ja* =

ksudra (Vivāhap. 1851ff.; Ovav.; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; cf. § 294), and in the frequent AMg. *aṇādiya*, *aṇāiya*=*anādika* (Sūyag. 84. 867; Thāp. 41, 129; Paṇhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Vivāhap. 39. 848. 1128) by the side of *aṇādiya*, *aṇāiya* (Sūyag. 787; Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 160), also JM. (Erz. 33, 17; cf. v. 1.); JS. *ādiya* (Kattig. 401, 353); PG. *ādika* (5, 4; 6, 34). Cf. Vedic *jahāka* by the side of *jahaka* (Ved. Stud. 1, 63) and § 73. 97.

§ 71. Final vowels used in the voc. sing. and in the particles employed in calling somebody from a distance are lengthened (pluti): *re re capphalajā*, *re re nigghinajā*, *he harī*, *he gurū*, *he pahū* (Hc. 3, 38); AMg. *āṇandā* Uvās. § 44. 84), *kālāsā* (Vivāhap. 132), *goyama* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 34ff 1311. 1315. 1416; Ovav. § 66ff.; Uvās. etc.), *kāsavā* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 1237f.), *camarā asurindā asurarāyā appatthiyāpatthiyā*=*camara asurendra asurarāja aprārthyaprarthika* (Vivāhap. 254), *hantā mandiyaputtā* (Vivāhap. 268), *puttā*=*putra* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *hantā*=*hanta* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), *subuddhī* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003), *maharisi* (Sūyag. 182), *mahāmuni*=*mahāmune* (Sūyag. 419), *jambū* (Uvās.); S. *dāsieuttā*=*dāyāh-putra* (Mṛcch. 4, 9; 80, 13. 23; 81, 12; 82, 4; 108, 16), *are re kaṇelisudā rāsālasamsthānā ussamikhalaā*=*kaṇelisuta rājasāyālasamsthānaka ucchṛṇ-khalaka* (Mṛcch. 151, 16f.); Mg. *haṇḍe kumbhilaā*=*haṇḍe kumbhilaka* (Śak. 113. 2), *le gaṇṭhiścedaā*=*re granthicchedaka* (Śak. 115, 4), *le calā*=*re cara* (spy, Lalitav. 566, 14. 18), *puttakā haḍakkā*=*putraka hṛdayaka* (Mṛcch. 114, 16); and so the *a*-stems always in Mg. according to Vr. 11, 13 to which, however, the texts do not conform; *vāsū* (girl? Mṛcch. 9, 24; 17, 1; 127, 7); Ā. *are re pavahaṇavāhaā* (Mṛcch. 100, 17); Dh. *vipṭalambhaā*=*vipralambhaka*, *palivevidāṅgaā*=*parivepitāṅgaka*, *khalantāā*=*skhalan*, *kalēntāā*=*kurvan* (Mṛcch. 30, 6ff.); Ā. *bhāmaraā*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 387, 2), *mittaḍā*=*mitra* (Hc. 4. 422, 1), *haṁsā* (Vikr. 61, 20), *hiḍḍā*=*hṛdaya* (Hc. 4, 357, 4. 422, 12. 23. 439, 1). In this place a mention should be made also of the lengthening of the final *a* in the imperative in cases like AMg. *kuvvahaā*=**kuvvata*=*kuruta* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1), *pāsahā*=*paśyata* (Āyār. 1, 6, 5, 5; Sūyag. 144. 148.), *sambujjhahā*=*sambudhyadhvam* (Sūyag. 335). After dropping of the final consonant the lengthening takes place in cases like JM. *dhī*=*dhik* (Dvār. 501, 33); S. *haddhi* *haddhi*=*hādhik hādhik* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12, 6; 16, 6; 50, 23; 170, 3; Śak. 27, 1; 62, 5; 72, 7; Vikr. 25, 14; 75, 10). See also § 75. Frequent is the lengthening of *u* of *hou*=*bhavatu* before the enclitic *nam* in AMg. *hou nam*=*bhavatu nanu* (Nāyādh. 1884. 1228. 1351; Ovav. § 105).

§ 72. After the dropping of *h*, *i* and *u* of the endings *-ih* and *-uh* of the nom. are always lengthened in the sing. of masculine and feminine words ending in *-i* and *-u*. M. *aggī*=*agnih* (H. 163), AMg. *agaṇī* (Sūyag. 273. 281. 291), Mg. *loṣaggi*=*roṣāgnih* (Mṛcch. 123, 2); M. AMg. *asī*=*asih* (G. 239; Sūyag. 593), Mg. *aśī* (Mṛcch. 12, 17); JM. *sahī*=**sakhī*=*sakhā* (KI. 14); S. *pidī*=*prītiḥ* (Mṛcch. 24, 4); M. JS. S. *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭih* (H. 15; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 10); D. *seṇāvā*=*senāpatih* (Mṛcch. 101, 21); M. JM. *tarū*=*taruḥ* (Hc. 3, 19; H. 913; Erz. 4, 29); AMg. S. *bhikkhū*=*bhikṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Mṛcch. 78, 13); JM. *gurū*=*guruḥ* (KI. 14), *bindū*=*binduḥ* (Āv. 15, 18); JM. D. *viṇhū*=*viṣṇuḥ* (Āv. 36, 41; Mṛcch. 105, 21). Some grammarians, according to Hc. 3, 19, permit even nasalization of the vowel instead of its lengthening (§ 178): *aggiṁ*, *ṇiṇiṁ vāuṁ*, *viḥuṁ*. In the instrumental plural in *-bhīh*, and, along with it, in all the dialects other than A., in the abl. plur. in *-bhyah*, which dropped with it, the lengthening never takes place after the elision of *h*, but there develops by the side of the short vowel

also a nasal vowel :—*hi*, *-him*, *-hĩ*, (§ 178), A. in the abl. *-hu*, *-hum*, *-hũ* (§ 368. 369. 381. 387 etc.). In Ś. Mg. is used *-him* only.

§ 73. A short vowel is lengthened in a large number of cases exclusively on account of metrical consideration in medial and final syllables, especially in AMg. and in A. Thus: M. *amsū*=*asru* (H. 153); AMg. *dhiimao*=*dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2, 16, 8), *māimam*=*matimān* (Sūyag. 397), *māimayā*=*matimatā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 16), Sūyag. 373), *amāimayā*=**amatimatkāḥ* (Sūyag. 213), *pañjalio*=*prāñjalikaḥ* (Dasav. 634, 23), *jāi-jarāmarañehim*=*jātijarāmarañaiḥ* (Sūyag. 156), *pavale*=*pravrajitaḥ* (Sūyag. 495), *mahid̥dhīyā*=*maharddhikāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 18, 4); *sonām*=*sonitam* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 9), *sāhiyā*=*sādhikā* (Ovav. § 174); Mg. *line*=*ṛṇam* (Mṛcch. 21, 19). Particularly frequent are the cases of lengthening of the final *i* in verbal forms, especially at the end of a half verse or of a complete verse: AMg. *sahai*=*sahate* (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 3), *sarai*=*smarati* (Sūyag. 172; Uttar. 277), *kuvvai*=**kurvati*=*karoti* (Dasav. 623, 33), *bhāsai*=*bhāṣate* (Sūyag. 106), *marai*=**marati*=*mriyate* (Uttar. 207), *kiccai*=*kṛtyate* (Sūyag. 106), *bajjhai*=*badhyate* (Uttar. 245), *karissai*=*karisyati* (Dasav. 627, 24), *jānanti*, *aṇuhoṇti*=*jānanti*, *anubhavanti* (Ovav. § 179. 188), *acchehi*=*atyehi* (Sūyag. 148); AMg. JM. *bhuñjai*=*bhunakti* (Sūyag. 133; Āv. 8, 4. 24); Mg. *ovaggadi*=*apavalgati* (Mṛcch. 10, 5). Further, very often in AMg. and JM. the final *a* of the absolute in *-ya* is lengthened in poetry. AMg. *paḍilehiyā*=*pratilekhyā*, *muñiyā*=*jñātvā*, *sāpeliyā*=*sāmprekṣya*, *vilūñiyā*=*vidhūya* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 7. 13. 23. 24); AMg. JM. *pāsiyā*=**paśya* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38, 35); AMg. *viñāñiyā*=*viñāya* (Dasav. 637, 5; 642, 12) etc. (§ 590. 591). Lengthening of final vowels occurs in many sporadic cases like AMg. *jagai*=*jagati* (Sūyag. 104), *kei*=*kecit* (Ovav. 63, 20); JM. *kajai*=*kādācit* (Āv. 8, 7; 37, 37).

§ 74. In lieu of a lengthened vowel there comes in a short nasal vowel before one of the simplified consonants of a consonant group. This prevails upon the rules § 62-65. The grammarians (Vr. 4, 15; Hc. 1, 26; Mk. fol. 34; Pkl. p. 10) enumerate together such words under the *vakraḍi* or (Kī. 2, 122) *asṛvāḍi* group. Thus: *kamkoḍa* (Hc.), M. *kamkoḷa* (Śukasaptati 123, 2; text °*la*) and M. AMg. *kakkoḷa* (G. 582; Pañhāv. 527; text °*la*)=*karkoḷa* (cf. § 238).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.A. *daṁsaṇa*=*darśana* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 312, 314; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 379, 2; 380, 6; 387, 13; 389, 9. 4; Kattig. 400, 328. 329; Lalitav. 554, 7. 8; Mṛcch. 23, 14. 21; 29, 11; 97, 15; 169, 14; Śak. 50, 1; 73, 9; 84, 13; Vikr. 16, 15; 19, 3 etc.; Hc. 4, 401, 1), Mg. *daṁsaṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 9; 37, 10; Prab. 52, 6; 58, 16); likewise in *daṁsi*=*darśin* (Vikr. 8, 11), *daṁsai*, *daṁsei* (§ 554) and in others.—M. Ś. *phamsa*=*parśa* (Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Vikr. 51, 2; Mālatīm. 217, 5; 262, 3; Uttarar. 92, 9; 93, 7; 125, 7; 163, 4; Viddhaś. 70, 10; Bālar. 202, 9), Ś. *pariphamśa* (Bālar. 202, 16), Mg. *sphamśa* (Prab. 58, 8); *phamsai* (Hc. 4, 182).—*paṁsu*=*parśu* (Hc.)—M. *ṇihamsa*=*nigharṣa* (G.), *ṇihamsaṇa*=*nigharṣaṇa* (G.R.).—A *banhiṇa*=*barhin* (Vikr. 58, 8).—*l*+consonant in *sumka*=*śulka* (Mk.), AMg. *ussumka* (Kappas. § 102 [so it is to be read]. 209; Nāyādh. § 112; p. 1388 [so it is to be read]). Vivāgas. 230 has *sukka*.—Sibilant+*ya*: AMg. *namaṁsai*=*namasyati* (Āyār. 2, 15, 19; Nāyādh. § 7; p. 292; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; cf. Ovav. § 20. 38. 50 etc.), JŚ. *ṇamaṁsittā*=**namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6.). JM. *niyaṁsaha*=*nivasata* (Erz. 59, 30) from **nivasyata*, presupposes a similar in the present, wherefrom are derived the causative forms AMg. *niyaṁsei* (Jiv. 611), *niyaṁseha* (Vivāhap. 1262), *niyaṁsittā* (Jiv. 611), *niyaṁsāvei* (Āyār. 2, 15, 20), and

from such a form of the present are derived the substantives M. *niāmsaṇa* (Mk. H.), *viñiāmsaṇa* (H.), AMg. *niyāmsaṇa* (Paṇṇav. [so it is to be read with the commentary]; Rāyap. 81; Ovav. § 35); *viamsaṇa* (Mk.); *paḍiñiāmsaṇa* (night-dress; Deśin. 6, 36).—M. *vaamsa*=*vayasya* (Hc. Mk. Pkl. *vaamsi*=**vayasyi* (Karp. 46, 8), JM. *vayaṃsa* (Erz.), A *vaamsiahu*=**vayasyikābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351), by the side of M. *vaassa* (H.), so always in Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 7, 3. 14. 19; Śak. 29, 3; 30, 6; Vikr. 16, 11; 18, 8).—Sibilant+*ra*: M. JM. A. *aṃsu*=*aśru* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Kārṇas. 44, 20; Erz.; Dvār. 501, 32; Piṅgala 1, 61^a), but Ś. *assu* (Veṇis. 66, 7; Subhadr. 17, 3; Mukund. 15, 1), and thus probably is to be read for *aṃsu* in Vikr. 83, 13 [see v. 1.; ed. Bomb. 133, 2; ed. PANDIT 150, 12., ed. PISCHEL 666, 3]; Mudrār. 260, 3 [see v. 1.]; Viddhās. (79, 6; 80, 2).—AMg. *maṃsu*=*śmaśru* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk.; Pāiyāl. 112; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11; 2, 8, 5; Paṇhāv. 351; Bhag.; Ovav.), *nimmaṃsu*=*niśśmaśru* (Aṇuttar. 12; text °*sa*); JŚ. *maṃsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386, 4). Cf. § 312.—M. AMg. *taṃsa*=*tyasra* (Bh.; Hc.; Mk.; Karp. 37, 7; 40, 3; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; Sūyag. 590; Thāṇ. 445. 493); AMg. *cauraṃsa*=*caturasra* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4, Sūyag. 590; Thāṇ. 20. 493; Uvās.; Ovav.), *chaḷaṃsa*=*ṣaḍasra* (Thāṇ. 493), *chaḷaṃsiya*, *aṭṭhaṃsa*=*ṣaḍasrika*, *aṣṭāśra* (Sūyag. 590).—Sibilant+*va*: *aṃsa*=*aśva* (Bh.) and so AMg. *aṃso'ttha*=*aśvattha* (Vivāhap. 1530), but *asō'ttha* (Thāṇ. 555), *āso'ttha* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7; Paṇṇav. 31), *āsattha* (Samav. 233).—M. *maṇaṃsi*=*manasvin* (Hc. Mk. H.), *maṇaṃsiṇi*=*manasvinī* (Bh. Kī. Pkl.) and M. Ś. *māṇaṃsiṇi* (Hc.; H.; Bālar. 142, 3; 242, 4). Likewise in other adjectives ending in *-vin* in AMg., as in *ojaṃsi*=*ojasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), *jassaṃsi*=*yaśasvin*, *tejaṃsi*, *tejaṃsi*=*tejasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.), *vaccāṃsi*=*varcasvin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.).—*haṃsa*=*hrasva* (Bh.; see § 354).—Visarga+sibilant: *maṇaṃsilā*=*maṇaśīlā* (Hc.) by the side of *maṇāsilā*, *maṇosilā*, *maṇasilā* (§ 64. 347). Besides in AMg. this phonetic law comes into force sometimes also when one of the conjunct consonants is a sibilant. Thus in the case of *s+k* in *saṃkuli*=*śaṃkuli* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Paṇhāv. 490), by the side of *sakkuli* (Thāṇ. 259 [commentary *saṃkuli*]; Dasav. 621, 2); in the case of *s+m* in *pāṇiṃsi*=**pāṇiṃmin*=*pāṇau*, *leṇiṃsi*=**leṣṭuṃmin*=*leṣṭau* (§ 312. 379) and that in *s+m* in *aṃsi*=*aṃsi* (§ 313. 498), and in the pronominal locative singular and in the nominal locative singular formed on the analogy thereof, like *kaṃsi*, *jaṃsi*, *taṃsi*=*kasmin*, *yasmin*, *tasmin*; *logaṃsi*=*loke*; *tārisagaṃsi* *vāsagharaṃsi*=*tādrīśake vāsaghare* (§ 313. 366^a. 425ff.); in the case of *k+s* in *pilaṃkhu*=*plakṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7, for which is printed *pilakkhu* (Vivāhap. 609. 1530 °*ka*), *pilukkha* (Paṇṇav. 31), *pilumka* (Samav. 233), also the v. l. in Āyār. has *pilakkhu*; further in *paṃkha*=*pakṣa* (Uttar. 439), *paṃkhi*=*pakṣin* (Rāyap. 235), *paṃkhiṇi*=*pakṣiṇi* (Uttar. 445); in the case of *t+s* in *digimchā*=*jighatsā* (Uttar. 48. 50; commentary *dighaṇchā*), *vitigimchā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 1; 1, 5, 5, 2), *vitigimchāi* Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150)=*vīcīkṣā*, *vīcīkṣati*, *vīcīkṣita* (§ 215. 555); in the case of *p+s* in *dugaṃchā*=*jugupsā* (Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 110; Uttar. 960), *dugaṃchā* (Paṇhāv. 537), *dugaṃchāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 1; Uttar. 628 [°*ga*]), *dogaṃchi*=*jugupsin* (Uttar. 51. 219 [°*gu*]), *dugaṃchāṇiṇi* (Uttar. 410), also JM. *dugaṃchā* (Pāiyāl. 245; Erz.), AMg. *dugumchāi*, *duumchāi*, *dugumchamāṇa*, °*gu* (§ 215. 555), *paḍidugaṃchi*=*pratijugupsin* (Sūyag. 133). So also in the case of *s+t* in *gaṃthi* (Mk.), *giṃthi* (Hc.), *guṃthi* (Bh.)=*gr̥ṣṭi*, but Ś. *giṭṭhi* (Mṛcch. 44, 3), that is reported by Hc. also. The cases in which a nasal vowel has developed without one of the consonants being *r* or a sibilant are: *guṃcha*=*guccha* (Hc.), but Ś. *guccha* (Ratn. 300, 18); M. *piṃcha*=*piccha* (G. R.), but also M. AMg. Ś. *piccha* (Karp. 46, 12, Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Aṇuog. 507;

Uvās.; Vikr. 32.7); *puṁcha*=*pucca* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.), but AMg. *pucca* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5), Mg. *puṣca* (Mṛcch. 10, 4).—In AMg. JM. *saṇṇamkumāra*=*saṇṇakumāra* (Thān. 90. 200; Samav. 9. 16. 18; Paṇḥāv. 314; Paṇṇav. 123. 124; Vivāhap. 241. 242; Ovav.; Erz.) the anusvāra is to be assumed according to § 75. In AMg. *mahaṁhāsa*=*mahāśva* (Vivāhap. 830; Ovav.) *mahaṁ*, in unison with LEUMANN, is to be explained as having developed from the original stem *mahant*, which was pronounced as *mahanta* also. Cf. therewith § 182. AMg. JM. *minjā*=Pāli *minjā*=Skt. *majjā* with *i*, according to § 101 (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 771; Thān. 186. 431; Paṇḥāv. 26; Paṇṇav. 40; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 280. 926; Jiv. 464; Uvās.; Ovav., Erz.), *minjiyā* (Paṇṇav. 529; Vivāhap. 448) may be going back to the original form **mazjā*, **mazjikā*. In formation and in meaning *bundha*=*budhna* corresponds to Latin *fundus* and is, therefore, correctly written as *bundha*. M. AMg. JM. A. *vaṅka*=*vakra* (Vr. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; H.; Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 3; Paṇṇav. 479. 482; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk., Piṅgala 1, 2; Hc. 4, 330. 3. 356. 412), along with M. *vaṅkia*=*vakṛita* (R.), M. A. *vaṅkima* (Viddhaś. 55, 7 [so it is to be read with v. 1.]; Hc. 4, 344), A. *vaṅkuḍaa* (Hc. 4, 418, 8) is connected to Vedic *vaṅku* and to the root *vaki* *kaṭṭily*, (Dhātup. 4. 14) and, therefore, it is to be written as *vaṅka*. Ś. *vakka* (Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Vṛṣabh. 24, 7; 26, 9; Mallikām. 233, 12; Kāṁsav. 7, 18), *vakkadara* (Pras. 140, 1), *vakkida* (Bālar. 246, 14), *anuvakka* (Mālav. 48, 19) are formed from *vakra*. AMg. *vakkaya*=*vakra* (Ovav.). The use of *vaṅka* in Ś. (Kāṁsav. 22, 19) is wrong. The feminine *vaṅkunī* from *vaṅkuna* has been used in Pras. 46, 5, and is found in the proper noun *tivaṅkunī* (Kāṁsav. 55, 11)* as well. Cf. § 86. On *vinchua*, *vinchia*, *vinchua* see § 301.

1. Aup. S. s. v.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 26; GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2, 164. 258.

§ 75. In the final syllable, besides in the case of *pluti* (§ 71), after the dropping off of the final consonant, sometimes dialectically lengthening alternates with anusvāra (cf. § 181). AMg. JM. *visā* and *visam*=**viṁśat*=*viṁśati*, *tisā* and *tisam*=*triṁśat*, *cattālīsā*, and *cattālīsam*=*catvāriṁśat*, A., with shortening of the final vowel, *visa*, *caṭṭālīsa*, *coḍḍālīsa* by the side of *tisā* (§ 445); AMg. *tiriya*=*tiryak* (Hc. 2, 143) by the side of *tiriyaṁ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; 1, 5, 6, 2; 1, 7, 1, 5; 1, 8, 4, 14; Sūyag. 191. 273. 304. 397. 428. 914. 931; Uttar. 1031; Paṇṇav. 381; Kappas.), also in compounds like *tiriyaṁvāya*=*tiryagvāta*, *tiriyaṁbhāgi*=*tiryagbhāgin* (Sūyag. 829); AMg. *samiyā*=*samyak* (Sūyag. 918; Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 6; 1, 5, 2, 2, 5, 3) by the side of AMg. *samiyaṁ* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 3; Sūyag. 304), and AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sammam*. (Hc. 1, 24; Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 1, 5, 5, 1, 6, 1; Sūyag. 844. 958. 994. 996; Thān. 243; Vivāhap. 163. 165. 238; Uttar. 450; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 389, 3; Kattig. 399, 308. 309; Kāleyak. 21, 15; 24, 18); AMg. also *samiyāe* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5). Cf. § 111. In poetry in AMg. is found *jamsi* by the side of *jamsi*=*yasmin* and *yasyām* (Sūyag. 137. 273. 297), in A., *jahi* by the side of *jahiṁ*=*yasmin* (Piṅgala 2, 135. 277) and *kī* by the side of *kiṁ*, *kī* (Piṅgala 2, 18). Perhaps these forms go back directly to *jassim*, *jahim*, *kiṁ*, but seemingly the lengthening is purely prosodical.

§ 76. A short nasal vowel is sometimes, before an immediately following *ra* or a sibilant or *ha*, lengthened, accompanied with elision of the nasal element. Thus: AMg. *visā*, *visam*=**viṁśat*, *viṁśati*, *tisā*, *tisam*=*triṁśat*, *cattālīsā*, *cattālīsam*=*catvāriṁśat*, and others; A. *visa*, *tisā*, *caṭṭālīsa*, *coḍḍālīsa* (§ 75. 445).—Pāli *dāṭhā*, CP. *tāṭhā* (Hc. 4, 325), M. AMg. Ś. *dāḍhā*=*daṁṣṭrā* (Vr. 4, 33; C. 3, 11; Hc. 2, 139; Kī. 2, 117; Mk. fol. 39; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Jiv. 883; Aṇuog. 507; Uvās.; Kappas., Mālatim. 251, 5; Caṇḍak. 17, 8; Bālar. 249, 8; 259, 17;

270, 6; AMg, *Ś dādhī*—=*daṁṣṭrīn* (Aṇuog. 349; Venis. 24, 7 [so it is to be read]).—M. AMg. JM. A *siha*=*simha* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 29, 92, 264; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāyā. 43; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Sūyag. 225, 414, 748; Paṇṇav. 367; Rāyap. 114; Uttar. 338; Dasav. N. 647, 36; Erz.; Kk., Hc. 4, 406, 1; 418, 3), AMg. *sihi*=*simhi* (Paṇṇav. 363), by the side of *siṁgha* (§ 267) and *simha*, as in Ś. (Bīlar. 209, 11 *siṁha* 1āda; 234, 8 *narasiṁha*; Caṇḍak. 17, 1 *vaṇasiṁha*), in compounds correspondingly Hc. 1, 92 has *siṁhadatta*, *siṁharāa*; so also Mg. *siṁhaśāva*=*siṁhāsābika* (Śak. 154, 6), but AMg. *sihaguḥā* (Nāyādh. 1427 ff.). In Bālar. 50, 11 in Ś. there occurs *sihasimhā* [sic.; read °*saṁghā*]; Mallikām. 143, 14 in *sihamuḥa* 144, 3 but *siṁghamuḥa* [sic.] = *siṁhāmukha*.—*kesua* from **keṁsu* (§ 119)=*kiṁsua* (G. H.; Karp. 10, 7)=*kiṁśuka* (Hc. 1, 29, 86), Sindhi *kesū*—*piśai*, Ś. *piśedi*=**piṁsati*=*piṇaṣṭi* (§ 506; Hc. 4, 185; Mṛcch. 3, 1, 21); AMg. *piṣaṇa*=**piṁsana* (Paṇḥāv. 77).—AMg. *vūhae* from **vūmhae*=*vr̥nhayet* (Sūyag. 894), *anuvūhai* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *duppadivūhaṇa*, *paḍivūhaṇa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4, 5). Specially frequent are the cases of lengthening of *a* in the prefix *sa* in AMg. in words like *sārakkkaṇa*=*saṁrakṣaṇa* (Thān. 556), *sārakkhaṇa*=*saṁrakṣaṇatā* (Thān. 333), *sārakkhi*=*saṁrakṣin* (Thān. 313), *sārakkhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 1; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.), also in JM. *sārakkhaṇijja*, *sārakkhantassa* (Āv. 28, 16, 17); AMg. *sārohi*=*saṁrohin* (Thān. 314); *sāharai*=*saṁharati* (Kappas.), *sāharējjā* (Vivāhap. 1152), *sāharanti* (Thān. 155) *sāhṛṭtu*=**saṁhartu* (§ 577), *paḍisāharai* (Paṇṇav. 841; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *sāhaṇṇti*, *sāhaṇṇitā* (Vivāhap. 137, 138, 141). Thus is explained also M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada*=*saṁskṛta* (C. 2, 15 p. 18; Hc. 1, 28, 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; Karp. 5, 3; Vajjāl. 325, 20; Mṛcch. 44, 2; Karp. 5, 1), AMg. JM. *asakkaja* (Paṇḥāv. 137; Vajjāl. 325, 20); further *sakkāra*=*saṁskāra* (Hc. 1, 28, 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; R. 15, 91), JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṁskārita* (Erz.) The route is *saṁskṛta*, **saṁskṛta*, **sākkā*, *sakkaa*. Cf. § 306. Following Mk. fol. 35 and Vāmanācārya in Rishikesh p. 12 note, a mention should here be made also of *satthua*=*saṁstuta* and *satthava*, *satthāva*=*saṁstāva*, *saṁstava*. But AMg, *saṁthuja* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1). Cf. *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* § 127.

c.) ELEVATION OF VOWELS.

§ 77. The first vowel of a prefix is sometimes elevated in synthetic formations in Skt. *abhijāti* and *ābhijāti*; *pariplava* and *pāriplava*; *prati-veśya* and *prātiveśya*. Pkt. exhibits the same phenomenon (Vr. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; Pkl. p. 19). *ahijāi* and M. *āhijāi* (H.), *āhiāi* (R.)=*abhijāti*; M. *paḍivaā*=*pratipad* (H.) and *pāḍivaā*; M. AMg. *pāḍieḥka*-*pratyeka* (§ 163); *paḍipphaddhi*- and *pāḍipphaddhi*=*pratispardhin* (Hc.; Kī. 1, 1; 2, 101); *paḍisiddhi* and *pāḍisiddhi*=**pratisiddhi* (competition; also 2, 174; Deśin. 6, 77; Ś. Karp. 18, 1; 21, 5; 44, 9); *paḍisāra* and *pāḍisāra*=**pratismāra* (cunning; Deśin. 6, 16); M. JM. *samiddhi* (G. H.; Rṣabhap.) and M. *sāmiddhi*=*saṁyiddhi* (H.); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*, **vaṇṇa*=*adhyupapanna* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 2; Sūyag. 185, 210, 751, 923; Nāyādh. 1069, 1387, 1461, 1469; Vivāgas. 87, 92; Uvās.; Āv. 26, 25; 30, 26; Erz.), *ajjhavavajjha*, *ajjhovavajjai* (Nāyādh. 841, 1390), *ajjhovavajjihii* (Ovav.); AMg. *abbhava-gamiyā*=*ābhyupagamikā* (Bhag.; cf. Aup. S. s. v. *āhevaḥca*). The final vowel of a prefix appears to have been elevated in M. *veārium*, *veārijjasi*=*vitārayitum*, *vitārayase* (H. 286, 909); *veāria* (expanded; hair; Deśin. 7, 95); AMg. *āhevaḥca*=*ādhīpatya* (Samav. 134; Nāyādh. 257, 310, 329, 481, 529, 1417, 1507; Vivāgas. 28, 57 [a°]; Paṇṇav. 98, 100, 103; Antag. 3 [a°]; Ovav.; Kappas.). In cases like AMg. *anuvāhaṇaga*, **ya*=**anupānahanaka* (Sūyag.

759; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.); AMg. JŚ. *aṇovama* = *anupama* (Paṇṇav. 136; Ovav.; Pav. 380, 13); AMg. *aṇouja* = *anṛtuka* (Thān. 369), *aṇovanīhiya* = *anupanihita* (Aṇuog. 228. 241. 242), *aṇovasamkha* = *anupasamkhyā* (Sūyag. 454) elevation of the vowel has not to be assumed, but as firstly shown by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹ there is the negative *aṇa-* which is occurs also in AMg. *aṇāti* = *anīti*,² *aṇāḍḍaya* (Kattig. 399, 309), M. *aṇahīa* = *aṇḍaya* (H. R.), *aṇahōnta* = *abhavat* (H.); *aṇarasia* (H.), *aṇadīhara* = *adīrgha* (R.); *aṇamīla* = *amīla* (Deśin. 1, 44); *aṇarāma* = **arāma* = *arati* (Deśin. 1, 45) and others.³ Cf. § 70.

1. ZDMG. 32, 99ff.; KZ. 24, 426.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3, 243ff.; WEBER on H. 41. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, KZ. 23, 271ff.

§ 78. Prākṛit shows vocalic elevation that deviates from that of Skt. in many other cases as well. Thus : *pārakera* = *parakīya* (Hc. 1, 44), but Ś. *parakera* (Mālav. 26, 5), *parakeraa* (Śak. 96, 10), Mg. *palakelaa* (Mṛcch 37, 13; Śak. 161, 7); M. *māṇamsi-*, *māṇamsiṇi* = *manasvin*, *manasvīni* (§ 74); M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 5; Pkl p. 19; H.; Erz.; Kattig. 401, 338). = **sāḍḍkṣa*,¹ corresponding to *tāḍḍkṣa*, *yāḍḍkṣa*; AMg. *cāuranta* = *caturanta* (Hc. 1, 44; Sūyag. 787. 789; Thān. 41. 129. 512; Samav. 42; Paṇḥāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Uttar. 339. 842. 869; Vivāhap. 7. 39. 160. 848. 1049. 1128 etc.), *cāukkoṇa* = *catuskoṇa* (Nāyādh. 1054; Jiv. 289. 478), *cāugghaṇṭa* (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 731. 780. 784. 826. 1060. 1233. 1266. 1456; Vivāhap. 114. 801. 802. 830; Rāyap. 231. 237. 239; Nirayāv. § 21), *cāujjāma* = *caturyāma* (Vivāhap. 135), *cāuraṇṇiṇi* (Nāyādh. § 65. 100. 103; p. 538. 541; Ovav. Nirayāv.).—AMg. *teicchā* = *cikitsā* (§ 215). The secondary vowels originating from *r*, either by contraction or by ablaut or by insertion, show the same elevation. Thus : AMg. *gāhāvai* = *grhapati*, simultaneously accompanied with lengthening of the final *a* according to § 70 (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1. 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 2, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 846. 848. 850. 957 ff.; Vivāhap. 162. 227. 345. 346. 1207 ff.; Nirayāv. 41. 43; Uvās.; Kappas.), *gāhāvaiṇi* = *grhapatī* (Vivāhap. 1266. 1270. 1271; Nāyādh. 530; Uvās.). By the side of AMg. *musam* = *mṛṣā* (Sūyag. 74. 340. 489; Dasav. 614. 29; Uttar. 116), *musāvāda* (Sūyag. 207; Uvās. § 14 [text *mūsā*]). 46 [°*vāya*]), *musāvādi* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 8) there occurs the very frequently found *mosa* (Uttar. 373. 952. 957), *mosa*, *saccāmosa*, *asaccāmosa* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 4; Paṇṇav. 362; Thān. 203; Ovav. § 148. 149), *taccamosa* (Thān. 152; Paṇṇav. 362), *māyāmosa* (Thān. 21; Vivāhap. 126; Paṇḥāv. 86; Paṇṇav. 638; Kappas. § 118; Ovav.).—*rovaṇi*, *dhovaṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *ru*, *dhau*, *svap* (§ 473. 482. 497); *sovaṇa* (sleep; Deśin. 8, 58); AMg. *osovaṇi* = *avastvāpani* (Kappas. § 28), *sovaṇi* = *svāpani* (Nāyādh. 1288); AMg. *vesalaga* = *vṛṣalaka* (Sūyag. 729), *sovāga* = *svapāka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Uttar. 349. 371. 402. 409. 410), *sovāgi* = *svapāki* (Sūyag. 709); AMg. *gelanna* = *glānya* (Thān. 369) of *glāṇa* = *glāna* (§ 136). On M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* = *bahiḥ* see § 181. Elevation of the final vowel after elision of a consonant at the end of a word takes place in AMg. *puḍho* for **puḍhu* = *prthak* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 1. 2; 3, 4ff., 1, 2, 6, 2 etc.; Sūyag. 81. 123; Thān. 332), *puḍhochanda* (Āyār. 1, 5, 2, 2; cf. Sūyag. 412), *puḍhosiya* = *prthakśrita* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2; 6, 3; Sūyag. 332. 468), *puḍhojiya* = *prthagjīva* (Sūyag. 46), *puḍhosatta* = *prthak-satto* (Sūyag. 425; cf. 401). In **puḍhu* for **puḍha* the second vowel is assimilated to the first one, as in *puḥutta* = *prthaktva* (Thān. 212; Aṇuog. 45. 405 ff.; Nandis. 160. 163. 168 f.), for which is found also *puḥatta* (Paṇṇav. 602. 744; Vivāhap. 181. 182. 1057)², also *puḥatta* (Samav. 71; Vivāhap. 178), *puḥattiya* (Paṇṇav. 639. 640. 664) with elevation of the first *u*. Pāli *puṭhu*³ shows the course of development; there is corres-

pondence between Pāli *puṭhujja* and AMg. *puṭhojaga*=*prthagjaka* (Sūyag. 104. 342), as well as between *puṭthujjana* and AMg. *puṭhojana* (Sūyag. 166). According to Hc. 1, 24. 137. 188 *piham*, *puham*, *pidham* and *puḍham* are also used; so JM. *pihappiham* (Āv. 7, 8. 17), AMg. *pihajjana*=*prthagjana* (Thān. 132).

1. At the end of a compound *sāriccha* mostly=**sārīkya* may be taken to be a substantive. That it was also an adjective is proved by instances like those found in Erz. 71, 33. Cf. § 245. 2.—That the MSS. have *puḥutta* also has been shown by WEBER, Bhag. 2, 200, Anm. 1.—3. ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 23; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 6.

d) SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 79. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., and more rarely in other dialects, long vowels were often shortened and *e* was changed into *i*, when the accent originally fell on the long vowel of the preceding or following syllable. Such words as have their *ā* shortened to *a* have been classed under *yathādi* ākṛtiḡaṇa group by Vr. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6; Pkl. p. 22; Hc. 1, 67 divides them into two groups: adverbs in general (*avyaya*) and the ākṛtiḡaṇa *utkhātādi*; and in 1, 68 he further teaches that such words as are formed by the kṛta-suffix -*a'* (*ghañ*) and show *vrddhi* have their *ā* shortened to *a*, as in *pravāha'*, *prahāra'*, *prakāra'*, etc. He is followed by Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37. 38. The words with -*i* are grouped under *pāṇiyādi* ḡaṇa by Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Pkl. p. 28; and under the *grhitādi* class by Mk. fol. 8. Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 set up the *gabhiraga* ḡaṇa and group the words like *pāṇiya*, *alika*, *karīṣa*, *upanita*, *jivati* that show *i* also under the *pāṇiyaga* class (1, 11). Inversely Kī. groups under *pāṇiyādi* (1, 11) the words that require shortening of *i* compulsorily and under the *gabhirādi* class those in which it is optional (1, 12). Hc. permits general exceptions to his rule. The grammarians have not set up a ḡaṇa for the words with *ū*.

§ 80. A vowel is shortened if the accent fell on the preceding syllable: M. *ukkhāa*, JM. *ukkhāja*=*utkhāta* (Grr.; G. R. Erz.), M. *samukkhāa* (H.) by the side of M. *ukkhāa* (H.); AMg. *kulala*=*kālāla* (an owl; Sūyag. 437; Uttar. 447; Dasav. 632, 37); M. *ṇisaha*=*m'ḥśākha* (H.); M. *varai*=*va'rākī* (H.) by the side of the more frequent *varāa*, *varāi* (H.), *sāmaa* (Hc. 1, 71)=*śyāmāka* (Sāntanava, Phitsūtra 2, 23; 3, 18), according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakoṣa 48 also in Skt. *śyāmaka*.—AMg. *aṇiya*=*a'nika* (Thān. 357; Ovav.), *aṇiyāhivai*=*anikādhipati* (Thān. 125. 357), *pāyaṭṭāṇiya*, *pidhāṇiya*, *kuṇjarāṇiya*, *mahisāṇiya*, *rahāṇiya* (Thān. 357), by the side of *aṇiya* (Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.); M. *alīa*, AMg. JM. *aliya*=*a'lika* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Vivāhap. 352. 687; Paṇhāv. 134; Uttar. 19; Dvār. 497, 19; Erz.), also Ś. (Mṛcch. 24, 25; 57, 14. 15; 95, 17; 153, 18; Vikr. 30, 21; Mālav. 41, 18; Ratn. 324, 19; Candak. 9, 17; 52, 10; 86, 10; 87, 13. 16 etc.) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 165, 1). But for Ś. Mg., except in poetry (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 153, 18) often *alīa* also is good; this has been partly better accredited inasmuch as *alīa* is permitted by grammarians and occurs in Ś. (Prab. 37, 6 [against *aliattaṇa* 38, 1]; Nāgān. 45, 11; 103, 3; Mudrār. 59, 1; Pras. 37, 17; 44, 11; 46, 14; 47, 11; 120, 1; Venis. 24, 4; 97, 9; 107, 4 etc.), and JM. *aliya* in Erz.; M. *osiānta*=*a'vasīdat* (R.), *pasāa*=*pra'sīda* (Hc.; H.), but Ś. *pasīda* (Mṛcch. 4, 5; Prab. 44, 2; Nāgān. 46, 11; 47, 6), Mg. *paśīda* (Mṛcch. 9, 24; 131, 18; 170, 18; 176, 9); AMg. *karīsa*=*ka'riṣa* (Grr.; Uvās.), but also M. *karīsa* (G.); AMg. *vammīya* (Hc.; Sūyag. 613; cf. Vivāhap. 1226ff. [mostly °i°]) and M. *vammīa* (G.)=*va'lmika* (Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 4, 25); according to Puruṣottama=Dvirūpakoṣa 8 there occurs *vālmika* as well, and according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakoṣa 51 *valmika* also is found in Skt.; *sirisa*=*ś'rīṣa* (Hc.), but also M. *sirīsa* (Śak. 2, 15).—M. *ulua*, AMg.

uluga=*dlūka* (Sarasvatik. 16, 10; Sūyag. 695); AMg. JM. *gāḍya*=*ga'vyūta* (Thān. 83. 88. 89; Vivāhap. 425. 1529; Jiv. 276; Aṇuog. 381. 385. 397. 403; Paṇṇav. 52. 601. 602; Nandis. 160. 163. 168; Ovav.; Erz.); M. S. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya*=*va'ḍūya* (Hc. 2, 133; Ki. 2, 117; [text °pi°]; Mk. fol. 39; Pāiyal. 119; G.; Mṛcch. 70, 25; 71, 3 [so it is to be read]; Karp. 33, 1; Sūyag. 834; Thān. 75. 86. 514. 568; Paṇhāv. 440; Vivāhap. 1146. 1322. 1324; Paṇṇav. 26. 540; Nandis. 72; Rāyap. 29. 58. 69; Jiv. 217. 494. 549; Uttar. 629. 981. 1042; Erz.); cf. § 241.—*viruva*=*vi'rūpa* (Deśin. 7, 63).—*caviḍā*, *caviḷā*=*ca'peḷā* (Hc. 1, 146. 198) by the side of M. AMg. *caveḍā* (Hc.; H.; Uttar. 596.)

§ 81. A vowel becomes short if the accent fell on the following syllable : AMg. JM. *āyariya*=*ācāryā* (§ 134)¹; AMg. *amāvasā*=*amāvāsyā* (Kappas.); M. AMg. JM. *ṭhavei*=*sthāpa'yati* and other causatives (§ 551. 552); M. JM. *kumāra*=*kumāra'* (Grr.; Erz.), M. *kumari*=*kumārī'* (G.; Karp. 80. 6), M. *kumāravāla*=*kumārāpāla* (Deśin. 1, 104, 88), by the side of M. JM. A. *kumāra*, *kumārī* (G. H.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 362), as always in S. *kumāra* (Vikr. 52. 16; 72, 15. 21; 79, 15; Mudrār. 44, 3; Pras. 35, 2. 7), *kumāraa* (Śak. 41, 2; 155, 9 [so it is to be read]; 156, 6, 14. Mudrār. 43, 5; 44, 1), *kumārī* (Mālav. 68. 10), in Mg. *kumāla* (Nāgān. 67, 1. 14 [so it is to be read]); *khaṭṭa*, JM. *khaiya*=*khādita'* (Bh. Mk. Pkl.; Erz.); *khaṭṭa*=*khādita'* (Grr.); A. *taisa*=*tāḍṛsa*, *jaisa*=*yāḍṛsa'* (Hc. 4, 403. 404); AMg. JM. *pañjava*=*paṇyāya'* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 4; 2, 15, 23; Paṇṇav. 237 ff.); Jiv. 238. 262. 450. 451; Uttar. 797. 895; Aṇuog. 270; Vivāhap. 128; Ovav.; Āv. 43, 4. 9), JŚ. *pañjaya* (Pav. 388, 4; Kattig. 398, 302); M. *paṇava*=*paṇāva'* (Grr.; G. H. R.), by the side of M. JM. *paṇāva* (Grr.; G.; Erz.; Kk.), as in S. (Mṛcch. 2, 20); M. *mañjara* (§ 86) *māñjāra'* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 2, 132; H. 286), *majjara* (Mk. fol. 6), by the side of *mañjāra* (Hc. 1, 26) and AMg. JŚ. S. *majjāra* (Paṇhāv. 20. 64. 528; Nāyādh. 756; Kattig. 401, 347; Śak. 145, 9), M. S. *majjārī* (Pāiyal. 150; Deśin. 1, 98, 82; Viddhaś. 114, 6), *majjārīā* (Karp. 53, 5); A. *sahu*=*sāka'm* (§ 206); M. *halia*=*hālika'* (Grr.; H.).—M. JM. *gahira*=*gabhira'* (Grr.; G. R.; Erz.) by the side of *gaḥira* (G.); M. *ṇia*=*ṇita'* (R.), AMg. *ṇiya* (Uttar. 617, and the words more frequently found in compounds like *aiṇia*=*atinita* (Deśin. 1, 24), M. *āṇia* (Grr.; G. H. R.), JM. *āṇiya* (Dvār. 496, 30. 32; Erz.), M. *saṃāṇia* (H.) M. *uṇṇia* (R.), *uṇṇia* (Hc.; Mk.; R.); AMg. JM. *ṇiṇiya* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.), by the side of M. *ṇia* (H.), JM. *ṇiya* (Erz.); always with a long vowel in S. *ṇida* (Mṛcch. 95, 7; Sak. 127, 9), *avaṇida* (Vikr. 87, 4), *paceṇṇida* (Vikr. 10, 4), *uṇṇida* (Mṛcch. 17, 14; 25, 14; 69, 7; Śak. 19, 7), *paṇiṇida* (Śak. 76, 10), *duvviṇida* (Śak. 17, 4), *aviṇida* (Śak. 135, 2; 154, 7), and in Mg. *ṇida* (Mṛcch. 162, 19), *avaṇida* (Mṛcch. 109, 16), *āṇida* (Mṛcch. 99, 2; 124, 19; 175, 15). Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 restrict lengthening of the vowel, in the feminine, of *āṇita*. The example quoted by Triv., viz. *āṇidā bhuvanabbhudekkajāṇaṇi*=*āṇitā bhuvanādbhutaikajananī* is set either in JŚ. or in S.—*tuṇhia*=*tūṇika'* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 99), by the side of AMg. JM. *tusiṇiya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16 ff.; Āv. 25, 20); M. *viṇia*=*vridita'* (Grr.; Deśin. 1, 20; 7, 65; R. 1, 6 v. l.; Acyutaś. 82), *viḍia* (R.), AMg. *saviṇiya* (Nāyādh. 958); AMg. *sarisa*=*sari'ṇya'* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2. 7 [so it is to be read; v. l.]; Sūyag. 105. 747; Jiv. 263. 264 [here °ri°]; also *sarisava* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; Sūyag. 129. 944; Samav. 98) and *sirisiva* (Sūyag. 339; Rāyap. 228 [°sa°]. 235).—M. AMg. JM. *iṇa*=*ena'* (§ 431); M. *vianā*, JM. *viyaṇā*=*vedanā'* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Ki. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; Pāiyal. 161; G. H. R.; Erz.).

1. Wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 23, 598; 35, 569. The separation vowel *i* and the sonants have no influence on the working of the accent. Cf. § 131.

§ 82. Shortening of vowels takes place on account of the stress accent also in other cases in which we do not have the accent any more. Thus: M. *ahira*=*abhira* (H. 811); *kaḷaa* beside *kaḷāa*=*kaḷāda* (goldsmith : Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37 for *kālaa*=*kālaka* in Hc.); *marala* (Mk. fol. 6)=*marāla*; JM. *mahua* by the side of *mahūa*=*madhūka* (Vr. 1, 24; Hc. 1, 122; Kī. 1, 13; Mk. fol. 9; Kī. 18); AMg. *saraḍuja*=*śalāṭuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 6). The double forms in Pkt. have as their basis the multitude of forms with different accents in Skt. So *khāira*=*khā'dira*, but *khāira*=*khādira*; *devara* is =*dēvara* (Phitsūtra 3, 18), but M. *diara* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kī. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; H.), JM. *diyara* (Pāiyāl. 252)=*devara* (Uṇādisūtra 3, 132); AMg. *pāyaya*, JM. *pāgaya*, *pāyaya*, M. *pāia*, JM. *pāiya*, M. *pāua*, Ś. *pāuda*, Mg. *pākida* (§ 53) are=*prā'kṛta*, but *pāaa* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv. 1, 2, 37), *pāua* (Bh. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6)=*prākṛta*' (cf. *sa'mskṛta* and *saṃskṛta*'). *balaā* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv.; Ad. 1, 2, 37) by the side of *balāā*=*bālā'kā* presupposes the accent as in **ba'lākā* or **balākā*, like AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 131), where the accent seems to be as in **sūkṣma*', whilst in the Uṇādis. 4, 176 it is transmitted as *sū'kṣma*. The ordinals *duia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 94, 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8), JM. *duiya* (Erz.), Ś. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 51, 10; 69, 5, 6; 78, 8; Śak. 137, 2; Vikr. 5, 12; 10, 1; 19, 8; Mahāv. 52, 17 etc.)¹, Mg. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 81, 5; 134, 2); M. *biia* (Hc. 1, 94; G. 1081; R.), AMg. JM. *biīya* (Sūyag. 177; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. and very often in subscriptions as in Āyār. p. 3. 8. 15. 29. 34 etc.; Erz.), M. *taia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; G.), AMg., JM. *taīya* (Ovav. § 105. 144; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. and often in subscriptions, as in Āyār. p. 4. 10. 16. 17. 20. 24 etc.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), Ś. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 69, 14. 15; Mudrār. 41, 7 [so it is to be read; see v. 1.]), Mg. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 166, 24 [text *taia*]) do not go back to *dvitī'ya*, *ṭṭī'ya*, but to **dvitya*', **tritya*'². In cases like M. *jiāi*=*jīvati*, M. AMg. JM. *āruhai*=*ārohati* there is transition over to the 6th class (§ 482)³. On *pāṇia* see § 91, on *gahia*=*grihta*' § 564. Long contracted vowels, except before double consonants and in A., are never shortened: *kālāa* from *kālāasa*=*kālāyasa*' (§ 165); *kumbhāra* from *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra*', and other compound words formed with *kāra* added to them (§ 167); *cakkāa*=*cakkāa*=*cakkaāa*=*cakravāka*' (§ 167); *pāikka*' from *pādātika*' (§ 194); *bia*, *tia* from *biia*, **tiia*=**dvitya*, **ṭṭiya* (§ 165): So probably also *narāa* by the side of M. *nārāa* (R.), Mg. JM. *nārāya* (Uvās.; Ovav. Prabandhac. 100, 7; Erz.)=*nārāca* (Hc. 1, 67)⁴. On AMg. *paḍiṇa* see § 99.

1. The texts often have *dudia*, as in Mudrār. 41, 7; Mālatīm. 31, 6; 71, 3; 72, 4; 103, 8; Bālar. 174, 10; Anarghar. 61, 6; Vṛṣabh. 23, 9 etc. The v. l. in Mālatīm. has mostly the correct reading.—2. JACOBI on Kalpas. p. 103, note 28. Cf. FISCHEL KZ. 35, 144; JACOBI, KZ. 35, 570 f.—3. JACOBI objects to assumption of such a transition, KZ. 35, 569 f., of course on insufficient grounds.—4. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35, 565, note 1, the theory of contraction lacks proof as such. It is still to be proved. In FW. the accent is shown as in *nārāca*', probably according to Vedic *nārāci*'. In BW. the accent is rightly wanting. Perhaps there existed the double forms *nārāca* and *narāca*. Cf. under § 79-82 in general, FISCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff; 35, 140 ff. Against this, wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35, 563 ff.

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened in close syllables (Hc. 1, 84). PG. : *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5, 4); *amacce*=*amātyān* (5, 5); *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6, 8); *bamhaṇāṇam* (6, 8. 27. 30. 38); *puvva*=*pūrva* (6, 12. 28) etc. Sanskritisms in PG. are: *kāncīpurā* for *kāncīpurā*=*kāncīpurāt* (5, 1) and *āṭṭeya* for *āṭṭeya*=*ātreya* (6, 13); faulty is also *cāṭṭāri* for *cāṭṭāri*=*catvāri* (6, 39).—PG. M. AMg. JM. Dh. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (PG. 6, 33; H.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30, 16)¹. M. JM. Ś. *kavva*=*kāvya*

(G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 31, 11; 35, 5).—M. JM. AMg. *gatta*=*gātra* (R.; Ovav.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. rajja*=*rājya* (H. R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 5).—JŚ. *uvasanta*=*upaśānta* (Kattig. 403, 377).—Mg. *śanta*=*śrānta* (Mṛcch. 13, 7).—A. *kanta*=*kānta* (Hc. 4, 345, 351, 357, 1; 358, 1; Vikr. 58, 9).—M. AMg. JM. A. *kitti*=*kirti* (Vr. 3, 24; Hc. 2, 30; Ki. 2, 34; Mk. fol. 22; G. R.; Uvās.; Ovav. Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 335; *ś. kittiā*=*kīrtikā* (Vikr. 12, 14).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *ś. A. tittha*=*tīrtha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 379, 1; Śak. 79, 1; 105, 4; 118, 10; Hc. 4, 441, 2).—M. AMg. *ś. Mg. A. gimha*=*grīma* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 80, 23; Śak. 10, 1; Hc. 4, 357, 3).—M. JM. *ś. Mg. A. uddha*=*ūrdhva* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 136, 16; Hc. 4, 444, 3), AMg. JM. *ubbha* (JŚ 300).—M. AMg. *kumma*=*kūrma* (G.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. Mg. A. cunna*=*cūrṇa* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3; 2, 2, 3, 9.; Kappas.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 68, 25; 117, 7; Hc. 4, 395, 2).—M. AMg. JŚ. *ś. mulla*=*mūlya* (H.; Karp. 73, 10; Ovav.; Kattig. 400, 335; Mṛcch. 55, 15; 78, 3; 82, 15; 88, 21 ff.; Śak. 116, 12).—All the syllables that are accompanied with a nasal vowel or anusvāra are governed by the same law, whether they existed already in Skt. (Hc. 1, 72) or if this anusvāra is secondary in Pkt., having originated from *m* according to § 348: M. *ś. kamsatāla*=*kāmsyatāla* (G.; Mṛcch. 69, 24; Karp. 3, 3 v. l.).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. paṁsu*=*pāṁsu* (G. R.; Vivāgas. 155; Bhag.; Erz.; Mālatim. 142, 1; Mallikām. 253, 18; 336, 9).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *ś. maṁsa*=*māṁsa* (H.; Sūyag. 281; Dasav. 632, 24; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Āv. 27, 12; Kattig. 400, 328; Śak. 29, 6), Mg. *maṁsa* (Mṛcch. 10, 1; 21, 17; 117, 9; 123, 7; 126, 5; 163, 9; Venis. 33, 6; 34, 2; *maṁsae* 33, 12).—The rule frequently becomes operative in the final syllables ending in *-ām*, *-im*, *-ūm*, *-ān* of Skt. declensional forms, as in M. *puttāṇam*=*putrāṇam*, *agginām*=*agninām*, *vāṇām*=*vāyūnām*, *mālām*=*mālām*, *sahim*=*sakhim*, *vahum*=*vadhūm*; AMg. *maham*=*mahān*, *āyavam*=*ātmavān*, etc. (§ 370 ff. 396); further in adverbs like *dāṇim*=*idāṇim* (§ 144), AMg. JM. *saddhim*=*saddhvim* (§ 103). In the case of interjections the rule does not hold good: *ś. Mg. ām*=*ām* (Mṛcch. 27, 10; Śak. 71, 13; 134, 14; Vikr. 13, 2; 35, 9; 75, 5; Mālav. 6, 3; 80, 8; Bālar. 123, 17; Mṛcch. 136, 19). In A. *kahām*, *jahām*, *tahām*, in the sense of *kutaḥ*, *yataḥ*, *tataḥ* (Hc. 4, 355) the lengthening is to be explained according to § 68.

1. In connection with the rules of this type, that are to be covered times without number, the examples from M. AMg. JM. have been selected from texts that are provided with word indices, as far as possible, for the sake of brevity and the examples are confined chiefly to words that possibly occur uniformly in many dialects.

§ 84. Before a consonant group *e* becomes *ē* and *o* becomes *ō*. In M. AMg. JM. sometimes there enter *i* and *u* in lieu of *ē* and *ō*. Thus: M. AMg. JM. *peṇchāi*=*prekṣate* (Hc. 4, 181; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *peṇchāṇija*=*prekṣāṇiya* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *peṇchaga*=*prekṣaka* (Vivāhap. 929) and AMg. JM. *picchāi* (Kappas.; Kk.), AMg. *picchaneṇja* (Jiv. 353), JŚ. *peṇchadi* (Pav. 284, 48), *ś. peṇkkhadi* (Śak. 13, 6; Vikr. 84, 5), Mg. *peṇskadi* (Hc. 4, 295, 297; Mṛcch. 80, 4; 112, 17); M. *apeṇkhi*=*apekṣin* (G.); M. *duppeṇcha*=*dupprekṣya* (R.), *ś. duppeṇkha* (Prab. 45, 11), Mg. *duppeṇska* (Mṛcch. 116, 7).—*dubbheṇja*=*durbhedyā* (Mṛcch. 68, 19).—AMg. JM. *ś. A. meṇcha*=*mleccha* (Ovav. § 183 [v. l. mi^o]; Āv. 39, 2; Mudrār. 229, 9; Cait. 38, 6 [text *malēṇcha*]; Piṅgala 1, 77^a. 117^a; 2, 272) and *miliccha* (Hc. 1, 84), AMg. *miccha* (Paṇnav. 136).—M. *cheṭṭa*=*kṣetra* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; G. H.), AMg. *chitta* (Ovav. § 1), AMg. JM. JŚ. *ś. kheṭṭa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 3; Sūyag. 628; Vivāhap. 97, 157. 203 f. 583 ff.; Uttar. 355 ff.; Dasav. N. 653, 14; Erz.; Pav. 379,

3: 387, 21; Kattig. 401, 352; Mṛcch. 120, 7; Anarghar. 261, 5), AMg. *khitta* (Uttar. 576. 1014).—M. AMg. JM. *oṭṭha*=*oṣṭha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 8, 3; 58, 5; Paṇhāv. 63; Āv. 41, 6; Erz.) and JM. *uṭṭha* (Erz.), AMg. *huṭṭha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5).—M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. anṇōṇṇa*=*anyōṇṇa* (G. H. R.; Sūyag. 137; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 16; 71, 1. 13; Śak. 56, 15; Vikr. 51, 16) and M. *anṇunna* (Hc. 1, 156; G.), wrongly also in *Ṣ. Bālar.* 217, 8.—M. AMg. *Ṣ. paoṭṭha*=*prakoṣṭha* (Mk. fol. 13; Karp. 47, 6; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 23; 69, 5 ff.; 70, 5 ff. 71, 11. 12; 72, 1; Bālar. 80, 1; Viddhaś. 126, 3) and M. *paṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 156; G.).—AMg. *maṇunna*=*manoṇṇa* (§ 276).—The rule holds good also for the secondary *e*, *o* that originated from *ai*, *au* (§ 60 ff.), by *saṁprasāraṇa* (§ 153. 154), and those that originated from *ai* and *au* (§ 166). As *i*, from *e*, there occurs *ai* always in AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2; Thāṇ. 414. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729. 1505; Paṇṇav. 61.; Uttar. 532; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 19; Erz.) wrongly equated as *=ikṣvāku* by LEUMANN and JACOBI: *Ṣ. mitteya*=*maitreya* (Mṛcch. 4, 22. 23; 6, 3; 17, 20; 22, 15; 53, 18; 74, 19; 150, 12), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 45, 1); *sindhava*=*saindhava* (Vr. 1, 38; Hc. 1, 149; Kī. 1, 36; Mk. fol. 12); M. AMg. *saṇiccara*=*śanaiścara* (Hc. 1, 149 with note; Paṇhāv. 312; Paṇṇav. 116; Ovav.). AMg. *saṇimcara* (Thāṇ. 82, 399; Bhag. 2, 225), as in Triv. 1, 2, 94 in my MSS., against *saṇicchara* of the printed edition, is explained either according to § 74 or from **saṇiamcara*, from M. *Ṣ. saṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*, Pāli *saṇikam*, *sanim* (Hc. 2, 168; Pāyāl. 15; G. H.; Āyār. 2, 15. 19. 20. 22; Vivāhap. 172. 173; Uvās.; Erz.; Mālatim. 239. 3; Uttarar. 32, 8; Pāiyad. 17, 13; Pras. 45, 3; Mallikām. 242, 1). In Viddhaś. 120, 9 stands in *Ṣ. saṇiccara* except in the v. l.—Mk., fol. 12 teaches besides *saindhava* also *bhikkṣājivika*, *naiyāyika* and *piṇḍapātika*. Consequently *bhikkṣājivika* can be traced back to *bhikkṣājivika*, *piṇḍavāia* goes back to *piṇḍapātika*: *naiyāyika* becomes *nejāyaya* in AMg. (§ 60). The words which always show *u* from *o* for *au* have been grouped by grammarians (Vr. 1, 44; Hc. 1, 160; Kī. 1, 43; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 37) under the *saundaryādi* class, which, according to Mk. and Pkl., who almost always agree with one another, is an *ākṛtigāṇa*. Triv. 1, 2, 97, who is followed by Ad., has the *ākṛtigāṇa* *saundaga*, and the examples are the same as those in Hc. To this *gāṇa* belong *sundera*=*saundarya* (M. Karp. 66, 7; *Ṣ. Dhūrtas.* 10, 9), for which Prātāp. 220, 9 has *soṇḍajja*, and Hc. teaches *sundaria*; also *uvaritṭhaa*=*aupariṣṭhaka* (Mk. Pkl.); *kukkheaa*=*kaukṣeyaka* (Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl.), for which Hc. 1, 161 and Triv. 1, 2, 96 teach *kuccheaa* and *koṭcheaa*; *duvāria*=*dauvārika* (Bh. [read so for *duvvā*], Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.) is rather *dvārika*; *dussāhia*=*dauṣṣādhika* (Mk. Pkl.); *pulomī*=*poulomī* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.); *pussa*=*pauya* (Mk. [pauṣā]); Pkl. [pauruṣa]); *muñja*=*mauñja* (Mk. Pkl.); *muñjāna*=*mauñjāyana* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk.); *suṇḍa*=*śauṇḍa* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.); *suṇḍia*=*śauṇḍika* (Kī. Mk. Pkl.), and so Mg. *suṇḍikāgāla*=*śauṇḍikāgāra* (Śak. 118, 7); *suddhoṇi*=*śauddhodani* (Hc.).—*suvaṇṇia*=*sauvaṇṇika* (Hc.) is rather **suvaṇṇika*, *sugandhattaṇa*=*saugandhya* (Hc.)=**saugandhatvana*.

§ 85. The *e* occurring at the end of a word, and the original as well as secondary *o* (§ 342) before the enclitics, that begin with double consonants, except in A., become *e* and *o* and not *i* and *u*, : M. *tumhe* *ttha*=Ved. *yusme stha* (R. 3, 3), *sāre* *tṭi*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4, 39), *aṇurāo* *tṭi*=*aṇurāga iti* (G. 715), *pio* *tṭi*=*priya iti* (H. 46); JM. *puriso* *tṭi*=*puruṣa iti* (Āv. 13, 2), *ga* *o* *tṭi*=*gata iti* (Āv. 17, 6), *kālo* *vva*=*kāla iva* (Erz. 71, 27. 3); JŚ. *samo* *tṭi*=*sama iti* (Pav. 380, 7). Wrong readings are AMg. *mu* *tṭi* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 4) for *mō* *tṭi*, as it is correctly in the Calcutta edition,=*sma iti*, JŚ. *māyācāruvva* for *māyācāro* *vva* (Pav. 383, 44), AMg. *lohahāruvva*,

gaṁgasouva for °bhāro°va, °so°va (Uttar. 583), and others. See § 346. Ś. avahid°mhi=avahito°smi (Vikr. 78, 14), bamhañjij°va=brāhmaṇa eva (Mṛcch. 27, 14); Mg. eś° kkhū=eśa khalu (Mṛcch. 40, 9), puttake°ti=putraka iti (Śak. 161, 7). Against this, in M. *e* and *o* are always changed into *i* and *u* in the final syllable of the case endings after long vowels, when the metre requires a short vowel: pucchiāi muddhāe=pr̥ṣṭyā muddhāyāḥ (H. 15); golāi tūhāim=godāyāstīrthāni (H. 58); gāmataruñiū hīaam=grāmataruṇyo hr̥dayam (H. 546); uahiu niggaam=udadhernirgalam (G. 56) Just apparently sometime in MSS. are written *e* and *o* that are permitted by grammarians in Pkt. and A. (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṁgītaratnākara 4,55. 56; Piṅgala 1, 4), thus :—jasoā° cumbiam=yaśodāyāścumbitam (G. 21), or ko°tuhakirañāntio kaṇhassa=kaustubhakiraṇāyamānāḥ kṛṣṇasya (G. 22). The MSS. mostly waver, thus even the best manuscript of G. 44, for harālingaṇalajjiy ā°ajjā° of the text, has °lajjiyāi ajjāi. Examples of this sort are preponderant¹. For AMg. JM. JŚ. as well the same rule holds good : however, in AMg. and JM. the texts, sometimes even after long vowels, have *e* and *o*, probably wrongly. Thus : AMg. savvakammāvahāo=sarvakarmāvahāḥ (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 16), but the Calc. edition gives the correct reading °hāu; levamāyā° saṁjae=lepamātrāyāṁ saṁyataḥ (Dasav. 622. 13). nigganthattāo° bhassai=nirgranthatvād bhraṣṭyati (Dasav. 624, 33); JM. buddhi° caūvviha° juo=buddhyā caturvidhaya yutaḥ (Āv. 7, 23), muddā° añkio=mudrayāñkitaḥ (Āv. 8, 14), jūhāo° paribhaṭṭho=yūṭhāi paribhraṣṭaḥ (Erz. 69, 14). In AMg. JM., even before vowels and simple consonants, *e* and *o*, in many other cases in poetry, measure short : thus in AMg. unnā° vā pavē=unnāto vā payodaḥ, vuṭṭhe° balāha° tti=vr̥ṣṭo balāhaka iti (Dasav. 629, 31. 32), alolo° bhikkhū=alolo bhikṣuḥ (Dasav. 540, 3); JM. manñ° esa=manya eśa (Āv. 7, 30), nio° ujjenim=nīta ujjayinim (Āv. 8, 14). In poetry, for the enclitic *me*, in AMg., is used *mi*, for *se* in AMg. JM. is used *se*, and in AMg., *si* (§ 418. 423), in Mg. Mṛcch. 43, 6 ff., in verse there occurs śakki for śakke=śakyah etc. (§ 64). In AMg. utāho becomes udāhu (Uvās.) or ūyāhu (Āyār. 1, 4, 2 6). Cf. also § 346. In A. *e* and *o*, in all cases, could become either short or *i* and *u* in the final position: pie° diṭṭhāi=pr̥iye °dṛṣṭake (Hc. 4, 365, 1); hīa°=hr̥daye (Hc. 4, 330, 3. 395, 4. 420, 3); pie° pavasante=pr̥iye pravāsati (Hc. 4, 422, 12); kalijugi dullahaho°=kalijuge durlabhasya (Hc. 4, 338); aṅguliū jajjariāu=aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ (Hc. 4, 333); diṇaaru khaagāli=dinakarāḥ kṣayakāle (Hc. 4, 377); kṛdantaho°=kṛtānta°ya (Hc. 4, 370. 4). Cf. § 128. 130. 346. Sometimes wrongly is written *a* before double consonants in lieu of *e* and *o*. So M. pamhaṭṭha mhi for pamhattho° mhi=prasmṛtavānasmī (R. 6, 12; already in Hc. 3, 105); Ś. hadamhi for hād°mhi=hato°smi (Śak. 29, 9); Mg. kadamhi for kad°mhi (Mṛcch. 38, 15)². Cf. § 92 ff. 392 ff.

1. 365. 375. 385, LASSEN, IIist. p. 148, WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 352; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 29.—2. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, 342 ff. Wrongly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 17.

§ 86. A long vowel, before a group of several consonants, one of which is *r*, sometime become a short nasal vowel and the consonant-group is simplified : M. mañjara (§ 81), vañjara (Hc. 2, 132), mañjāra (Hc. 1, 26), by the side of majjara, AMg. JŚ. Ś. majjāra=mārjāra (§ 81).—mumḍha=mūrdhan (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 41), a mention is to be made of only AMg. JM. muddha- (§ 402; Erz.) that does not appear to have been used in M. Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 2, 41).—AMg. meṁḍha (back : Ṭhāṇ. 250), mimḍha (Ṭhāṇ. 205; Sūyag. 708), meṁḍhaga (Ṭhāṇ. 260), mimḍhaga (Ovav. § 107*), mimḍhaya (Samav. 131)=meḍhra, meḍhara, that have as meṇḍhaka, meṇḍha and meṇḍhra crept into Skt. as well;

fem. *meṇḍhī* (Deśin. 6, 138), *miṇḍhiyā* (Pāiṃ. 219), and according to Deśin. 6, 138 also *meṇṭhī*.

§ 87. A long vowel, that occurs before an original consonant-group, from which develops a single consonant through assimilation, or rather its phonetic substitute through elision, remains long (Hc. 2, 92). Such cases mostly occur when one of the consonants is either *r* or a sibilant. Thus: *āsa=āsa* (Hc.).—AMg. JM. *isara=iśvara* (Hc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), Mg. *isala* (Mṛcch. 17, 4; Śak. 116, 2), by the side of *issara* (Bh. 3, 58).—M. JM. *ś. isā=irgyā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69, 25), but also *ś. issā* (Prab. 39, 2, 3), Mg. *iśā* (Prab. 47, 1).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. diha=dirgha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 69, 8; 78, 25; Ratn. 307, 318, 26; Mālatim. 76, 5; Mṛcch. 116, 17; 168, 20; Hc. 4, 330, 2); *ś. dihiā=dirghikā* (Priyad. 11, 2, 5; 12, 12; Vṛṣabh. 39, 3), AMg. JM. *dhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2; Ovav.; Erz.), by the side of *diggha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91). *ś. Mg. digghīā* (Ratn. 299, 12; Nāgān. 51, 6; Priyad. 8, 13; 12, 2; 19, 17; 23, 11; 24, 9, 15; Mg. Mṛcch. 134, 7).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. pāsa=pārśva* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 17, 11; 24, 4, 5; 36, 12; 75, 15; Prab. 64, 2; Priyad. 8, 14).—AMg. JM. *pehai=preksate* (§ 323).—M. JM. *ś. A. bāha* (tears), by the side of *bappa* (smoke), *ś. bappa* (tears)=*bāṣpa* (§ 305).—AMg. *lūha* by the side of *lukkha=rūkṣa*, *lūhei=rūkṣayati* (§ 257).—*leḍhukka=leṣṭuka* (§ 304).—AMg. JS. *loḍha=loṣṭa* (§ 304).—M. *vedhoi*, AMg. JM. *vedhei*, *ś. vedhida=Pāli vethati*, *veṭhita=Skt. veṣṭate*, *veṣṭita* (§ 304). M. AMg. JM. *ś. A. sīsa=śirṣa* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 6; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 14, 16, 17; 68, 14; 74, 5; 78, 10; Śak. 39, 4; Hc. 4, 389, 446), Mg. *śiśa* (Mṛcch. 12, 18; 13, 9; 40, 6; 113, 1; 127, 12), *°śiśaka* (Mṛcch. 20, 17).—AMg. JM. *soma=saumya* by the side of M. *ś. so'mma* (§ 61*).—Cf. § 284. In AMg., deviating from all other dialects, long vowels remain very frequently before the suffix *-tra*, that develops into *-ya* from *-la*. So : *gāya=gātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 19; 2, 2, 3, 9; Thān. 289; Nāyādh. 267; Vivāhap. 822, 1257, 1261; Uttar. 61, 105, 109; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *goṃya=gotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 1; 2, 2, 3, 4; Paṇṇav. 716; Uttar. 966; Ovav.; Kappas.), by the side of *go'tta* (Dasav. 628, 3; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *dhāi=dhātṛi* (Hc. 2, 81; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1; 2, 15, 13; Sūyag. 255; Vivāgas. 81; Vivāhap. 959; Nāyādh. § 117; Rāyap. 288; Ovav. [§ 105]); *pāya=pātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 18; 2, 6, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 124; Uttar. 219; Ovav.), *pāi=pātri* (Sūyag. 783), *kamsapāi=kāmsyapātri* (Thān. 528; Kappas.); *lohiyapāyapāi=lohita-pāyapātri* (Sūyag. 281); *māyā=mātrā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Ovav.), *māyanna=mātrājña* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; 1, 7, 3, 2; 1, 8, 1, 19; Dasav. 623, 15; Uttar. 51), *taṇamāya=taṇamātra* (Sūyag. 608); *mūya=mūtra* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3); *soya=śrotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 2, 5; Sūyag. 639). Only in *rātri* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 28) the rule is not restricted merely to AMg. as *rāi* (Vivāhap. 936, 938), *rāibhojāna=rātribhojāna* (Thān. 180; Ovav.), *rāimdiva=rātriṃdiva* (Thān. 133; Nāyādh. 347; Vivāhap. 1293; Kappas.), *°rāya=°rātra* (Kappas.), *°rāiya=°rātri* (Sūyag. 731; Ovav.; Kappas.); but there occurs also in M. *rāi* (H.), by the side of *ratti* (H. R.; Śak. 55, 15), JS. *rāibhojāna* (Kattig. 399, 306) by the side of *rattim* (Kattig. 103, 374, 375), *rattidivaham* (Kattig. 402, 364), *ś. rādi* (Mṛcch. 93, 12, 15) by the side of the usual *ratti* (Mṛcch. 93, 6, 7; 147, 16; 148, 2; Śak. 29, 7), Mg. *latti* (Mṛcch. 21, 18), *lattim*, *lattimdivam* (Mṛcch. 45, 21; 161, 4).

§ 88. The prefix *ā* remains often before the root *khyā*, and always before *jñā*, and the initial syllable of the roots is treated as if it were a medial one. AMg. *āgham=ākhyān* Sūyag. 397), *āghāya=ākhyāya* (Sūyag. 375), *āghāvei*, *āghavemāṇa*, *āghaviya*, *āghavittae*, *āghavijjanti* (§ 551), *āghavaṇḍa=*

ākhyāpanā (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539; Uvās. § 222); Ś. *paccākhāduṇ*=*pratyākhyātum* (Vikr. 45, 5). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34, 24) is an incorrect reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 491. 499). But also AMg. *akkhāi*, *akkhanti*, *paccakkhāi* (§ 491). AMg. JM. *āṇavei*, Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 551); M. AMg. JM. *āṇā*=*ājñā* (Vr. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Kī. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.; Samav.; 134; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8, 17. 18; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); VG. M. AMg. Ā. Ś. Mg. *āṇatti*=*ājñapti* (Bh. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Kī. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; VG. 102, 16; R.; Nirayāv.; Priyad. 11, 10; Mṛcch. 105, 1; 166, 21; 171, 17; Venis. 36, 6); AMg. *āṇattiyā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), *āṇavaṇa*=*ājñāpana* (Hc. 2, 92; Uvās.), *āṇamaṇi*=**ājñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369). In other cases the usage wavers: thus: M. *āsasāi*=*āśvasiti*, but Ś. *samassasadu*, Mg. *śamaśśasadu*=*samāśvasitu* (§ 496). In Ś. *akkandāmi*=*ākrandāmi* (Uttarar. 32, 1), *akkandasi* (Mudrār. 263, 4), Mg. *akkandāmi*=(Mṛcch. 162, 17) the printed editions (except that of STENZLER) with the majority of the manuscripts have *ākka*, so that it could be read as *āka*° also. But M. JM. *akkamaī*, *akkanta*, *samakkanta* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.) always have the shortened vowel, which also is explained better with the help of *krand*. Besides, a long vowel remains before a consonant-group formed without *r* or a sibilant only seldom, and it is so preserved dialectically: JŚ. *āda*=*ātman* (Pav. 380, 8. 12; 381, 15. 16; 382, 23. 24. 25; 383, 70. 24), AMg. *āya*-(Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 3. 4. 5; 1, 2, 2, 2. 5, 4; Sūyag. 28. 35. 81. 151. 231. 838; Vivāhap. 76. 132. 283. 1059 ff. [the text mostly *āta*—]; Uttar. 251).—AMg. *sāmalī*=*śālmālī* (Sūyag. 315; Thāp. 88.555; Paṇhāv. 274; Aṇuttar. 9; Ovav. § 16; *kūḍasāmālī* (Uttar. 626), dialectical *sāmarī* (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 8, 23.; Triv. 1, 3, 105=BB. 3, 259; cf. § 109).—M. AMg. A. *thāha*, “ground: bottom” (Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5, 30; R.; Paṇhāv. 380; Nāyādh. 904. 1112. 1341; Hc. 4, 444, 3), according to Hc. also “deep water” and “broad” by the side of *thaha* (residence; Deśin. 5, 24) and *thaggha* (deep; Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5, 24)¹; AMg. *atthāha* (groundless; deep; Deśin. 1, 54; Nāyādh. 1112; Vivāhap. 104. 447) by the side of *atthaggha* (Deśin. 1, 54)=**stāghya*, **astāghya*. Cf. § 333.

1. In Deśin. 5, 24, the words are to be read as *thaggho* ‘gādhe and *thaggho* ‘gādha. The scholiasts connect it to *stāgha*. Improvement has been effected according to this GGA. 1880, 334.

§ 89. Against § 83, sometimes a long nasal vowel is retained dialectically, and in such cases the nasal sound disappears: *kāsa*=*kāmsya*, *pāsu*=*pāmsu* (Hc. 1, 29, 70); M. *māsa*=*māmsa* (Vr. 4, 16; Hc. 1, 29, 70; Mk. fol. 34; G. R.), *māsala*=*māmsala* (Hc. 1, 29; G. R.), *māsalaanta*, *māsalia* (G.). The same thing takes place also in the case of secondary nasal vowels in Pāli *pekhuṇa*, *pe’kkhuṇa*, M. AMg. *pehuṇa*=**preṅkhuṇa*, **preṅkhuṇa*, **prekhuṇa*=Skt. *preṅkhaṇa* (wandering=wing, wing; Pāiyāl. 126; Deśin. 6, 58; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṇhāv. 33.489.533; Paṇṇav. 529; Nāyādh. 500; Jiv. 464). The derivation from *pakṣman* (CHILDERS, s. v. *pekhuṇa*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 611) or from *pakṣa* (WEBER, IStr. 3, 396) is linguistically impossible. So also the accusative plural forms in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, in M. AMg. A., such as M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, AMg. *rukkhā*=*rūksān*, A. *kuṇjārā*=*kuṇjārān*, AMg. *mallāi*=*mallakīn*, *bahū*=*bahūn* (§ 367. 381) can be traced back to the Skt. forms through **guṇām*, **guṇā*, **bahūm*, **bahū*, etc., as having developed due to gradual weakening of the nasals. Perhaps Mg. *dālān*=*dārān* (§ 367^a developed in the same manner. Cf. also *kesua* from **keṃsua*=*kimsuka* and *kohaṇḍī*, *kohaṇḍa* from **koṃhaṇḍī*, *ṇḍa*=*kūṣmāṇḍī*, *ṇḍa* (§ 76, 127).

§ 90. When the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the

simple consonant is duplicated. Sometimes doubling of consonants takes place even after an originally short vowel (§ 194). The words in which the doubling is obligatory have been grouped under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa nīḡāḡi* (Vr. 3,52; Kī. 2,111; Mk. fol. 27) and under *tailāḡi* (Hc. 2,98; Triv. 1,4,93; 4,93); the cases, in which lengthening is optional, are included under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa sevāḡi* by Vr. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kī 2,112; Mk. fol. 27, and under the *daivaga* class by Triv. 1,4,92. Not too many examples of application of this rule, notably in Bh. and Mk., are to be found.—M. Ś. Mg. Dh. *ēvvaṇ=eva'm* (H.; Mṛcch. 4,20;9,1;12,25 etc.; Vikr. 6,15;13,18; 8 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 31,17;39,20;80,18 etc.; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,14,18;31,19. 22;35,17) by the side of *evam*.—Ś. *kacca=kāca'* (Karp. 19,8).—AMg. JM. *kiḡḡā=kiḡā'* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 81; Jiv. 577; Jīyak. 45; Uttar. 483; Nāyādh.; Āv. 15,13), AMg. JM. *khēḡḡa* (n.; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3, 105=BB. 3,253; Ovav.; Erz.); A. *khēḡḡā* (Hc. 4,422,10); beside AMg. JM. *kiḡā* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *kiḡāṇa* (Ovav.), *kiḡāṇa* (Rāyap. 288; Ovav.); M. Ś. *kiḡā* (G.; Cait. 69,9); Ś. *kiḡāpavvada=kiḡāpavvata* (Vikr. 31, 17; Mallikām. 135,5; Adbhutad. 61,20 [text °ḡā°]), *kiḡāṇa=kriḡāṇaka* (Śak. 155,1). Cf. § 206.240.—*khāṇṇu* by the side of *khāṇu* (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27)=**skhāṇu'*, an allied dialectical form of *sthāṇu'* (§ 120.309); M. *khaṇṇa* (H.).—AMg. JM. *khatta=khāta'*, *ukkhatta* by the side of M. *ukkhāa*, *ukkhāa* (§ 566).—Ś. *jēḡḡa*, P. Mg. *yeḡḡa=eva'*, by the side of *jeva*, *yeva* (§ 95.335).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa=yauvana'* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,2, 1,3; Sūyag. 212; Thāṇ. 369; Paṇhāv. 288; Paṇṇav. 100; Vivāhap. 825. 827; Dasav. 641,16; Kī. 13; Erz.; Mṛcch. 22,22;141,15;142,12;145,12; Śak. 11,4;13,2; Prab. 41,5; [so it is to be read]; Dhūrtas. 15,8; Mallikām. 221,2; Hc. 4,422,7; Vikr. 68,22), AMg. *jōvvaṇaga* (Vivāhap. 946), but always *juva*—, *juva*=*yu'van* (§ 402), and so also M. JM. *juvai*, *juvai*=*yuvati'*, *yuvati'* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,7; Ratn. 293,5; Pratāp. 218,11; Erz.), Ś. *juvadi* (Mṛcch. 69,23;73,9), Mg. *yuvadi* (Mṛcch. 136,13)¹.—*ṇēḡḡa=nīḡā'* (Grr.), by the side of M. *nīḡa* (G. H.)².—M. JM. *tūṇhikka=tūṇhika'* (H. R.; Āv. 38,2; Erz.), by the side of *tūṇhā*, AMg. JM. *tusiṇṇya* (§ 81). M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *teḡḡa=taila'* (Grr.; H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,3;2,6,1,9,12; 2, 7, 1, 11; 2, 12, 4, 15, 20; Sūyag. 248. 935; Paṇhāv. 381; Vivāgas. 235; Vivāhap. 1288.1327.1329; Rāyap. 167,175; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69,7,12;72,10; Śak. 39,4; Mṛcch. 25,19;117,8), also AMg. *tilla* (Paṇṇav. 63; Uttar. 432.806).—*thiṇṇa* by the side of *thiṇa=styāna'* (Hc. 1,74), M. *thiṇṇa=styānaka* (R.).—AMg. JM. *thulla* by the side of AMg. JS. Ś. *thūla=sthūla'* (§ 127).—*thōḡḡa=stoka'* (Hc. 2, 125) beside the common *thova*, *thoa* (§ 230).—AMg. *dugulla=dukūla'* (Hc. 1,119; Pāiyāl. 266; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; Paṇhāv. 238; Vivāhap. 791.941.962; Jiv. 508.559; Ovav.; Kappas.), according to Vr. 1,25; Hc. 1,119; Kī. 1,25; Mk. fol. 9 also *dualla* beside M. Ś. *duūla* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Mallikām. 68, 5,69,13).—AMg. *dhatta=dhmāta'* (Nāyādh. § 61).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *peṇṇa=prema'n* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Ratn. 299,18; Viddhaś. 6,3; Bālar. 122,13,16; Sūyag. 771; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,25; Vikr. 45,2;51,16; Viddhaś. 59,1; Anarghar. 297,14; Vṛṣabh. 9,1;29,6;43,8; Mallikām. 225,1; Hc. 4, 395,3,423,1; Vikr. 64,4), also AMg. JM. *pimma* (Rāyap. 252; Erz.) and AMg. *pema*—(Sūyag. 923.958; Dasav. 631,19; Uvās.; Ovav.).—*mukka* beside *mūa=mūka'* (Hc. 2,99).—M. *lajjā=lājā'h* (H. 814).—AMg. *viḡḡā=viḡā'* (Hc. 2,98; Deśin. 7,61; Nirayāv. § 13). Cf. § 240.—*seḡḡa=sevā'* (Grr.), beside M. JM. *sevā* (G. H.; Erz.). The same accent is seen in AMg. *pāyatta=pādāta* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. According to Kī. 2,111 *va* in *yuvan* alsois doubled. The texts do not attest it, and it is against the rule. JACOB, KZ. 35,565 considers that it is strange that in *yauvana*, it is not *na*, but *va*, that is doubled. But this, however, takes place with the

consonant that occurs immediately after a long vowel! The entire polemic of JACOB, KZ. 35, 575 ff. against FISCHER, KZ. 35, 140 ff. does not alter in the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 106.

§ 91. The same rule holds good in the optative in *-jjā*, *-jja*, *-ējjā*, *-ējja*, *-ijjā*, *-ijja* in AMg. JM., as in *kujjā=kuryā't*; *dejjā=deyā't*; *hojjā=bhūyā't*; *bhuñjejjā=bhuñjiyā't=bhuñjyā't*; *jāñijjā, jāñējjā=jāñiyā't*, a flexion that even the verbs of the first conjugations have (§ 459 ff.); and further in the passive in *-ijja*, *-jja* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A., in *-yya*, *-iyya* in P., so in words like M. JM. A. *dijjai*, JŚ. *dijjadi*, P. *tiyya'te=diya'te*¹, AMg. *kahijjai*, D. *kahijjadi=kathya'te* (§ 535 ff.). While Ś. *karaṇia*, *ramaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia*, *lamaṇia* and the similarly formed participia nec. and adjectival words are traceable to Skt. *karaṇi'ya*, *ramaṇi'ya* and so forth, the exceptional forms like M. JM. AMg. *karaṇijja*, *ramaṇijja*, and other similar ones (§ 571) presuppose forms of the type **karanya'*, *ramanya'*, A. *ravaṇṇa* (Hc. 4, 422, 11) etc., likewise the substantively used M. Ś. Mg. A. *pāṇia*, AMg. JM. *paṇi'ya=pāni'ya* (Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Ki. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 28; H. R.; Nāyādh. 1009.1011.1013.1032.1053.1058.1375.1386; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 25, 3; 40, 6; 42, 7, 12; Mṛcch. 45, 9; 77, 11; Latakam. 4, 12; Mg. Mṛcch. 45, 7; 113, 21; 115, 1, 2; 136, 11; Hc. 4, 396, 4, 418, 7, 434, 1) assume **pānya'* or **pānya'*². In Ś. occurs *pāṇia* (Hāsy. 37, 7), in AMg. *pāṇi'ya* for metrical reason (Uttar. 895).—M. *biijja* (Hc. 1, 248), *tiijja* (Ki. 2, 36), A. *taiijji* (Hc. 4, 339) are to be explained like M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biija*, M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taija*, Ś. Mg. *tadia* (§ 82). The words in *-eya-*, *-ya* as well follow the analogy of those in *-iya*. Thus: AMg. JM. *nāmadhejja=nāmadhēya* (§ 252), AMg. *pe'jja=pe'ya* (§ 572); in such cases *e* was pronounced very weak because in a great measure the accent fell on the final syllable. (WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar § 1216.a): this is so also in the case of a few forms of the comparative degree like AMg. *pejjam=preyas*, AMg. JM. *bhujo=bhū'yaḥ* (§ 414). Cf. § 252.—*tiṇṇi=triṇi* (§ 438) is formed on the basis of the genitive *tiṇṇam=triṇā'm*, and on the model of *tiṇṇi* have been regulated *doṇṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi=dvau*, *dve*; likewise *daṇṇam* is formed on the model of *tiṇṇam* (§ 436). In a number of isolated words, that appear to be exceptions to the rule, the duplication of consonants is clearly due to a different cause. So in A. *adhiṇṇa=adhi'na* (Hc. 4, 427); the common dialectical form *ēkka=ēka* beside AMg. JM. *ega* (§ 435); AMg. *kavalla*, *kabhalla=kapā'la* or *ka'pāla*, Pāli *kapalla* (§ 208); Pāli, M. *che'ppa=śēpa* (§ 211); M. *so'tta=strōtas* (Bh. 2, 98; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.); AMg. *paḍiso'ttagāmi=pratisrotogāmin* (Uttar. 441), *viso'ttiijā=visrotaskā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 2), beside *soja* (Ovav.), *paḍisoja*, *vissoasiyā* (Hc. 2, 98). M. AMg. JM. *maṇḍukka* (Hc. 2, 98; Ki. 2, 112; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 131; Sarasvatik. 34, 17; Thāṇ. 311.312; Paṇhāv. 18; Vivāhap. 552.553. 1048; Āv. 7, 29), AMg. *maṇḍukkiyā* (Uvās. § 38) may be traced back to *maṇḍuka* (Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakosa 35), whereof the accent has not been transmitted, and not to *maṇḍū'ka*, that gives AMg. *maṇḍūya* (Paṇṇav. 480), Ś. A. *maṇḍūa* (Mṛcch. 9, 11; so more correctly GṌḌABOLE 25, 6; Piṅgala 1, 67).

1. According to JACOB, KZ. 35, 575 the reduplication of *ya* in the passive goes against the rule, because except in the first person singular of the indicative present it is not the final syllable that is accented, but the *ya* that occurs before the personal ending. Evidently here the question can be only of (cf. § 90, note 1) the syllable immediately following a long vowel, therefore, of the last syllable of the stem.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 142.

§ 92. A long vowel, occurring in a closed syllable and followed by an enclitic, is often shortened; when this takes place the initial consonant of the enclitic is reduplicated: M. *appapa ccea=ātmanā caiva* (G. 83), *taṇha ccea=trṣṇā caiva* (H. 93), *gharasāmiṇi ccea=grhasvāmiṇi caiva* (H. 736),

ummillanti cca=*ummilanti caiva* (R. 12,24); AMg. *hiri cceva*=*hriścaiva* (Thāṇ. 76); JM. *sa cceva sā* (Āv. 18, 9), *abhaṇanta cca*=*abhaṇantaścaiva* (Rṣabhap. 13), *sahasā cciya*=*sahasā caiva* (Erz. 83,37); M. *gaṇṇe cca*=*gagane caiva* (G. 319), *muo ccea*=*mṛtaścaiva* (H. 497), *āvāe cca*=*āpāte caiva*, *te ccea*=*te caiva*, *so ccea*=*sa caiva* (R. 1,58; 5,67; 6,67).—PG. *be tti*=*due iti* (6,39), *hoja tti*=*bhūyād iti* (7,48), *kaḍa tti*=*kṛteti* (7,51); M. *sahasā tti*=*sahaseti*, *bhikkhatti*=*bhikkseti* (H. 459,554), *niatti*=*nīteti* (R. 5,6), *tumhārisa tti*=*tvadrśā iti* (G. 706), *māṇinitti* (H. 807), *mahi tti* (R. 5,20), *sāare tti*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4,39), *aṇurāo tti*=*anurāga iti* (G. 715); AMg. *taha tti*=*tatheti* (Uvās. § 67.87.120 etc.), *cāi tti*=*tyāgiti* (Dasav. 613,18.20), *antakade tti*=*antakṛd iti* (Āyār. 2,16, 10.11), *tasakāo tti*=*trasakāya iti* (Dasav. 615,12); JM. *sā sā sa tti* (Āv. 16, 26), *kā eśā kamalāmela tti* (Āv. 30,5), *savannu tti*=*sarvajña iti* (Āv. 16,21), *silogo tti*=*śloka iti* (Āv. 8, 56).—M. *soṇarātula vva*=*suvarṇakāratuleva* (H. 191), *soha vva*, *vaṇamāla vva*, *kittiiva*, *āṇava*=*śobheva*, *vaṇamāleva*, *kirtiriva*, *ājñeva* (R. 1,48), *vaṇahatthiṇiva*=*vaṇahastiniva* (R. 4,59), *aṇṇapahāe vva*, *antaviraśo vva*=*atiprabhāta iva*, *antavirasa iva* (H. 68); AMg. *giri vva*=*giri iva* (Āyār. 2,16,3), *milakkhu vva*=*mleccha iva* (Sūyag. 57), *divē vva* [text *va*]=*dipa iva* (Sūyag. 304), *ajako tthao vva*=*ayaḥkoṣṭhaka iva* (Uvās. § 94); JM. *thambhiya vva* *lihiya vva* *kiliya vva* *taṇkukkariya vva*=*stambhiteva* *likhiteva* *kiliteva* *ṭaṇkotkirṇeva* (Erz. 17,8), *janani vva*=*jananiva* (KI. 9), *taṇao vva*=*tanaya iva* (KI. 14), *cando vva*, *mahi vva*=*candra iva*, *mahiiva* (Erz. 84,20); in A. *va* also occurs on account of metre in *piapabbhattha va*=*priyaprabhāṣṭeva* (Hc. 4,436). In AMg. JM. as a rule a long vowel is retained before *ceva*. In Ś. Mg. neither *ceva* nor *va* occurs. The cases where they are found are examples of error against the dialect: thus in Ś. *gosammi cca*=*gose caiva*, *taṃ cea*=*taṃ caiva*, *paṇṇam cea*=*pravṛttam caiva* (Kāleyak. 2,5.17; 3,12); Ś. *nāmeṇa vva* (Lalitav. 560,22), *bhaṇidam va* (Vikr. 26,13; ed. PANDIT 47,2 and ed. Bombay 46,2 also the incorrect *e vva*; it is rightly wanting in BP., ed. Calc. 1830, p. 35,1; ed. LENZ. 25,10; ed. FISCHER 632, 18), *suttadhāli vva*, Mg. *suttadhāli vva* (Mṛcch. 21,9; 23,21), Mg. *calē vva*=*caya iva*, *amhadeṣiya vva*=*asmaddeṣiyā iva*, *deṣiyē vva*=*deṣiyā iva* (Lalitav. 565,8.12.14), *goṇa vva* (Mṛcch. 112,17) and so often in Indian editions.

§ 93. In AMg. a long vowel, if it is a pluti-vowel, before *iti*, and in enumeration before *iti vā*, is retained. In such cases *iti* becomes *i*¹ through *ti*: *āyampulā i* (Vivāhap. 1260; text *ti*); *sīhā i* (Vivāhap. 1268; text *ti*); *gojyāmā i* (Vivāhap. 1311.1315, text *ti*; Uvās. § 86); *āṇandā i* (Uvās. § 44); *kāmadevā i* (Uvās. § 118); *kālī i* (Nirāyāv § 5, text *ti*); *ajjo i* (Uvās. § 119.174).—*māyā i vā piyā i bhāyā i vā bhayinī i vā bhajjā i vā puttā i vā dhūyā i vā suphā i vā*=*māletti vā piteti vā bhrāteti vā bhaginīti vā bhāryeti vā putrā iti vā duhiteṭi vā snuṣeti vā* (Jiv. 355; cf. Sūyag. 750; Nāyādh. 1110); *uṭṭhāṇe i vā kamme i vā bole i vā virie i vā purisakkāra parakkame i vā*=*uttānam iti vā karmeti vā balam iti vā vīryam iti vā puruṣakāraparākrama iti vā* (Vivāhap. 67.68; Uvās. § 166ff.). Cf. further Sūyag. 747.758.857; Vivāhap. 41.70; Ōvav. § 96.112.165; Kappas. § 109.210).

1. The MSS. and the printed editions very often wrongly have *ti* and also *di*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1, 405, 2, 256 note, * 290, note 12.

§ 94. In Mg. and Ś., before the particle *khu*, which originates from *khalu* (§ 148) under the influence of the pretone, whereby *khu* becomes *kkhu*, *e* and *o* are shortened: Ś. *asamae kkhu*=*asamaye khalu* (Śak. 14,6), *ede kkhu* (Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; 79,6), *mae kkhu*=*mayā khalu* (Vikr. 26,15); Ś. *mahanto kkhu* (Vikr. 45,1; 73,11; 81,20; Mālatim. 22,2), Mg. *mahan-te kkhu* (Prab. 58,9)=*mahān khalu*; Ś. *kāmo kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,1), *maṇṇo kkhu* (Vikr. 23,2); Mg. *hage kkhu* (Śak. 113,9), wrongly *hage khu* (Lalitav. 566,6)=*aham khalu*, *dukkale kkhu*=*duṣkaraḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 43,4). The

other long vowels remain in all the dialects (for P. and CP. material is not available), and in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., after any vowel *khu* mostly becomes *hu*. In Ś. Mg. after a long vowel, other than *e* or *o*, *khu* remains, and after a short vowel it becomes *kkhu*, and only seldom and that incorrectly it is written as *hu* in all the MSS., so Ś. *na hu* (Mṛcch. 60, 1. 24; 61, 23; 117, 16; 150, 18; 153, 2; 327, 4), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 59, 22), Mg. *na hu* (Mṛcch. 161, 17, in the same line with *lāṇṇoe* [so it is to be read] *kkhu* !), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 133, 14. 15. 22; 169, 18). Besides, in the text or in the variants there occur everywhere *na kkhu* and *ṇu kkhu*; as throughout in the text in Śak., where in 50, 2 only for *na hu* of the text, with the best MSS., we should read *na kkhu*. It is only in poetry that even in Ś. (Mṛcch. 40, 25) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 9, 25; 21, 17. 19; 29, 22; 43, 3; 161, 14; Śak. 114, 6) *hu* is correct¹. Even after a short vowel, therefore, occurs in M. A. *na hu* (G. 718.864.900.908.911.1004.1135; H.; R. 3, 7; 6, 16; 7, 6; Hc. 4, 390; Vikr. 72, 11); so also Dh. (Mṛcch. 30, 17; 31, 1); AMg. JM. *na hu* (Uttar. 583. 743; Āv. 11, 2; Erz. 79, 14; 81, 35), but Ś. Mg. *na kkhu* (Śak. 13, 7; 60, 14. 17; 72, 9; 156, 14; Prab. 14, 17; Śak. 160, 10); M. *ṇu hu* (G. 183.996), but Ś. Mg. *ṇu kkhu* (Śak. 18, 10; 19, 1; 39, 12; 77, 1; 86, 8 etc.; Mg. 113, 7); AMg. *mā ja hu* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5.); M. AMg. JM. *vi hu* (G. 865.885.886 etc.; H.; R. 1, 15; 5, 70; 7, 63; Dasav. 634, 2; Erz. 80, 7; Kk. 272, 1; 277, 23); AMg. *hoi hu*=*bhavati khalu* (Uttar. 628.629); JŚ. *havadi hu* (Pav. 380, 9); but Ś. *atthi kkhu*=*asti khalu* (Śak. 127, 14), *arihadi kkhu*=*arhati khalu*, *lajjāmi kkhu* (Śak. 58, 13; 164, 5), *sumaresu kkhu*=*smara khalu*, *bhāmi kkhu*=*bibhemi khalu* (Vikr. 13, 4; 24, 13). In Rājasekhara occurs *na hu* (e.g. Karp. 22, 7; 32, 10; 33, 1) against *ṇu kkhu* (Karp. 93, 4)—an error against the dialect. After long vowels: M. AMg. *mā hu* (H. 521.607; R. 8, 14; Uttar. 440 [hū]. 617), but Ś. *mā khu* (Mṛcch. 54, 21; Śak. 153, 13; 159, 7; Vikr. 48, 3; 49, 1); M. *ko khu* (Hc. 2, 198), *ko hu* (H. 384; v. l. *kkhu*), but Ś. *ko'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 64, 18); M. *so khu* (H. 401; v. l. *kkhu*, *hu*), JŚ. *so hu* (Kattig. 399, 317.318; 400, 323), but Ś. *so'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28, 20; 142, 10); AMg. *se hu* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 7. 2, 6; 1, 2, 6, 2; 1, 6, 5, 6; 2, 16, 9, 10), but Mg. *śe'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 12, 20). Wrong is Ś. *so klu* (Lalitav. 560.19), as in the same place occurring *aniruddheṇa khu* (555, 1). JM. *sā hū* (Erz. 77, 23); AMg. *eso hu* (Uttar. 362), but Ś. *eso'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 18, 8; 23, 19); Mg. *eśe'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 40, 9; Venis. 36, 4); AMg. *vimukkā hu*=*vimuktāḥ khalu* (Āyār. 1, 2, 2, 1), *siyā hu*=*syāt khalu* (Uttar. 297; Dasav. 634, 5); JM. *viśamā hu*=*viśamā khalu* (Rṣabhap. 17); Ś. *abalā khu* (Mṛcch. 12, 21) *aḥkhamā khu*=*akṣamā khalu*, *bahuvallāhā khu*=*bahuvallabhāḥ khalu*, *eśā khu*=*eśā khalu*, *rakkhaṇiā khu*=*rakṣaṇiā khalu* (Śak. 53, 2; 58, 1; 67, 1; 74, 8), *parihāsaṇiā khu*=*parihāsaṇiā khalu* (Karp. 40, 9), *mandabhāṇiṇi khu*=*mandabhāṇiṇi khalu* (Mṛcch. 22, 25), *dūravattiṇi khu*=*dūravarttiṇi khalu* (Śak. 85, 7); Mg. *āadā khu*=*āgatā khalu* (Mṛcch. 59, 7), *avāśaśappañāḥ khu* *lāṇṇo*=*avasaroṇasaroṇiāḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 161, 5). Accordingly in Śak. 99, 16 the reading has to be emended as *daṇṣaṇiākidī khu*=*daṇṣaṇiākytiḥ khalu*. In PG. *tasa khu* (7, 41) and *sa ca khu* (7, 47) *khu* may, according to the mode of orthography of the inscription, be allowed to remain in the place of *kkhu*. CAPPELLER, in his editions, against the manuscripts, that mostly have *kkhu*, even after long vowels, has shortened all such vowels.² Thus for example he writes *esa kkhu* for *eśā khu* (Ratn. 292, 31; 295, 8; 297, 24; 300, 4 etc.), *sa kkhu* for *sā khu* (Ratn. 302, 2; 318, 11; 320, 1), *ma kkhu* for *mā khu* (Ratn. 301, 17; 325, 13), *muhara kkhu* for *muharā khu*=*mukharā khalu* (Ratn. 305, 19); *maṇaajjarāula kkhu*=*maṇaajvāraturā khalu* (Hāsy. 25, 25), *mahadi kkhu*=*mahati khalu*, *puḍhavi kkhu*=*prthivi khalu* (Ratn. 299, 5; 328, 27) etc. It is equally wrong, as sometimes it is in some other good editions of dramas, to write *kkhu* for *khu*.

after anusvāra, as in Ś. *kiñ kku* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *uakidañ kku*=*upakṛtañ khalu*, *kahiñ kku*=*kutra khalu*, *amadañ kku*=*amṛtañ khalu* (Vikr. 8,15;9,3. 11). After anusvāra *khu* only is correct, as Mk. fol. 72 for Ś. explicitly teaches, and as M. AMg. also have : e.g. M. *tañ khu*=*tat khalu* (G. 860.879; H. 142); AMg. *evañ khu* (Sūyag. 95.176), *ēyañ khu*=*etat khalu* (Uttar. 106).³ In M. AMg. and especially in JM., however, *khu* and *hu* are proportionately rarer. AMg. mostly employs *khalu* which is found also in JŚ. (Pav. 380,7;381,18.21; Kattig. 401,343), more rarely also in JM. in which occurs the combination *tañ seyañ khalu*=*tac chveyaḥ khalu* (Erz. 33,18) that occurs frequently in AMg. (e.g. Nāyādh. 333. 482; Vivāgas. 218; Uvās. § 66.138.140.151; Nirayāv. § 12.14.18.20.23; Ovav. § 85.86; Kappas. § 21) and many other similar ones have been taken over into JM. Both the forms of the particle are found side by side in AMg. *appā hu khalu duddamo*=*ātmā khalu durdamaḥ* (Uttar. 19).

1. Not quite correctly LASSEN, Inst. p. 192,7; BOLLSENSE on Vikr. 11,2, p. 196.—2. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125. Already correctly, LASSEN l. c. and STENZLER on Mṛcch. 2,19.—3. The hypothesis that *kku* should be written everywhere (PISCHEL on Śak. p. 210) already goes back to Hc. 2,198.

§ 95. As for *khu* (§ 94), the same rules hold good for Ś. *jeva*, *jēva*, P.Mg. *ye va*, *yē va* (§ 336) also. After short vowels and after *e*, *o*, which may become short, the initial consonant is doubled : Ś. *ajjassa jje vva*=*āryasyaiva* (Mṛcch. 4,8.12), *āreṇa jjeva*=*acireṇaiva* (Lalitav. 562, 23); *idha jjeva* (*jje vva*)=*ihaiva* (Śak. 12,4; Ratn. 293, 25; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,21), *disadi jje vva*=*dr̥syata eva* (Ratn. 295,10), *saṃpajjadi jjeva*=*saṃpadyata eva* (Śak. 120,2), *saṃtappadi jje vva*=*saṃtapyata eva* (Mṛcch. 63,24); Mg. *tava yje vva*=*tavaiva* (Mṛcch. 22,4), *teṇa yje vva*=*tenaiva* (Mṛcch. 133, 7); P. *savvassa yjeva*=*sarvasyaiva* (Hc. 4,316), Ś. *bhūmie jje vva*=*bhūmyāmeva* (Mṛcch. 45,15), *muhē jjeva*=*mukha eva*, *sujjodaē jje va*=*sūryodaya eva* (Śak. 77, 11;79,9), *ido jje vva*=*ita eva* (Mṛcch. 4,22;6,13), *jo jje vva jaṇo*.....*so jje vva*=*ya eva jaṇaḥ*...*sa eva* (Mṛcch. 57,13), *so sacco jjeva siviṇaē diṭṭho tti*=*sa satya eva svapne dṛṣṭa iti* (Lalitav. 555,1); Mg. *daṃśaantē jjeva*=*darśayann eva* (Śak. 114,11), *aṇācaskide yje vva*=**anācaksita eva*, *piṣṭado yje vva*=*piṣṭhata eva*, *bhaṣṭālake yje vva*=*bhaṣṭāraka eva* (Mṛcch. 37,21;99,8;112,18); P. *tūrāto yje va*=*dūradeva* (Hc. 4,323). Other long vowels remain before the particle : Ś. *amhasāmiṇā jeva*=*asmatsvāmiṇaiva*, *tadhā jev*=*atathaiva*, *nikkampā jeva*=*niṣkampā eva* (Śak. 116,8;126,10.14;128,6); Mg. *disanti ye vva*=*dr̥śyamānaiva* (Mṛcch. 14,11). CAPPELLER wrongly writes a short vowel in such cases also (cf. § 94); e.g. Ratn. 291,1;295,23,296,24 etc., as also in Lalitav. 554,5.6.21, which wrongly has *jjeva* even after anusvāra (554,4;555,18), and at 567,1 even *eva*. Wrong is also Mg. *śaḥaśa jje vva* (Mṛcch. 96,24) for *śaḥaśa ye vva*.

§ 96. All the final long vowels are shortened before the enclitic forms of √as (to be) beginning with a conjunct consonant. M : *ṭhia mhi*=*sthitāsmi*, *dūmia mhi*=*dūnāsmi* (H. 239.423), *asaī mha*=*asatyah smaḥ*, *khavia mho*=*kṣapitāḥ smaḥ*, *roāvia mha*=*roditāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417.423.807), *tumhē ttha*=*yuṣme stha* (R. 3,3); JM. *parisanto mhi*=*parīśrānto 'smi* (Erz. 6,25); Ś. *uvavasida mhi*=*upoṣitāsmi*, *alamkida mhi*=*alamkṛtāsmi* (Mṛcch. 4, 6;23,25), *āatta mhi*=*āyattāsmi*, *edāvatttha mhi*=*etadavasthāsmi*, *asahāiñi mhi*=*asahāyinyasmi* (Śak. 25,3;52,8;59,11), *virahukkaṇṭhida mhi*=*virahokkaṇṭhitāsmi*, *vimharida mhi*=*vismṛtāsmi* (Vikr. 82,16;83,20), *avaraddha mha*=*aparāddhāḥ smaḥ*, *nivvuda mha*=*nirvṛtāḥ smaḥ* (Śak. 27,6;58,6), *alaṅghaṇiā kada mha*=*alaṅghaniyāḥ kṛtāḥ smaḥ*, *uagada mha*=*upagātāḥ smaḥ* (Vikr. 23,8,14). On *e*, *o* and the incorrect forms like M. *pamhuṭṭha mhi*, Ś. *hada mhi*, Mg. *kada mhi* see § 85. The forms like M. *ve tti* for *va tti*, *sahase tti* for *sahasa tti* (H. 885. 936), *pie tti* for *pia tti*, *nisanne tti* for *nisanna tti*, *dhire tti* for *dhira tti*, *pelave tti*

for *pelava tti*, *taṇuētti* for *taṇua tti* (R. 5,5.6.8), *vihiṇēvva* for *vihiṇa vva* (R. 14,16); JŚ. *mameṭti* for *mama tti* (Pav. 388,27); Ś. *piadareṭti* for *piadara tti*, *veṭti* for *va tti*, *paḍivādanijjētti*, *niddētti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTINGK, 9,8;37,13;43,14;83,6), and M. *galia vva* for *galie vva*=*galita iva*, *candaa vva* for *candae vva*, *seubandha vva* for *seubandho vva* (R. 1,2;3,48;15,19),¹ based on Sanskritisms and found in many texts based on the readings as found in the manuscripts, are also wrong.

1. PSICHEL, De Kālidāsae Śākuntali recensionibus p. 53; GGA. 1880.325 f.; BURKHARD, Sacuntala, Glossarium p. 96, note*; BOLLESEN, Mālavikāgnimitra p. XIV; cf. WEBER, JS, 14,298. Wrong: HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 44; LASSEN, Inst. p. 188; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 27 f.

§ 97. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. a final long vowel is frequently shortened in formation of a compound (Vr. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Ki. 2,143; Mk. fol. 31). This takes place more especially in the case of stems ending in-ī, which have wholly collapsed together with the stems in-i (§ 384) and more rarely in the case of those in-ā and -ū. Ś. Mg. always retain long vowels in prose. M. *gāmaṇiutta*=*grāmaṇiputra* (H. 31); M. *naipūra*=*nadipūra*, *naipūṇja*=*nadinikuṇja*, *naipheṇa* (H. 45.218.671) beside *naikaccha*=*nadikakṣa* H. 416; *naida*=*naditaṣa* (G. 407), *naisoṭta*=*nadisrotas* (R. 1,54); AMg. *naṭaḷāya*=*naditaḷāga* (Nāyādh. § 128) beside *naṭira* (Kappas. § 120); but Ś. only *naivea*=*nadivega* (Śak. 32,1), Mg. *ṣoṇaṇaḍaṃsaṇa*=*ṣoṇitaṇadidaṣaṇa* (Venis. 35,7); AMg. *itthiveya*=*striveda* (Sūyag. 234; Vivāhap. 179.180; Uttar. 960) beside *itthiveja* (Sūyag. 237); *itthihāva* (Uvās. § 246), *itthilakkhaṇa*=*strilakṣaṇa* (Nāyādh. § 119), *itthisaṃsagga*=*strisaṃsarga* (Dasav. 633,1), beside JŚ. *itthisaṃsagga* (Kattig. 402,358), AMg. *itthivajjana*=*strivacana* (Āyār. 2,4,1,3), *itthiviggaha*=*strivigraha* (Dasav. 632,38); *itthilola* (Āv. 16,30) beside *itthirajjana*=*striratna* (Erz. 3,33;13,5); but Ś. only *itthikallavatta*=*strikalyavarta* (Mṛcch. 60,19), *itthiradana*=*striratna* (Śak. 38,5;103,6), *itthijana* (Ratn. 298,14); AMg. *puḍhaviṭṭha*=*prthviṣaṣṭra* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.3.6), *puḍhaviṭṭha*=*prthvikarman* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.4.6), *puḍhaviṭṭha* (Dasav. 620,34), *puḍhaviṣilāpattaya*=*prthviṣilāpattaka* (Ovav. § 10; Uvās. § 164.166.170); JM. *puhavimaṇḍala* (Erz. 41,24), *puhavivikkhāya* (Erz. 64,23), beside M. *pahaivai*=*prthvipati* (G.); JŚ. *puḍhaviṭṭha* (Kattig. 401,346); Ś. *puḍhaviṇāḍha*=*prthvināḍha* (Śak. 59,12). —AMg. *accharagaṇa*=*apsarāgaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 315; Paṇnav. 96.99; Nirayāv. 78; Nāyādh. 526; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *accarākoḍi* (Vivāhap. 25+); Ś. only *accharāṭṭha*=*apsarāṭṭha*, *accharāṣaṃbandha* (Śak. 118,10;158,2), *accharākāmua*=*apsarākāmuka*, *accharāvāvāra*=*apsarāvayāpāra*, *accharāviraḥida* (Vikr. 31,14;51,13;75,10), *accharājana* (Pārvaṭip. 9,9;10,2); AMg. *kiddakara*=*kriḍākara* (Ovav.); M. *jāṇaḍa* beside *jāṇāḍa* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 4,1; Mk. fol. 31), *jāṇāsaṃgaa* (G. 1053); Ś. *jaṇāsaṃgama* (Vikr. 23,13); M. *bhicchara*=*bhikṣācara* (H. 162); AMg. *bhikkhakāla* (Dasav. 618,17); AMg. *muttājāla*, *muttadāma*—, beside *muttājāla* (Ovav.). —M. *vahumāa*=*vadhūmātā* (H. 508); *vahumuha* beside *vahūmuka*=*vadhūmuka* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Mk. fol. 31); but JM. *vahūahijja*=*vadhūsaḥāya* (Erz. 6,12); Ś. *navavahūkesakalāva*=*navavadhūkesakalāpa* (Mṛcch. 410). Cf. § 70.

§ 98. The vowel of the word *śrī* is shortened in all the dialects, whether it is employed as a proper noun or is prefixed to another noun as an appellative or as an epithet ornaments; it so happens also in the case of *hrī* in AMg. (Ki. 2,57). M. *sirithana*=*śristana* (G. 28), *sirisevia*=*śrisevita* (R. 1,21), *siridamsana*=*śridaṣana* (G. 514); AMg. *sirigutta*=*śrigupta*, *sirihara*=*śridhara* (Kappas.); JM. *sirikantā*=*śrikantā*, *sirimai*=*śrimati* (Erz.); Ś. *siripavada*=*śripavata* (Ratn. 297,31; Mālatim. 30,2.8 [so it is to be read with v. l. to 8 of ed. LASSEN 11,6;12,2; of ed. Calc. 1866, p. 12,3; of ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 18,11;19,6; of ed. Madras 21,9;22,1]). —M. *mahusiri*

pariṇāma=*madhuśrīpariṇāma* (G. 791), *nahasirikaṇṭha*=*nabhaśśrīkaṇṭha* (H. 75), *rāasiribhāṇa*=*rājaśrībhaṇa* (R. 4,62); AMg. JM. *sirivacca*=*śrīvatsa* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *sirighara*=*śrīghra* (Vivāhap. 820,962), *hirisiri-parivajjiya* (Vivāhap. 250), *hirisiridhiikittiparivajjiya*=*hriśridhrtiparivarjita* (Üvās. § 95), *sirisamudaya* (Kappas. § 42); JM. *sirisūyaga*=*śrīsūcaka* (Erz. 67,32), *sirikaṇṭha*=*śrīkaca* (Kk. 276,13); A. *siriānanda* (Hc. 4,401,3).—M. *sirijasavamma*=*śrīyaśovarman* (G. 99), *sirihāla* (H. 698), *śirikamalāuha* (G. 798), *sirirāasehara* (Karp. 6,5); JM. *sirilakkhaṇa*=*śrilakṣmaṇa*, *siriharianda*=*śriharicandra*, *sirirajjila*, *sirināhaḍa*, *siribhillua*, *sirikakka*, *sirikkukya* (KI. 2.3.4.5.6.20.22); Ś. *sirikaṇṭadāsa* (Ratn. 297,31), *siricārudatta* (Mṛcch. 94,5; so with Gopabole 267,5 it is to be read); Mg. *śilīsomeśālaeva*=*śrīsomeśavaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); JM. *sirisamaṇasaṅgha*=*śrīśramaṇasaṅgha* (Kk. 266,3; 270,5,38).—The long vowel is sometimes retained if required by metre: thus in M. *śirīsamullāsa* (G. 856) and so it is also in AMg. in prose *śirīsamānavesāo*=*śrīsamānavesāyāḥ* (Nāyādh. § 65; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *sirīsamānavesāo* (Vivāhap. 791)). In Kappas. § 35, for *vajjaṇasiripallava* we have to read °*siri*° with the v. l. In *śrīka*, the vowel wavers: AMg. *siriya* (Kappas.), *siriya* (Nāyādh.), *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 96), but *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 116); the mostly found, and probably the only correct form in prose, *sassiriya* (Samav. 213,214; Paṇḥāv. 263; Vivāhap. 168. 194 f.; Jiv. 502.504.506; Nāyādh. 369; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *sassiria* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 62,13; Vikr. 41,4; so it is to be read),¹ but *sassiriādā* (Mṛcch. 68,21; 73,11; 107,2), *sassiriattana* (Ratn. 292,12; text. *sasi*°; the ed. Calc. *sassiriādā*). AMg. *hiripaḍicchāyāṇa*=*hripraticchādana* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1), *sirihiri*° (Nirayāv. 73); *hiri*° (Thāp. 151). The word that, in AMg., is used as a proper noun as well, as in *hiri cceva*=*hrireva*, (Thāp. 76), and in the plural *hiriō* (acc. plur. beside *siriō*; Vivāhap. 962) is not traceable in the other dialects.² This word *hiri* occurs as an adjective by the side of *ahirīmāṇe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2); the reading *harime* for *hirīmāṇ* (Uttar. 961) is to be corrected to *hirime*; likewise for Ś. *ohiriāmi* (Uttar. 23,12) should be read *ohiriāmi*=*apahriye*; so stands Ś. *hiriāmi* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 108, 21). The Bengal recension (164,5) has the form *lajjāmi* which corresponds to the dialect; whereas the Kashmir recension wrongly has *arihāmi*=*arhāmi*. Cf. § 135.195.

1. Wrongly, BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 62,13; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 41,4.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 2,104.

§ 99. The original short of *i* and *u* is sometimes retained in poetry against § 69. M. *diabhūmisu*=*dvijabhūmiṣu* (Hc. 3,16=G. 727); *añjalihim*=*añjalibhiḥ* (H. 678), °*ppanaisu*=°*pranatiṣu*, *virahisu*=*virahiṣu*, *causaṭṭhisu* *suttisu*=*cauḥṣaṭṭyām śukṭiṣu* (Karp. 2,3; 38,5; 72,6); AMg. *pakkhihim*=*pakṣibhiḥ* (Uttar. 593), *vagguhim*=*vagnubhiḥ* (Samav. 83), *heuhim*=*hetubhiḥ* (Dasav. 635,34), *pāṇiṇam*=*prāṇiṇām* (Āyār. p. 15,33; Sūyag. 356; Uttar. 312.715.717 ff.), *kukammiṇam*=*kukarmiṇām* (Sūyag. 341), *pakkhiṇam*=*pakṣiṇām* (Uttar. 601), *tāiṇam*=*trāyiṇām* (Uttar. 692), *girisu*=*giriṣu* (Sūyag. 310), *jāisu*=*jātiṣu*, *gārisu*=*agāriṣu*, *jantusu*=*jantuṣu*, *joṇisu*=*yoṇiṣu*, *guttisu*=*guṭṭiṣu* (Uttar. 155.207.446.574.992); JM. *vakkhāṇādisu*=*vyākhyāṇādiṣu* (Āv. 41,28 in a quotation from Viśeṣ. 1,1466). So throughout AMg. JM. in *caūhim*, *caūsū*=*caturbhiḥ*, *caturṣu* (§ 439). On the other hand in poetry long vowels of Skt. and Pkt. are not infrequently shortened in declension. So in the abl. sing. AMg. *thāṇao*=*sthānāt*, *saṃjamao*=*saṃyamāt* (Sūyag. 46), *kulalao*=*kulālāt*, *viggahao*=*vigrahāt* (Dasav. 632,37.38), *sirio*=*śriyāḥ* (Dasav. 641,28); JS. *uvasamado*=*upaśamāt* (Kattig. 399,308). Cf. § 69. In the nom. and acc. plural: M. *divvosahio*=*divyaśādhayaḥ* (Mudrār. 60,9); AMg. *osahio* (Dasav. N. 648,10), *ithio*=*striyaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 218.222.237.540.542; Uttar. 76,921, also

itthiu (Uttar. 373), *nārio* (Uttar. 679 [text °i°] = Dasav. 613,35; Dasav. 635,14), *koḍio* = *koṭayah* (Uttar. 502; text °i°), *rāio* = *rātrayah* (Sūyag. 100; Uttar. 416.436); in the instr. plur.: AMg. *itthihim* = *stribhiḥ* (Uttar. 570); in the gen. plur.: AMg. *iṣaṇam* = *iṣṇām*, *bhikkhuṇam* = *bhikkṣūṇām*, *muṇiṇam* = *muninām* (Uttar. 375.377.409.921); in the loc. sing. AMg. *rāyahāṇie* = *rājadhānyām* (Uttar. 86; text °i°, the correct form occurs in the commentary), *kāsibhūmie* = *kāśibhūmyām* (Uttar. 402); in the loc. plur. AMg. *itthisu* = *striṣu* (Sūyag. 185 [text °i°]; Uttar. 204). So also A. *radie* = *ratyā* (Hc. 4,446). In Mg. shortening in the stem has taken place in *ahisālianti* for *ahisālianti* = *abhisāryamāṇā* (Mṛcch. 11,19), even in AMg. *paḍiṇam* for *paḍiṇam* = *praticīnam* (§ 165; Dasav. 625,37) against § 82. According to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakosa, 152: *prācīnam* *prācīnam* *ca* *syāt* the corresponding shortening occurs also in Skt.

§ 100. In A. in poetry long and short vowels interchange according to metre and rhyme. The rhyme often determines even the pitch of the vowel. The language of Piṅgala goes furthest in this respect. Hema-candra: *sāmalā dhaṇa suvaṇṇareha* = *śyāmalā dhanyā suvaṇṇarekhā* (4,330,1), *sakaṇṇī bhalli* = *sakaṇṇā bhalliḥ* (4,330,3), *phala lihiā* = *phalāni likhitāni* (4,335); *paḍia sila* = *patitā śilā* (4,337), *addhā valaā mahihā gaa addhā phuṭṭa* = *ardhāni valayāni mahyāni gatāni sphuṭitāni* [4,352]; *vihī viṇaḍaū pīḍantu gaha* = *vidhir vināṭayatu pīḍantu grahāḥ* [4,385]; Kālidāsa, Vikr.: *parahua mahurapalāviṇi kanti*... *bhamanti* = *parabhṛte madhurapralāpini kante*... *bhramanti* (59,11.12), *sā paī diṭṭhi jahaṇabharālasa* = *sā tvayā dṛṣṭā jaghana-bharālasā* in rhyme with *gaṭilālasa* = *gaṭilālasam* (62,12), *kiṭṭanti dhaṇia ṇa diṭṭhi paī* = *kṛiḍanti dhanikā na dṛṣṭā tvayā* (63,5); Piṅgala: *sūi meru ṇisaṅku* = *sūcyate merurniḥsaṅkam* (1,40), *mahihara taha a suraṇṇā* = *mahidharāstathā ca surajanāḥ* (1,80), *jasu*... *kaṇṭhaṭṭhia viṣā pindhaṇa diṣā saṁtāria saṁsārā* = *yasya kaṇṭhe sthitam viṣam pindhānam diśaḥ saṁtāritam saṁsārah* (1,81), *varisae* for *varisai* = *varṣati* in rhyme with *diṣae* = *dṛśyate* (1,142), *ṇaccanti saṁhāro dūritā hammāro* = *nṛtyanti saṁharatu dūritam asmaḍiyam* (2,43) etc. See also § 85.128.

(e) THE SEPARATE VOWELS.

§ 101. Skt. *a* can become *i* (Schwā) in syllables before the accent. Hc. 1, 46 puts the words in which this phonetic alteration must take place in the ākṛtiṅga *svapnādi* and in 1,48 adds also *madhyama* and *katama*; in 1,47 he allows option for *pakva*, *aṅgāra*, *lalāṭa*, in 1,49 for *saptaparṇa*. Vr. 1,3; Ki. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5 limit it to *iṣat*, *pakva*, *svapna*, *vetasa*, *vyajana*, *mydaṅga* and *aṅgāra*. It appears most frequently in M. AMg. JM.; Ś. and Mg. always retain *a* in certain cases, as Mk. lays this down expressly for *aṅgāra* and *vetasa*. So: AMg. *asiṇa* = *aśana*' (Āyār. 2,1,5,1); JM. *ultima* = *uttama*' (Hc. 1,46; KI. 9), AMg. JM. *uttimaṅga* = *uttamāṅga* (Paṇhāv. 274.285; Ovav.; Erz.), beside JM. *uttamaṅga* (Pāyāl. 111; Erz.), M. AMg. JM. *uttama* (G.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. *kāima* = *katama*' (Hc. 1,48; H. 119), but Ś. Mg. *kadama* (Mṛcch. 39,6; Śak. 132,7; Vikr. 35,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 130,3).—M. Mg. A. *kiviṇa* = *kṛpaṇa*' (Hc. 1, 46; G.H.; Mṛcch. 19, 6; 136, 18. 19; Hc. 4,419,1 [so to be read], Ś. *akiviṇa* (Mṛcch. 55,25).—AMg. *ghinisu* = *ghraṁsa*' (§105).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *carima* = *carama*' (Paṇnav. 65 ff.; Vivāhap. 113.173.598f. 1254.1262; Erz.; Kattig. 401,348), *acarima* (Paṇnav. 66ff.).—AMg. *nigina* = *nagna*' (§ 133).—M. AMg. Ś. *pikka* = *pakva*' (Grr.; H.; Karp. 67,8; Vivāhap. 1185; Bālar. 292,13), AMg. *vivikka* = *vipakva* (Thāṇ. 377.378), Ś. *paripikka* (Bālar. 142,2; 209,7); beside AMg. Ś. *pakka* (Hc. 1,47; Āyār. 2,4, 2,14.15; Thāṇ. 218; Paṇnav. 483; Dasav. 628,29; 629,8; Dhūrtas. 12,9), Ś. *supakka* (Mṛcch. 79,25), *paripakka* (Ratn. 301,19).—M. *pusia* = *prṣṭa*'

(gazelle; H. 631), AMg. *phusiya* (§ 208; drop; Āyār. 1,5,1,1, Nāyādh.; Kappas.; gazelle; Āyār. 2,5,1,5).—M. AMg. JM. *majjhima*=*madhyama*' (Hc. 1,48; H.; Thāp. 128.141.152.175; Sūyag. 334; Paṇṇav. 76; Jiv. 175.408; Vivāhap. 1412; Aṇuog. 266; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), AMg. *majjhima*=*madhyamaka* (Uvās.; Kappas.), feminine *majjhimiā* (Jiv. 905 ff.), *majjhimiā* (Aṇuog. 383), but S only *majjhama* (Vikr. 6,19; Mahāv. 65.5;133,9; Venīs. 60,6;63,4;64,23;99,12).—AMg. JM. *minjā*=*majjā*' (§ 74).—AMg. JM. *muṅga*=*mṛdaṅga*' (Āyār. 2,11,1; Sūyag. 731; Paṇhāv. 512; Paṇṇav. 99.101; Jiv. 251; Vivāhap. 797 [text *mujaṅga*, correctly in the commentary]; Kāyap. 20 [v. l.]. 231; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also *miṅga* (Hc. 1,137), but S. *mudaṅga* (Mālav. 19,1); Mg. *midaṅga* (Mṛcch. 122,8; GODABOLE, 337,7 more correctly *mudaṅga*). Cf. § 51.—M. *vedisa*=*vetasa*' (Grr.; H.), but P. *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307), S. *vedasa* (Śak. 31,16;105,9).—M. AMg. JM. *sejja* from *sijā* (T. 5,15 and often v. l.; § 107)=*śayyā*' (Vr. 1,5;3,17; Hc. 1,57; 2,24; Kī. 1,4;2,70; Mk. fol. 5.21; G.; Karp. 25,1;39,3;70,6; Āyār. 2,2, 1,1,3,24 ff.; Sūyag. 97.771; Paṇhāv. 372.398.410.424; Vivāhap. 135. 185.839.1310; Paṇṇav. 844; Uttar. 489.495; Dasav. 642,36; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *seyyā* (Cait. 149,19; text *sejja*); AMg. *nisejja* (Dasav. 642,36), *nisijja* (Kappas. § 120), *paḍisejja* (Vivāhap. 964); JM. *sejjāyara* (Kk.), *sijjāyari* (T. 4,17).¹

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34,570. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,572, *kaim* will have developed its *i* through its connection with *kati*; *antima* (as it is also in Sanskrit), *uttima*, *carima* and *majjhima* have developed their *i* through the influence of analogy with *paścima*, and *sijja*, *nisijja*, *sāhijja*, *minjā*, through the influence of *jja*.

§ 102. Exceptions to the rule are just apparent: M. *aṅgāra* (Hc. 1, 47; Pāiyāl. 158), *aṅgāraa* (H. 261), *aṅgārānta*=*aṅgārāyamaṇa* (G. 136), S. Mg. *aṅgāla* (Pras. 120,2,13;121,8; Jivān. 43,9 [probably to be read as *ra*]; Mṛcch. 10,1), S. *aṅgāraka* (Mālav. 48,18), AMg. *aṅgāra* (Paṇhāv. 202.534), *aṅgāraka*=(Paṇhāv. 313; Ovav. § 36), *aṅgāraka* (Paṇṇav. § 116), *aṅgāraka* (Thāp. 263)=Skt. *aṅgāra*, *aṅgāraka* (charcoal; the planet Mars), beside AMg. *iṅgāla* (Grr., also C. 2,4; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,2,2,8;2,10,17; Sūyag. 270,783; Thāp. 230.391.478; Paṇṇav. 28; Vivāgas. 108,141; Nāyādh. 371; Vivāhap. 237.254.322f. 348.480.609.883. 1286.1293; Jiv. 51.257.293; Nirayāv. 47; Uttar. 1053 [text *ra*]; Dasav. 616, 32; 618, 29; 630, 25; Uvās. § 51), *saṅgāla*, *viṅgāla* (Vivāhap. 450.451), *iṅgāla* (Thāp. 82), also taken into Sanskrit (ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1894,820), *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* (Hc. 1,89), S. *iṅgudī* (Śak. 39,4), *aṅgāla* beside *iṅgāli* (a piece of sugar-cane; Deśin. 1,28.79) are related to one another like *aṅgati* and *iṅgati*, *aṭati* and *iṭa'nt*, *addhā*' and *iddhā*', that originally stood in an ablaut relation with one another probably. From *iṭa't* the Prākṛtamañjarī, in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 13, mentions *isa*, *isi*, *isi*. Of them we have S. *isa* in Mālatīm. 239,3, in all the editions: *isa maṇṇuṃ* (v. l. *maṇṇe*) *ujjhiā*, and so we have to read also in Venīs. 12, 10; 61, 15 *isa viḥasia* with the v. l. to 12, 10 and in M. *cirehi isa tti* (Pratāp. 206. 11; text *isi*), *pāvai isisa* (H. 444; correctly in the v. l. and ed. Bomb.; or *isamṇi* with v. l.); correct is *isisa*.....*maṇaṃ kuṇanti* (Karp. 8,9; cf. v. l.), because *iṣat* here stands by itself. Otherwise it occurs throughout in the beginning of compounds; thus in M. *iṣijalapesiacca*=*iṣajjalaprekṣitākṣa*, *iṣiraabhinna*=*iṣadrajobhinna*, *iṣiṇiha*=*iṣannibha*, *iṣiviatla*=*iṣadvivṛta* (R. 2, 39;11,43;12,48;13,70), *iṣidittha*=*iṣaddiṣṭa* (Bālar. 120,5), *iṣasamcarana-cāncurā* (Karp. 86,1; the v. l. has *isam*, the ed. Bomb. 85,10 reads *isa samcaranabandhurā*), *iṣubhiḥjanta* [text *iṣubhiṇṇandaṃ*]=*iṣadubhiḍyamāna* (Mallikām. 239,5); JM. *iṣivāsam*=*iṣadvikāsam* (KI. 7); S. *iṣiparissantā*

=*īṣatparīśrāntā* (Śak. 133,1), *īṣiviasida*=*īṣadvikasita* (Mālatīm. 121,5), *īṣimaulida*=*īṣanmukulita*, *īṣimasina*=*īṣanmasṛṇa* (Mahāv. 22,20;24,6), *īṣivirala* (Uttarar. 73,5), *īṣivalida* (Nāgān. 8,15), *īṣadāradesadāvida*=*īṣaddvāradeśadāpita* (Mudrār. 43,8), *īṣiniddāmuddida*=*īṣannidrāmudrita* (Bālar. 220,6); *īṣitiricchi* (text °ra°)=*īṣattiryak*, *īṣisuñijanta*=*īṣacchrūyamāṇa*, *īṣicairia*=*īṣaccaturita*(?), *īṣimāulanta* [text °mmu°]=*īṣanmukulāyamāṇa*, etc. (Mallikām. 74,2;123,5;141,8;225,8); also *īṣi* in M. *īṣisivalanta*- (H. 370) and Ś. *īṣisijaradhāmāṇa* (Karp. 38, 1); falsely independent in Ś. *īṣi veaṇā samuppanṇā* (Karp. 73,6), which has been correctly emended as *īṣisa* by KONOW. The *ī* is, therefore, explained from the cases in which *īṣat*, as the first member of a compound, became toneless according to Pāṇini 6,2,54. Cf. Hc. 2,129. The Prākṛtamañjarī l. c. teaches also *īṣi*, which occurs often in the MSS. Bh. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5, and several times also in Indian editions: *īṣisumbia* occurs in Śak. 4,9 ed. BÖHTLINGK. S. *īṣa-samkamida* (Jivān. 43,8) for *īṣi*°, *īṣi samīve hohi*=*īṣat sāmīve bhava*, *īṣi vilambia*=*īṣadvilambya*, *īṣi uttāṇam kadua*=*īṣad uttāṇam kṛtvā* (Mallikām. 87,18;124,5;222,8) for *īṣa*°, and JM. *īṣi hasiūṇa* (Erz. 57,17) for *īṣim hasiūṇa* are false readings, as AMg. JM. have the nasalized form *īṣim* always used in independent words and generally in compound words (Ṭhāṇ. 135. 297; Āyār 2,15,20 [*īṣi*°]. 21 [*īṣi*°]. 22 [*īṣi*°]; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1284; Vivāhap. 239. 248.920 [*īṣi*°], Jiv. 444.501.794.860; Ovav. § 33.49, VII [so read everywhere for *īṣi*]; Kappas. § 15; Āv. 48, 14; Erz.). AMg. has also an adjective *īṣiya*=**īṣatka* (Nāyādh. 990).

§ 103. Corresponding to the rule *i* occurs in forms like JŚ. A. *kiḍha* (Pav. 384,47;388,2,5; Hc. 4,401,1), AMg. JM. A. *kiha* (Āyār. 1,6, 1;6; Āv. 10,23;35,18;46,31; Erz.; Hc. 4,401,3)=Vedic *kathā*°. On its analogy are formed A. *jidha*, *tidha*, *jiha*, *tiha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (Hc. 4,401), as conversely the short of the final of *ā* has been brought in on the analogy of M. AMg. JM. A. *jaha*, *taha*, JŚ. *jadha*, *tadha* (§ 113). In a similar manner are to be explained also AMg. JM. *tise*, *jise*, M. *tissā*, *jissā*=*tasyāḥ*, *yasyāḥ* as formed on the analogy of *kise*, *kissā* (§ 425 ff.).¹—*ghisai* (Vr. 8,28 [read as such]; Hc. 4,204)=*gha'sti*=*gha'sati* has gone over to the sixth conjugation (§ 482).—M. A. *candimā* (brilliance of the moon; Vr. 2,6; Hc. 1,185; Kī. 2,25; Mk. fol. 14; Pāyāl. 244; G.H. 609 [read as such], R.; Hc. 4,349) is to be identified neither with the native grammarians with *candrikā*, nor with LASEN², E. KUHN³, S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ and JACOBI⁵ with *candra'mas* against which are the accent, gender and meaning, but with **candriman*⁶, which according to Hc. 1,35, might become feminine, and has been taken over into Skt. as *candimā* (B. -R. s. v.). Pāli *candimā* (nom. sing.), AMg. *candima*- (Nirayāv. 38; Ovav.; Kappas.), AMg. A. nom. *candimā* (Sūyag. 433 [text °da°]. 460; Dasav. 627, 11; Piṅgala 1, 30 [text °da°]) are masculine and mean 'the moon', and are secondary derivatives from *candimā* (fem.) with a dependence upon *candramas*. *candrikā* becomes Ś. *candīā* (Cait. 40,15; Adbhutad. 71,9).—According to Hc. 1,49,265; Mk. fol. 18, besides *chattavaṇṇa* we may say *chattivaṇṇa* (Vr. 2,41; Kī. 2,46). The Indian grammarians equate the words as=*saptaparna*, which is to be accented as *sapta'parṇa*. But *sapta'n* nowhere shows *ch* initially and the *a* originating from *an* never becomes *i*, as we learn from *pañcama*, *sattama*, *aṭṭhama*, *navama*, *dasama*, etc. (§ 449).⁷ *chattavaṇṇa*, therefore, is not=*saptaparna*, but=*chattraparna*, and *chattivaṇṇa*=**chatriparna* from *chattri* (Hc., Upādi-gaṇas. 446)=*chattrā*. In AMg. the word occurs as *sattavaṇṇa* (Paṇṇav. 31; Nāyādh. 916; Vivāhap. 41.1530; Ovav. § 6) and *sattivaṇṇa* (Ṭhāṇ. 266 [commentary *satta*°]. 555; Vivāhap. 289), which, if the reading be correct, is formed on the analogy of *chattivaṇṇa*; Ś. has *chattavaṇṇa* (Śak.

18,5; cf. v. 1.) and *sattavaṇṇa* (Priyad. 10,13).—AMg. JM. *puvviṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203 [text here °an°]); Dasav. 641,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.) is not=*pūrvam*, but=**pūrvī'm*; cf. AMg. *puvvaṇṇupuvviṃ* (Nirayāv. § 1), which has already been shown by WARREN as=*pūva+ānupūrvī'm*.—AMg. JM. *saddhiṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav. § 15,16; Kappas. etc.; Erz.) is not=*sārdha'm*, but=*Vedic sadhri'm*.⁸ We cannot ascertain the accent in *avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka*, which, in AMg., become *vaḍiṃsa* (Rāyap. 102), *vaḍiṃsaga* (Samav. 10,12,16,23; Rāyap. 103,139; Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), and *vaḍiṃsaya* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.). *i* and the dropping of the initial *a* point to an accent on the final syllable (§ 142). The exceptions to the rule are AMg. *kuṇima*=*ku'ṇapa* and *viḍima*=*viṣa'pa* (§ 248) only which presuppose accentuation on the final. On M. AMg. JM. *ṣ. ṇiḍāla*, M. AMg. *ṇilāda*=*lalāṭa* see § 260; on AMg. *āikkhaī*, § 492, on *diṇṇa* § 566, and on AMg. JM. *appiṇai* § 557.

1. FRANKE opines differently with regard to the genitive forms like *tissā*, GN. 1895,529, note 1.—2. Inst. p. 203.—8. Beiträge p. 22.—4. Rāvaṇavaho p. 156, note 1.—5. Kalpasūtra. s. v., KZ. 35,573.—6. PSCHHEL, KZ. 34,572.—7. JACOBI has not taken these into consideration, KZ. 35,572.—8. PSCHHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,235.

§ 104. Before and after a labial sometimes *a* becomes *u*: *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma*=*prathama* (C. 3,9 p. 48; Hc. 1,55). The common form found in all the dialects is *paḍhama*. So M. (G. H. R.); AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,3,18;2,5,1,6; Sūyag. 45; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.); JM. (K1. 1; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. (Kattig. 398,304;400,332,401,342,344); Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,23,94,3;138,15; Śak. 43,6;50,1;67,11; Vikr. 22,20;27,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 130,13,18;139,10;153,21); D. (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. (Piṅgala 1,1,10,23,40 etc.). *puḍhama* occurs in M. (H. 832), in Ś. (Mudrār. 182,3; 204,4,6), in Mg. (Mudrār. 185,4); but the most and the best of the MSS. of Mudrār. have *puḍhama*, as in 253,4 in the text (v. l. *pu*). S. GOLD-SCHMIDT has *puḍhuma* several times in R.; likewise BOLLENSSEN in Vikr. 23,19;24,1;83,19. In this respect as well the manuscripts waver, and so is the case with other texts, and it would, perhaps, be better to read *paḍhama*, everywhere in M.Ś. Mg.¹ P. has *puḍhuma* (Hc. 4,316). The South Indian manuscripts and the printed editions based on them generally write *puḍama*.²—M. *pulaai*, *pulaei*, *pulaia* (Vr. 8,69; Hc. 4,181; Pāiyāl. 78; H. R.), M. *puloei*, *puloia* beside *paloei*, *paloia* (Hc. 4,181; H. R.; Pras. 113,19); Ś. *puloedi*, *puloanta*, *puloida*, and so on and so forth (Mahāv. 99,3;100,10; Bālar. 76,1; Vṛṣabh. 14,9;15,1;17,1;22,9;24,2;42,10; 48,10;55,3;57,1;59,17; Pras. 11,14;12,1;13,14;16,17;35,7;44,3;115,17 [here they often write *pulovedi* and so forth])=*pralokayati*.—A. Mg. *pāuraṇa* (Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,5,1,5; Paṇhāv. 534; Uttar. 489)=*Pāli pāuraṇa*, *pāpuraṇa*=*prāvaraṇa*; AMg. *kaṇṇapāuraṇā*=*kaṇṇapāvaraṇāḥ* (Paṇnav. 56; Thāṇ. 260; *pāuraṇi* (coat of mail; Deśin. 6,43)=**prāvaraṇi*.³—M. *vppei*, *uppia* (Hc. 1,269; G. s. v. *r*; Karp. 48,4)=*arpayati*, *arpita* beside *appei*, *appia*, *o'ppei*, *o'ppia* (§ 125; Hc. 1,63).—AMg. *ummuggā*=**unmagnā* (rising above the surface; Āyār. p. 15,32;27,9), beside *ummaggā* (Uttar. 235), *omugganimmuggiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,2,5, read so with the v. l.)=**avamagnanimagnita*.—AMg. *kammunā*, *kammunāu*, *kammunō*, *kammunāḥ*, *dhammunā*, JM. *kammunā*=*karmaṇā*, *karmaṇaḥ*, *karmaṇām*, *dharmāṇā* (§ 404).—AMg. JM. *paṇuvisāṃ*, *paṇuvisā*=*pañcaviṃśati* (§ 273).—M. AMg. *vo'cchaṃ* from **vucchaṃ* (§ 125)=*vakṣyāmi*, M. AMg. JM. *vo'ttuṃ* from **vuttuṃ*=*vaktum* (§ 529,574).—A. *vuṇai*=Mg. *vañṇadi*=**vrajñāti* from *vraj* (§ 488).—*vo'jjhaa*, *vo'jjhaamalla* for *vu* (§ 125; burden; Deśin. 7,80) is traceable to AMg. *vo'jjha*=*vahya* (§ 572).—AMg. *susāṇa* from **śmuśāna*=*śmaśāna* (Hc. 2,86; Āyār. 2,2,2,8; Paṇhāv. 177,419; Uttar. 1006; Ovav.;

Kappas.; Āv. 31,24); but M. Ś. *masāṇa* (Vr. 3,6; C.3,23; Hc. 2,86; Ki. 2,53; Mk. fol. 21; Pāiyāl. 158; G. H.; Karp. 101, 7; Mṛcch. 72,8; 155,4; Mālatim. 30,4;224,3; Anarghar. 279,10; Caṇḍak. 86,7;92,11); Mg. *maśāṇa* (Mṛcch. 168,18; Mudrār. 267,2; Caṇḍak. 61,11;63,11;64,9; [°ṇaā]; 66,13;71,9.11). On M. JM. AMg. *muṇai*, JŚ. *muṇadi* see § 489, on A. *jhuṇi*, Ś. *dhuṇi*=*dhvani*, § 299. Cf. also § 337.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 1,55.—2. FISCHER, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 13; e.g. Vikramorvaśīya, ed. FISCHER 629,26;630,18.20;633,18; Pārvatīp. 28,22 ed. GLASER; Mallikām which, beside *puḍhama* (152,18), has also *paḍama* (56,11). On the variation between *pa* and *pu* in the MSS. in Ś. cf. the v. l. e.g. also on Mālav. 39, 5.6.7.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3,247.

§ 105. Dialectically several nouns in -a have become -u stems. This takes place especially in compounds with -jña, -jñaka in M. AMg. JM. JŚ when jña becomes ṇṇa, in AMg. also nna (Hc. 1,56; Mk. fol. 20). Thus: M. *akaṇṇua*=*akṛtajñaka* (H. R.), *aṇṇua*=*ajñaka* (H.); *ahinṇu*=*abhijña* (Hc. 1,56), but Ś. *aṇahinṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1 [°bhi°]); *āgamaṇṇu*=*āgamajña* (Hc. 1,56); M. *guṇaṇṇua*=*guṇajñaka* (G.), *guṇaṇṇua* (H.), but Ś. *guṇaṇṇa* (Kāleyak. 25,22); AMg. *doṣaṇṇu*=*doṣajña* (Dasav. 627,36); AMg. *paḍirūvaṇṇu*=*pratirūpajña* (Uttar. 694), *paraḥkamaṇṇu*=*parākramajña* (Sūyag. 576.578); AMg. *vinṇu* (Āyār. 2,16,1.2; Sūyag. 26), M. *viṇṇua* (Mk. fol. 20)=*viṇṇa*, *viṇṇaka*; AMg. *vihinṇu*=*vidhijña* (Nāyādh. § 18); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *savaṇṇu*=*sarvajña* (Hc. 1,56; Vajjāl. 324,9; Āyār. 2,15,26; Vivāhap. 916; Aṇuog. 95.518; Uttar. 689; Dasav. N.655.8; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9;497,38; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; Kattig. 398, 302.303 [text *savaṇṇu*]), but Mg. *śavaṇṇa* (Hc. 4,293). P. *savaṇṇa* (Hc. 4, 303). Cf. § 276. The following also have become u-stems : AMg. *ghimsu*=*ghraṇsa* (§ 101; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58,109); AMg. *pāṇu*=*prāṇa**, when it is used as a unit of time¹ (Vivāhap. 423; Aṇuog. 431.432; Ovav.; Kappas.), *āṇāpāṇu* (Thān. 173; Aṇuog. 242; Dasav. N. 654,2; Ovav.); AMg. *pīlāṇkhu*, *pīlakkhu*=*plakṣa* (§ 74); AMg. *manthu*=*mantha* (Āyār. 1,8, 4,4;2,1,8,7; Uttar. 249; Dasav. 622,8;623,10); AMg. *milakkhu*=*mleccha* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8; Sūyag. 56.57.817 [cf. 816 *milukkhaṇa*]. 928; Paṇṇav. 58; Paṇhāv. 41 [text "lu"; cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,510])=Pāli *milakkhu* (§ 233) beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *me'ccha*, AMg. *miccha* (§ 84). Cf. *pāvāsu*, *pavāsu* § 118. All these words are accented at the end and undoubtedly the colouring of the vowel is associated therewith. The base *āryā**, in the meaning "mother-in-law" also becomes an u-stem,=ajjū (Hc. 1,77), and *āryakā**, in the meaning "mistress", Ś. *ajjū* (Mṛcch. 27,2 ff.; 28,2 ff.; 29,1 ff.; 36,4;37,3ff. etc), Mg. *ayyū* (Mṛcch. 10,2; 39,20.24.25;40,2.4.10), *ayyukā* (Mṛcch. 13,8). In Mg. *ayyū* means "mother" also (Śak. 158,11, where Śaṅkara, following Candrasekhara, remarks: *ajjukāśabdo mātari deśīyaḥ*). On AMg. *āhu*, *udāhu*, *addakkhu*, *miṇṇakkhu* etc. in the sense of the third person singular see § 516.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., *pāṇu*, and especially Aṇuog. 431.

§ 106. A final a becomes u in A. in the genitive singular of nouns in -a, of similarly formed pronominal forms and of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the second person singular of the imperative, the second person plural of the indicative and the imperative and in a number of adverbs : *suaṇassu*=*sujanasya*, *piassu*=*priyasya*, *khandhassu*=*skandhasya*, *kantassu*=*kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.354.445.3), *tassu*, *tāsu*, *tasu*, *jāsu*, *jasu*, *kassu*, *kāsu*, *kasu*=*tasya*, *yasya*, *kasya* (§ 425.427.428); *parassu*=*parasya* (Hc. 4,338.354); *mahu*, *majjhu* in the sense of *mama*; *taū* for **taṇu*=*tava*, *tuhu* [so it is to be read], *tujjhu* in the sense of *tava* (Hc. s.v. *ma-*, *tu*); *piu*=*piba* (Hc. 4,338,1), *piahu*=*pibata* (Hc. 4,422,20); *bhaṇu*=*bhaṇa* (Hc. 4,401,4; Pīṅgala 1,120; and read so everywhere for *bhaṇa*); *sikkhu*=*śikṣa* (Hc. 4,404); *icchahu*=*icchatha*, *pucchahu*=*prucchatha* (Hc. 4,

384.422,9), *kuṇḍu*=*kr̥ṇuta*=*kuruta* (Piṅgala 1,89.118), *dehu*=*dayata* (Hc. 4,384; Piṅgala 1,10), *jāṇḍu*=*jāṇita* (Piṅgala 1,5.14.38), *viāṇḍu*=*viājāṇita* (Piṅgala 1,25.50); *namahu*=*namata* (Hc. 4,446); *e'tthu*, *je'tthu*, *te'tthu* in the sense of *atra*, *yatra*, *tatra*, (§ 107; Hc. s.v.; Piṅgala 1,114); *jattu*, *tattu*=*yatra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404); *ajju*=*adya* (Hc. 4,343,2.418,7 and read so everywhere for *ajja*).

§ 107. Only seemingly has *e* sometimes taken the place of *a*. The extremely frequent *e'ttha* of M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. PG. (5,7), D. (Mṛcch. 102,18;103,16;105,15), Ā. (Mṛcch. 102,25;103,4), A. *e'tthu* (§ 106) does neither go back to *atra* (Hc. 1,57)¹ nor to **itra*² or **etra*³, but is related to *iha*, like *tattha* to *taha*, *jattha* to *jaha*, *kattha* to *kaha*: so stands for **ittha*=Vedic. *itthā*⁴. Cf. A. *itthi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*), *itthi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*=*atra* Piṅgala 1,5⁵.86), and AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=*kathā* (§ 103). A. *ke'tthu*, beside *kidha*, *kiha*=*kathā*, has its consonant doubled according to § 194: for the rest, the pronouns have mutually influenced one another both in inlaut as well as in auslaut (cf. § 103).—M. *ukkerā* (gift, heap; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Ki. 1,4; Mk. fol. 5; Deśin. 1,96; Pāṭiyā. 18; G.; Karp. 69,6; Viddhaś. 11,6), that occurs also in Ś. (Bālar. 129,6.7,167,10;210,2), against *ukkarā* (Caṇḍak. 16,17), and is found in M. and AMg. also (G.; Nāyādh., Kappas.) is not=*utkarā*⁶, but must be equated, with LASSEN⁶, as=**utkaryā*, or connected with *utkirati*. In Bālar. 234,9 the word *vaiera*=*vyatikara* is wrongly printed: the correct form is *vadiara*, Śak. 13,2.—M. Ś. *ge'ndua* (Viddhaś. 56,2;58,6; Mallikām. 134,21.23 [text *gā*]), A. *gindu* (Piṅgala 1,125) cannot with Hc. 1,57.182 be traced back to *kanduka* that forms M. Ś. *kandua* (G. 752; Mālav. 68,10), but belongs with *ge'ndui* (game; Deśin. 2,94), Pāli *geṇḍuka*, as well as *genduka*, *ginduka*, *ge'ndu*, *ge'ndūka* that have forced their way into Sanskrit, but to the now extinct root **gid*, **giḍ*, present **giṇḍai*, *ge'ndai* “to play”. Cf. *jhe'ndua* “ball” (Deśin. 3,59).—*ghe'ppai* stands for **ghippai* and does not go back to *grabh*, but to **ghrp* (§ 212.518). *dhe'mkuṇa* (bug; Deśin. 4,14; Triv. 1,3,105,60) beside *ḍhamkuṇa* (Deśin. 4,14) stands for AMg. *dhimkuṇa* (Jiv. 356; Uttar. 1064 [text *ka*]), as Skt. *diṅka* also makes probable, and is=**damkhuna*, and can be traced back to **damkha*, connected to *daṁś* (§ 212.267).⁷—M. *ve'lli* (Creeper; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Mk. fol. 5; G. H.) is not=*valli*, but stands for **villi*. With *ve'llā* (creeper), *ve'lla* (hair; a small lock, pleasure; Deśin. 7,94), *vili* (wave; Deśin. 7,73; Triv. 1,3,105,80), *ve'llari* (courtesan; Deśin. 7,96), M. Ś. *ve'llira*, (automatically moving; G. 137; Viddhaś. 55,8. [text *ce*]); Bālar. 203,13), A. *uvve'llira* (Vikr. 56,6), M. Ś. *uvve'lla*=**udvilna* (§ 566; G. R.; Karp. 37,5; Mālatim. 201,1;258,2; Mahāv. 29,19) go back to a root **vil* (to be moved), to which also *velu*=*veṇu* (§ 243) also will have to be referred⁸. M. A. *ve'llai* with its compounds *uvve'llai*, *ṇivve'llai*, *samve'llai* (G. H. R.; Pratāp. 119,11; Bālar. 180,7;182,2; Vikr. 67,19), Ś. *ve'llamāṇa* (Bālar. 168,3), *uvve'llida* (Ratn. 302,31), *uvve'llanta*-(Mālatim. 76,3;125,4;129,2), which is frequent also in later Sanskrit, is either a derivative from *ve'lla*=**vilna*, or from **vilyati*, **vilvati*.—*se'jjā*=*śayyā* is regularly derived from *sijjā* (§ 101).—M. *suh'e'lli* (Pāṭiyā. 159; Deśin. 8,36;H.) is to be explained from **suhilli*=*sukha*+suffix *-illa*, while its synonym *suhalli* (Deśin. 8,36) goes back to *sukha*+suffix *alla* (§ 595).⁹—AMg. JM. *he'tthā*=*adha'stāt* (Samav. 101; Ovav. § 10.152; Erz.) presupposes **adheṣṭāt*, corresponding to *pure'kkhada*=**pureṣṭṛta*, which has already been taken note of by WEBER¹⁰. It is only in this manner that we can explain the cerebralization. The word, which occurs in Pāli also, cannot be separated from *adhastāt*: therefore, the assumption of a from **adheṣṭha* is wrong: On AMg. *ahe*=*adhaḥ*, *pure*=*puraḥ* see § 345. From *he'tthā* we have in AMg. JM. an adjective *he'ttha*,

wherefrom we have AMg. *he'ttham* (Hc. 2,141; Thāp. 179.492; text *he'tthim*), JM. *he'tthepa* (Erz.), AMg. JM. *he'tthao* (Vivāgas. 143; Erz.) = Pāli *he'tthato*, M. *he'tthammi* (H. 365); JM. *he'tthayammi* (Erz.), *he'tthatthia* (Hc. 4,448), also *hi'ttha* (Deśin. 8,67), *hi'ttham* (Thāp. 179; text °im) written with *i*, according to § 84; and from it, as in Pāli, a superlative AMg. *he'tthima* (Thāp. 197; Samav. 66.68.72; Vivāhap. 524.529.1412; Anuog. 266), *he'tthimaya* (Vivāhap. 82), *hi'tthima* (Pannav. 76; Thāp. 197 [6 < beside 1 > < *he'°*]; Uttar. 1086), and a very frequent adjective AMg. *he'tthilla* (Thāp. 341.545; Samav. 136 ff.; Pannav. 478; Nāyādh. 867; Vivāhap. 128.347.392ff. 437.1101.1240.1331ff. 1777; Anuog. 427ff.; Jiv. 240ff. 710; Ovav.). Cf. § 308. — A. *he'tli* (O female friend! Hc. 4,379, 1,422,13) beside JM. *hale*, A. *hali*, M. S. *halā* (§ 375) goes back to **hilli* = **hali* with doubling of the *la* according to § 194.

1. So also CHILDERS s.v.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 6.—2. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 129; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 1,133ff.—3. FAUSBÖLL, *Dhammapada* p. 350.—4. FISCHER, *Ved. Stud.* 2,88.—5. BÜHLER, *Pāyāl.* s.v.—6. *Inst.* p. 118.—7. FISCHER, *BB.* 3,255f.—8. FISCHER, *BB.* 3,263ff. Cf. JOHANSSON, *IF.* 3,249f.—9. Impossible is the derivation from *sukhakeli*, which according to the translation of the scholiasts is approved of by WEBER, *Hāla* p. 40; 2 s.v.—10. Bhag. 1,404; Cf. E. KUHN, *Beitträge* p. 21.—11. JOHANSSON, *IF.* 3,218. As Pāli has also *pure pure'kkhāra*, *sve*, *suve* etc. (KUHN p. 58), it is unnecessary to hypothesize the existence of a "Proto-Pāli *e*".

§ 108. Sometimes *a* becomes *i* (Schwā) in the post-tonic syllable. This especially takes place in the plur. of pronouns and in the first person plur. of the pres. indic. of parasmaipada in M. AMg. JM. JS. A. Thus: AMg. JM. *tesim* = *tēsām*, *tāsim* = *tā'sām*, *cesim* = *etēsām*, *eyāsim* = *etā'sām*, *jesim* = *yēsām*, *jāsim* = *yā'sām*, *kesim* = *kēsām*, *imesim*, *imāsim* from the stem *ima'*, *annesim* = *anyēsām*, *añāsīm* = *anyā'sām*. Their analogy is followed by the rest of pronouns, as the very rare M. *esim* = *eśām*, *paesim* = *pa'vēsām*, *savesim* = *sa'vēsām* (§ 425 ff.)¹. — M. *jāpimo* = *ja'lpāmah*; M. AMg. *namimo*, *na'māmah*; M. JM. *bhaṇimo*, *bha'nāmāmah*; M. JM. *vandimo* = *va'ndāmahe*; A. *lahimu* = *la'bhāmahe* etc. Their analogy is followed by *pucchimo* = *prechā'mah*, *lihimo* = *likhā'mah*; *suṇimo* = **ṣṛuṇā'mah*, and so forth (§ 455).² This sort of transformation rarely occurs also in the first pers. sing. of the ind. pres. in M., and of the ind. pres. and fut. in A. (§ 454.520). The grammarians teach forms also in *-ami*, *-ama*, *-ima*, *-amo*, *-amu*, of which those in *-ami* are found in JM. A. (§ 454). M. JM. AMg. *sāhijja*, *sāhe'jja* = *sā'hāyya* (Pāyāl. 215; G. 1116; Vivāhap. 502; Erz.)³ correspond to the rule.

1. FISCHER, *KZ.* 34,570 f. — JACOBI, *KZ.* 35,574, who wrongly states that I had given only three examples, whereas I gave there five, is of the opinion that the genit. plur. forms of the pronouns *ta*—, *eta*—, *ya*—, *ka*—, *ima*— only were frequently used, and those of the other pronouns, more rarely. He offers no explanation of his own of *i*. — 2. JACOBI, *KZ.* 35,574 f. appears to have believed that the examples cited by me, *KZ.* 34,571, are all that are available. He arrives at a quite wrong decision with regard to *gāmino*, *jāmino*. Cf. § 455. According to him, *-ima* may have been borrowed from an Anābhramśa dialect, in which till now *-imo* has not been found at all. — 3. According to JACOBI, *KZ.* 35,573.575, here it would be *jja* as in *sijjā*, *nisijjā*, *miñjā*, the origin of *i*. It is the old view that was expressed for example, by WEBER, *Hāla* p. 38, that this took place due to the influence of *ya*. But *jja* has not influenced in the least the preceding vowel; cf. §§ 280.284.287.

§ 109. Even in the syllable preceding the accented one *ā*, like *a* (§ 101), sometimes becomes *i*: it takes place clearly after it is at first changed into *a*. So according to Hc. 1,81, °*mātra* may become °*matṭa* or °*me'tta*, from °*mitta*, thus for example AMg. *vihatthimitta* = *vilastimātra* (Sūyag. 280), *iṭṭhāmitta* = *iṭṭhāmātra* (Sūyag. 339), *vināyaparīṇāyāmitta* = *vijñātaparīṇāyāmitta* (Nāyādh. § 27 = Kappas. § 10.52.80), *sāyaṇamitta* = *svādanamātra* (Kappas. S. § 26) almost always with the v. l. °*me'tta*, as the word occurs in M. (G. H. R.), AMg. (Vivāhap. 203.204.452 f. 1042), JM. (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. (Śak. 39,12;60,15;96,2; Vikr. 7,12;41,13;80,

13;84,6; Uttarar. 21,10;100,1 etc.), *meṭṭaka* (Śak. 31,11 [read as such]; 76,7), *adimeṭṭam*=*atimātram* (Mṛcch. 89,4;90,13,21); Mg. *yādameṭṭaka*=*jātamātraka* (Mṛcch. 114,8)¹. On *mahāmeṭṭha*=*mahāmātra*, and *meṭṭhapurisa*, see § 293.—*bhisai* is=**bhāsa'ti*, **bhāsa'ti* for *bhā'sati* with crossing over to the 6th class (§ 482). M. AMg. Ś. *geṭṭijha*, Mg. *duggeṭṭha*, A. *duggeṭṭha*=*grā'hya*, *durgrāhya* is formed from the present stem, therefore,=**gyhya*, **durgyhya*, and so stands for **gijjha*, **duggijjha* (§ 572).—*śālmali* forms in AMg. *sāmalī*, dialectically *sāmārī* (§ 88). The other form *simbali* that occurs beside it in AMg. (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 1,146; Vivāhap. 447 f.; Uttar. 590 [so correctly given in the commentary]; Dasav. 621,5 (text *sa*^o)), *e'kkasimbali*=*śālmaliṭṭapūspair navaphalikā* (Deśin. 1,146) belongs to Vedic *śimbala'* (flower of the cotton tree.²). The form *kuppiya* beside *kuppāsa*=*kūrpāsa* (Hc. 1,72) points to the accent **kū'rpāsa*.

1. Cf. BRUGMANN, KZ. 27,198.—So correctly GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2,159 according to Sāyana. BÜHLER has already criticised Vedic *śimbali* [sic], Pāiyāl see under *simbalim*.

§ 110. In the ending—*māna* of the ātmanep. pres. participle *i* sometimes occurs for *ā*. So in M. *melīna* from *melaī* from *mil*, and especially in the oldest AMg. such as in *āgamamīna*, *samanujānamīna*, *ādhāyamīna*, etc. (§ 562).—*khallīda*=*khalvāṭa* (Hc. 1,74), which, as *khallīṭa* and *khallīṭa* has gone over to Skt. also, presupposes an accent *khalvāṭa'* (Pāṇini, 5,2,125; Hc., Unādiganaś. 148). In A. *khallīhaḍaū* (Hc. 4,389) *h* seems to go back to *dha* (§ 207) against § 242. Cf. § 138.

§ 111. For *ā* occurs *u* in *sunhā* for **saṇhā*=*sāsnā* (Hc. 1,75).—*thuwa* (Hc. 1,75) is not=*stāvaka*, but=**stuvaka*=**stuvā'n* from the pres. stem. *thuva-*, whence originated also the passive *thuvvāi* (§ 494).—M. AMg. Ś. *ulla* (Hc. 1,82; Pāiyāl. 185; G. H.; Pracandap. 47,6; Āyār. 2,1,6,5. 6;2,1,7,9;2,3,2,6.11.12 [udaiḷla]; Uttar. 758; Kappas.; Mālatim. 107,6 [raso'ḷḷa]), M. *ullaa* [R.; Vikr. 53,6 [read *jalo'ḷlaam* with ed. Bomb. 89,5]] with the denominative M. *ullei* (G. H.), JM. *ulle'ttā* (Erz.), AMg. *ullaṇa*, *ullaṇiyā* (Uvās.), and with *o'* according to § 125. M. AMg. *o'ḷla* (H. R.; Karp. 27,12;69,4;94,6;95,11; Dasav. 619,18;622,8), M. *o'ḷlaa* (R.), M. *o'ḷlei* (H.), *o'ḷlaṇa* (R.), Ś. *o'ḷlavida* (Mṛcch. 71,4) are not to be equated with Hc. to *ārḍra*, but with WEBER,¹ to *ud*, *unda* (to moisten), *udan*, *udaka* (water), and consequently corresponds to one **udra* which occurs in *udra'* (otter), *anudra'* (waterless), and *udri'n* (watery)².—*ārḍra* becomes M. AMg. JM. Ś. *adda* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 45,7; Ovav.; Erz.; Bālar. 125,13), M. AMg. also *alla* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.).—AMg. JM. *devāṇuppiya* is not, with WEBER,³ LEUMANN,⁴ WARREN,⁵ STEINTHAL,⁶ JACOBI⁷ to be equated as=*devānāmpriya*, but with HOERNLE⁸ as=*devānupriya*=*deva*+*anupriya*, which in Pāli becomes *anuppiya*.⁹—*āsāra* [rain; Hc. 1,76] is not=*āsāra*, that remains in M. Ś. A. as *āsāra* (G. R.; Candak. 16,18; Vikr. 55,17), but=**u'sāra*. On *ajjū*=*āryā* see § 105.

1. ZDMG. 26,741; H. s. v., falsely H1. p. 261, cf. Haripāla on G. 527 *ullam tti deśi dhātur ārdribhāve*.—2. P. GOLDSCHMIDT on Specimen 2,8, p. 84.—3. Bhag. 1,405.—4. Aup. S. s. v.; WZKM. 3,344.—5. Nirayāv. s. v.—6. Specimen s. v. 7.—Kalpas. and Erz. s. v.; cf. also E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 15. 8.—Uvās., Appendix III, p. 31.—9. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1886, p. 117.

§ 112. AMg. *pārevaya* (Hc. 1,80; Paṇṇav. 54,526; Jiv. 459; Rāyap. 52 [text *pāreva*]; Uttar. 981), *pārevajāga* (Paṇhāv. 24,57), fem. *pārevāi* (Vivāgas. 107)=Pāli *pārepata* is a dialectical form allied to M. *pārāvaa* (Hc. 1,80; Pāiyāl. 124; G. H.; Karp. 87,10), Ś. *pārāvada* (Mṛcch. 71,14;79,24;80,4; Śak. 138,2; Viddhaś. 111,3)=Skt. Pāli *pārāpata*. *pāre* is locative as in *pāregaṅgam*, *pāretaraṅgiṇi*, etc. AMg. *pārevaya* "date-palm" (Paṇṇav. 483,531) is=*pārevata*.—AMg. *pacchekamma*=

paścātkarman (Hc. 1,79) is technically formed on the analogy of *pure-kamma-* (§ 345). In *Pañhāv.* 492, occurs *pacchākammaṃ purekammaṃ*.—*dera* (door; Hc. 1,79) beside *dāra*, *bāra*, *duvāra*, *duāra* (§ 298.300.139)=Singhalese *dera* is perhaps=**darya*; cf. *dari* (cave).—AMg. *ukkosa*, which the scholiasts translate by *utkarṣa*, whereafter WEBER¹ explains it as having developed from **ukkāsa*, and which WARREN² will like to consider as a writer's mistake, is=**utkoṣa* from *kuṣa niṣkarṣe* (Dhātup. 31,46), that in Skt. is casually not attested with *ud*. Generally its instrumental form *ukkoseṇam* "at the highest", "at most" is used with its converse *jehanneṇam* "at the lowest" (Aṇuttar. 3; Thān. 106.133; Samav. 8.9.11; Pannav. 52,205 ff; Vivāhap. 26 ff. 59.60 143.182.272 ff. 358.373 etc.; Jiv. 18.35, 39.49 etc.; Aṇuog 161 ff.; 398 ff.; Uttar. 201; Ovav.), more seldom there occurs its synonym, the accusative form *ukkosaṃ* (Vivāhap. 180.371. 390 f.; Uttar. 312 ff.). As an adjective (Pañhāv. 129), beside *majjhima jahanna* (Thān. 128.141.152.175), the grammarians (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1, 132) and the scholiasts equate it as=*utkrṣṭa*; *ukkosija* (Thān. 505; Vivāhap. 83.93; Uttar. 976; Kappas.) is neither with WEBER³=*utkarṣika*, nor with JACOBI⁴=*utkrṣṭa*, but is to be equated as=**utkoṣita*.—On *dhovai*=*dhāvati* see § 482.

1. Bhag. 1,443; cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—2. Over de goodsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 43, note 1.—3. Bhag. 1,443.—4. Kalpas. s. v.

§ 113. A final unaccented *ā* of adverbs, very often in M. and sometimes also in AMg. JŚ. JM. A. in verses, is shortened (Grr. see § 79): M. *aṇṇaha*=*anya'thā* (H.), beside M. JM. *aṇṇahā* (G.; Kk.), JŚ. *aṇṇadhā* (Pav. 385,63; text *ṇhā*); Ś. only *aṇṇadhā* (Mṛcch. 24,4; 51,24; 52,13; 64,25; Śak. 52,16; 73,8; 76,5; Vikr. 18,8; 40,16), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 165,4); M. AMg. JM. *jaha*, *taha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. *jadhā*, (Pav. 386,4; 387,24 [*ṇhā*]), *tadhā* (Pav. 379,4; 381,16 [*ṇhā*]; Kattig. 398,304 [*ṇhā*]); A. *jiha*, *jidha*, *tiha*, *tidha* (Hc. 4,401) with *i* on the analogy of AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=Vedic *kathā*, which owes the shortness of *a* in Pkt. to *jaha*, *taha* and M. *kaha* (G. H. R.) (§ 103). Ś. Mg. have, in prose only *tadhā*, *jadhā* (Mg. *yadhā*), *kadham* (never *kadhā*). A. has in verse *jaha* (Mṛcch. 100,12). For Mg. *taha* (Mṛcch. 123,7), in verse, read *tadhā*, as in JŚ.—M. JM. AMg. *va*=*vā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dasav. 618,25; 620,32,33); Ś. Mg. in prose only *vā*. The metre decides the quantity, and, therefore, both of the forms sometimes do occur in one and the same verse: thus M. *jaha...ṇa tahā* (H. 61); JM. *kiṃ calio'vva...kiṃ vā jaliṃ* (Erz. 71,22); JŚ. *guṇe ja jadhā tadha bandho* (Pav. 384,48); AMg. *paḍisehie va dinne vā* (Dasav. 622,37). In M. AMg. JM. *saī*=*sa'dā* (Vr. 1,11; Hc. 1,72; Kī 1,10; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 87; G. R.; Pratāp. 225,14; Acyutaś. 1.20. 22.62.66.69.93; Dasav. 622,23; Kk. 259,24) *i* is regularly substituted according to § 108. Rare in M. is *saā* (H. 861). Bh. 1,11 teaches the same phonetic change also for *jaī*=*yadā'* and *taī*=*tadā'*. This presupposes an accentuation **ya'dā*, **ta'dā*, as in the RV., after a negative the word *kadā* is accented as *ka'dā*, on which is based M. *kaī* (H.), that may have influenced *jaī*, *taī*. *taīam*, which according to JACOBI² is a counter example demonstrating the rule of substitution of *i* for *ā* in a post-accentual syllable and is=*tadā'*, is not known to me at all. Even if it existed, in any case, it would be explained according to § 114, as a side-form of *taīā*, that is like *kaīā*, *jaīā* found in M. (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; G. H. R.; *kaīā* also Acyutaś. 86,91), AMg. *taīyā* (Uttar. 279); *jaīā* has not been found. These words are=**kayidā*, **layidā*, **yayidā* from *ka'yā*, *ta'yā*, *ya'yā*+*dā* (§ 121) and, therefore, strictly conform to the rule. Shortening

takes place also in Ś. M. Dh. *ka'dua*, *gadua* for **ka'duvā*, **gaduvā*=*kṛtvā*, *gatvā* (§ 581).

1. Wrongly explained by JACOBI as=*svayam*. 2.—KZ. 35,575. The word has been probably quoted by JACOBI from the word-index to Hc., where *taiam*=*ṭṭiyam* and *taiā*=*tadā* occur under one another.

§ 114. In an adverb there develops dialectically an anusvāra by the side of *ā* that is either final or has come into being due to elision of a consonant; in A. there develops also an anunāsika. M. AMg. JM. *jahā*, A. *jihā*=*yathā* (Hc. 4,337). Beside *mā*, that occurs in all the dialects, A. has *mā*, *mañ* (read so everywhere for *ma* according to Hc. 4,418, *mā* when a short and *mañ* when a long syllable is required; see the Wortzeichniss zu Hc.), beside *viñā* of all the dialects A. *viñu* (Hc. s.v.)=**viñam* (§ 351).—*mañā*=*manāk* (Hc. 2,169), beside M. Ś. *mañam* (Mk. fol. 39; H.; Śak. 146,8; Karpas. 31,9); JM. *mañagam* (Erz.), A. *mañāu* (§352), also JM. *mañayam* (Hc. 2,169; KI.10), and *mañiyam* (Hc. 2,169).—AMg. *musam* beside *musā*=*mṛṣā* (§ 78). AMg. *sakkham*=*sākṣāt* (Hc. 1,24; Uttar. 116,370; Ovav.), beside Ś. *sakkhā* (Mallikām. 190,19). AMg. *heṭṭham* beside AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* (§ 107) is accusative beside ablative, as it may be the case in *sakkham* also. In AMg., beside *tahā* we have also *taham* before a vowel in the phrase *evam eyam taham eyam avitaham eyam*=*evam etat tathaitat avitatham etad* (Vivāhap. 946; Uvās. § 12; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. § 13,83). This *taham* stands for *tahan* (§ 349) and corresponds to a **tatham* beside *tathā*, like *kathām* beside Vedic *kathā*. So too can A. *jihā* be referred to **yatham* beside *yāthā*. Cf. §72,74,75,86. So also AMg. *sōccam*, *dissam* occurring before a vowel for *sōccam*, *dissam*, beside *sōccā*, *dissā*=*śrutvā dṛṣtvā* (§334,349). Final *ā* in the inst. sing. and *ā* arising from *-āḥ* of the abl. and of the genit. as well as of the therewith connected locative of the feminines in *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* are often shortened in M.: *bandia*=*-bandya*; *koḍia*=*koṭeh*; *naaria*=*nagaryām*; *vahūa*=*vadhvā* (§ 385). The corresponding forms in *-a* of the feminine in *-ā*, which are mentioned by some grammarians, are not to be found. In places where they stood formerly in Karp. thence they have been eliminated in the critical edition of KONOW (§ 375).

§ 115. A transition from *i* to *a*, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1,13,14; Hc. 1,88—91; Ki.1. 18,19; Mk. fol. 7) has not really taken place. Thus for example *paḍamsuā* (Hc. 1,26,88,206), *paḍamsua* (Mk. fol. 34) is not=*pratiśrut*, *pratiśruta*, but=**pratyāśrut*, **pratyāśruta*, as is shown by *pratyāśrāva*. *pratiśrut* in AMg. forms *paḍimsuyā* (Ovav. s. v.); for *pratiśruta* is found *paḍimsuda* (Bh. 4,15).—In M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *puhavi*, AMg. JŚ. JM. Ś. *puḍhavi* (§ 51) *a* is a separating vowel like *u* in *puhavi* (§ 139), both, therefore,=*prthvi*.—*baheḍaa* (Hc. 1,88) is not=*vibhitaka*, but=*baheṭaka* (Vaijayantī 59,351; cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *vahedaka*.—*sadhila* (Hc. 1,89), AMg. *pasadhila* (Hc. 1,89; Paṇṇav. 118) go, like M. AMg. Ś. *sidhila* (Vr. 2,28; Hc. 1,89,215,254; Ki. 2,17; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,5,3,4; Nāyādh. 949; Rāyap. 258 f.; Vivāhap. 39,136,382 f. 1308; Uttar. 196; Śak. 132,12; Vikr. 30,4), M. *sidhilattana*=**siṭhilaṭvana* (G.), *sidhiladā* (Śak. 63,1), M. Ś. *sidhilei*, °*di* (R.; Śak. 11,1; Bālar. 36,5; Candak. 58,10), M. AMg. Ś. *pasidhila* (G. H. R. Vivāhap. 806; Uttar 773; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Viddhaś. 64,5), back¹ to the original **śrithila*, *a* and *i*, therefore, represent an original *r* (§52), as already noted above.—In *haladdā*, *haladdi* (Grr.) beside M. AMg. JM. *haliddā* (Hc. 1,88; G. H.; Uttar. 982,1050; Rāyap. 53; Erz.), M. *haliddi* (Hc. 1,88,254; G.; Karp. 69,3)=*haridrā*, AMg. *hālidda*=*hāridra* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4 [read thus]; Paṇṇav. 525; Samav. 64; Jīva 224; Ovav.; Kappas.). *a* and *i* are presumably separation vowels. On *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* see §102.

I. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. *śidhila*; cf. B.-R. s. v. *śithira* and WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 16.

§ 116. For the second *i* of *iti*=Latin *ita*, there has been preserved in M. AMg. JM. an old *a*, when *iti* stands independently in the beginning of a sentence, in AMg. also in the beginning of a compound: M. *ia* (Vr. 1,14; Hc. 1,91; Kī. 1,19; Mk. fol. 7; G. H. R.; Bālar. 113,17; Karp. 6,4;48,14;57,7; Viddhaś. 64,7; Acyutaś. 22,45.82.93.103; AMg. JM. *iya* (C. 2,28; Pāiyāl. 224; Āyār. 1,2,1,1;1,2,3,1,5;1,4,3,2 [v.l. everywhere *iti*]; Ovav. § 184.186; Kī. 14; Kk.). AMg. *iyaccheya*, *iyiniṇa*, *iyānaya-vādi*, *iyāvaśaladdha*, *iyavinṇānapatta*=*iticehka*, *itinipuna* *itinaya-vādin*, *ityupadeśaladdha*, *itivyijñānaprāpta* (Uvās. § 219). Most of the texts have in AMg. *ii* for *iya* (Sūyag. 137.203 [iti]; Uttar. 63.99.116.311.508.512.513; Dasav. 626.11,630,14; Uvās. § 114). As *i* and *ya* always interchange in Jaina MSS. it is doubtful if here we have a case of error of MSS. or not. JŚ., however, has *idi* (Pav. 385,65;387,18,24; Kattig. 399,314); it has it whether rightly or wrongly is yet to be decided. In Ś. there wrongly occurs *ia* (Kāleyak. 17,16). As an enclitic *iti* becomes *ti*, *tti* (§92), AMg. also *i* (§93).

§ 117. Sometimes *i* becomes *u* through assimilation to an *u* of the following syllable: M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣu* (Vr. 1,15; Bh. 3,30; Hc. 1,95;2,17; Kī. 1,22; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 143; G. H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,9,12; 2,1,10,4; 2,7,2,5; Paṇhāv. 127; Uttar. 590; Dasav. 614,13;621,5,41; Dasav. N.660,4; Ovav.; Āv. 23,24; Erz.). By the side thereof AMg. has also *ikkhu* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 554; Paṇnav. 33,40; Jiv. 356; Vivāhap. 1526), *ikkhūya* (Paṇnav. 33,40), and similarly in Ś. we must read *ikkhu* with the MSS., instead of *ucchu* in Śak. 144,12 against Candrasekhara 206,17, as in Rukmiṇīp. 42,14. In M. JM. occurs *iechu* in H. 740,775; Kī. 18; but it is hardly correct. On AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka*, see § 84.—AMg. *usu*=*iṣu* (Sūyag. 270.286.293; Vivāhap. 121.122.348.505.506.1388; Rayap. 257; Nirayāv. § 5); AMg. *usugāra* (Ṭhān. 86), *usuṣāra* (Ṭhān. 383; Uttar. 421.422.449; Paṇhāv. 317 [text *ikkhu**, but cf. the commentary])= *iṣukāra* (name of a hill). Yet AMg. JM. have also *isattha*=*iṣuśāstra*¹ (Paṇhāv. 322; Ovav. § 107, p. 78,4; Erz. 67,1,2); AMg. *iśāsaṭṭhāna*=*iṣvāsasthāna* (Nirayāv. § 5 beside *usu*); M. *isu* (Pāiyāl. 36; G. 1145 [kāmesu]; Karp. 12,8;94,8; [pañcesu]).—AMg. *susu*=*śisu* in *susumāra*=*śisumāra* (Sūyag. 821; Paṇhāv. 19; Vivāgas. 50.186), oftener *sumsumāra* (Paṇnav. 47,48; Jiv. 71; Nāyādh. 510; Uttar. 1072; Vivāhap. 1285 [text °sa°]), *sumsumārī* (Jiv. 111); but AMg. *sisupāla* (Sūyag. 161), *sisunāga* (Uttar. 205); M. *sisu* (Pāiyāl. 58); Ś. *sisubhāva* (Viddhaś. 21,12), *sisuāla*=*śisukāla* (Cait. 37,7).

So correctly Abhayadeva in Paṇhāv. 322. Wrongly equated as=*iṣvastra* by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and JACOBI, Erz. s.v.

§ 118. The *i* of the prefix *ni* becomes *u* before *ma*, that has originated from *pa* according to § 248 and from *va* according to § 251: *numajjāi*=*nipadyate* (Hc. 1,94;4,123; Kī. 4,46), *numaṇṇa*=*nipanna* (Hc. 1,94.174). The forms referred by Grr. to *sad* cannot be separated from one another. The v. l. *ṇuvaṇṇa* (G. 1161) and its meaning "fallen asleep" (Deśin. 4,25) clearly points to the origin of *ma* from *pa*. Derivation from *majj* is factually and linguistically impossible. In H. 530.608.669 WEBER reads with the MSS. *ṇimajjasu*, *ṇimajjanta*, *ṇimajjai*, *ṇimajjihisi*. But in another place (under 669) he refers °to ṇu° that occurs in a stanza quoted in Hc., in Dhvanyāloka, p. 20 and in Kāvya-prakāśa, p. 123 in the old Śāradā script¹, Śobhākara, Alamkāraratnākara fol. 67^b (MS. BÜHLER, Det. Report, No. 227). Hemacandra, Alamkāracūdāmaṇi fol. 4^b (MS. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, No. 265), Mammaṭa, Śabdavyā-

pāravicāra fol. 6^a, Jayanta, Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā fol. 6^b.22^b, whereas Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 5 has *ni*^o. Everywhere *nu* should be read. *numanta*, explained in Triv. 1,2,48 by *nimantra*, is a mistaken reading from *numanna* in Hc.—*numai* (Hc. 4,199) beside *nimāi*, M. *nimai* (R.) “throw down” is=*vī* “to throw” (Dhātup. 24,39) with *nī*. Therefore, the v.1. *nīvia* (R. 12, 30) beside *nīmīa*²). Sometimes dialectically the suffix-*ka* steps in for the Skt. suffix *-ika*, so that apparently *u* stands for *i*. So M. *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuyā*, beside M. *vimchia*, AMg. *vicchiya*=*vyśeika* (§ 50); AMg. *geruyā* beside M. *geria*=*gairika*; AMg. *neyāyā*=*naiyāyika* (§ 60); M. *jānuā*=**jñānika*; (H. 286), *akaajānuā*=*akṛtajñā*, *viājānuā*=*vijñā*, *dēvājānuā*=*daivajñā* etc. (Mk. fol. 20), probably also in the proper names Ś. *jānuā*, Mg. *yānuā* (Śak. 115,1.9.11); *pāvāsua*, A. *pavāsua*=*prāvāsika* (Hc. 1,95;4,395,4), also *pāvāsu*, *pavāsu*=*prāvāsin* (Hc. 1,44), which probably goes back to **pavāsu*=*pravāsa*¹ (§ 105), whence may have originated also *pāvāsua*.—AMg. JM. *duruhaī* (§ 482) is not=*adhirohati*³, but=**udruha*⁴=*udrohati*⁴, however, not by metathesis, of *ud* to *du* as HOERNLE thinks, but with a separation-vowel and falling of the initial *u* from **uduruhaī* (§ 139.141).—*yudhiṣṭhira*, according to Hc. 1,96.107.254, can become *jahuṭṭhila*, *jahiṭṭhila* (also Bh. 2,30; Ki. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17). It is not clear what was the origin of *jahu* and *jahi*. In the text we find AMg. *juiṭṭhila* (Antag. in ZDMG. 42,258; Nāyādh. 1287ff. [text oftener *illa*]; Ś. A. *juiṭṭhira* (Karp. 18,4; Venis. 102,4; Pracandap. 29,12; 31,13;34,8; Piṅgala 2,102).

1. For Hc. and Kāvyaaprakāśa the remark made already by WEBER on H. 530 is without any result. Wrong is the derivation from *nimi*, particularly from *nīmīa*=*nimita*, in GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s.v. *nima*.—3. WEBER, Bhag. 1,411; LEUMANN, Aup. s.s.v. STEINTHAL, Specimen s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation p. 38, note 103.

§ 119. Before a consonant-group *i* may become *e* (Vr. 1,12; Hc. 1, 85; Ki. 1,16; Mk. fol. 7; Pkl. p. 25; Deśin. 1,74): PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. P. D. Ā. *e*ṭṭha, A. *e*ṭṭhu=*iṭṭhā*¹ (§ 107); AMg. *āgame*²*ssa*=*āgamisyant* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2), *e*ṇḍha, beside *cinḍha*=*ciḥna* (§ 267; Bh. 1,12); *pe*ḍḍā, beside *niddā*=*nidrā* (Bh. 1,12); *dhame*³*lla*, beside *dhammilla* (Grr.); *pe*ṇḍā, beside *piṇḍa* (Grr.); *pe*ṭṭha beside *piṭṭha*=*piṣṭa* (Grr.); AMg. *le*ṇḍhai=*licchavi* (Sūyag. 495.585; Vivāhap. 800; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. AMg. *ve*ṭṭhi (PG. 6,32; Uttar 792), beside *viṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (Ki.; Mk.); *ve*ṇhu, beside *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (Grr.); AMg. *ve*ḍḍhala=*viḥvala* (Paṇḥāv. 165); *se*ṇḍūra, beside *sindūra* (Grr.). So also *kesua* from **ke*⁴*msua*=*kiṁśuka* (§ 76.) This rule is more frequently illustrated by cases having a secondary *i*, particularly that which has developed from *r*: *me*⁵*ṭṭa* from **mitta*=**mātra* (§ 109); *ge*⁶*ṇhai*, beside *giṇha*=*grhṇāti* (§ 512); *ge*⁷*jjha* from **gijjha*=**grihya* for *grāhya* (§ 109.572); *ve*⁸*ṇta* beside *viṇta*=*vynta* (§ 53); AMg. *ge*⁹*ḍḍha* (Ovav. § 70), beside *giddha* (§ 50)=*grdhra*; AMg. *gehi* (§ 60) from **ge*¹⁰*ḍḍhi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*grddhi*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *e* never comes in Ś. in any of the words included in the ākṛtigana *piṇḍasama* by Vr. Pkl. and under the *piṇḍādi* by Mk. Ki. in which Bh. Ki. Mk. like Hc. in his rule 1,85, include *piṇḍa*, *dhammilla*, *sindūra*, *viṣṇu*, *piṣṭa*, Hc. and Mk. also *bilva*, which forms *be*¹¹*lla*, *billa* (§ 296), Bh. also *nidrā*, *ciḥna*, Mk. Ki. *viṣṭi*, Ki. *kiṁśuka* which Hc. has in a special rule, and for which Mk. likewise forbids *e* in Ś. This is attested by the texts in which there occur, par ex. Ś. *piṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 41, 11; 69, 12; Prab. 49,4), also Mg. (Mṛcch. 125,5; Prab. 46,14), Mg. *ciṇha* (Mṛcch. 159,23); Ś. *niddā*=*nidrā* (Mṛcch. 45,24; Vikr. 24,17; Prab. 17,1; 38,2,6;39,8); Ś. *viṇhudāsa* (Mudrār. 243,2;247,1;248,7;249,5,6;259,7). In the optative in *-e*¹²*jjā*, *-ijjā* in AMg. and JM. (§ 91.459 ff.) *e* occurs for and beside *i*.—*te* in the

numerals, such as AMg. JM. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* (23), AMg. JM. *te'itisam* (33), JM. *te'ajisam* (43), AMg. JM. *tesatthim*, *tevatthim* (63) etc. (§ 443 ff.), as well as AMg. *teindiya*, *tendiya* (§ 438) is perhaps not=*tri*, but=*traya*, *terasa*, therefore=**trayadaśan*.—AMg. *teicchā*=*cikitsā* beside *viligicchā viligimicchā* (§ 215) has the strengthened reduplication, like Skt. *cikile*, *cekitat*, *cekitāna*.

§ 120. In *haraḍai*=*haritakī*, *haritakī* (Hc. 1,99,206) *a* is probably a separation-vowel like *i*, *ī* in Skt.. The *ḍa* of Pkt. points to an original **hartakī*.—*ā* for *ī* is taught by Hc. 1.100;2,60;60,74 in *kamhāra*, *kambhāra*=*kāsmira*, for which we should, with Triv. 1,2,50, read *kāsmira*; cf. Skt. *kambhāri* beside *kāsmīri* "gmelina arborea". Š. has *kamhira* (Mudrār. 204,2).—On *i* for *ī* see § 79ff.—AMg. *uṭṭhubhaha* "spit" (Vivāhap. 1263), *uṭṭhubhanti* "they spit"; (Vivāhap. 1264; text **bhahanti*), AMg. *aṇiṭṭhubhaya* "not spitting", (Paṇhāv. 350; Ovav. § 30,V), dialectical *niṭṭhubhā* (loudly spat out; Deśin. 4,41) as well as Pāli *niṭṭhubhati*, *nuṭṭhubhati*, *nuṭṭhubhi*, *niṭṭhubhana* have nothing to do with *ṣṭhiv*, with which it had hitherto been associated, but all these belong to the root *√ stubh* (to drive out; *stumbhu* *niṣkāśane*, Dhātup. 31,7), which in Skt. is used for voice only = "to emit a sound". The parallel root is *kṣubh* (*stubbh* : *kṣubh*=*stambh* : *skambh*=Skt. *sthāpu* : Pkt. *khāpu*=*ḍuttha* : *dukkha* [hinder portion; Deśin. 5,42]; § 90.308.309) which occurs in Pkt. AMg. JM. *chubhai*, M. JM. *chuhai* and in compounds (§ 66). Pāli *nicchubhati* "springs forth" (from the sea)¹, shows transfer of meaning, which we find also in Skt. *nirasana* (throwing outside, throw out, spit forth).—*hūṇa* (Hc. 1,103), M. AMg. JŚ. A. *viḥūṇa* (Hc. 1,103; Śukasaptati 15,3; Nāyādh. 950; Vivāhap. 202.1123.1816f. 1825; Nirayāv. 44; Uttar. 357.439.633.809; Pav. 380,7; 381,17;387,12; Piṅgala 1,7), AMg. *vipphāṇa* (Sūyag. 271.282; Nāyādh. 322; Paṇhāv. 56) are not to be equated with Hc. as=*hina*, *viḥina*, *viṣraḥina*, but they belong to *dhūṇa* (Kāśikā on Pāṇini. 8,2,44) from *dhu*, *dhū* "to shake off" which forms in AMg. *dhuṇai* and in M. AMg. *dhuṇai*, *viḥuṇai* (§ 503). In all the dialects *hā* regularly forms *hiṇa*. So M. AMg. JŚ. Š. *hiṇa* (G. H.; Uvās.; Pav. 382,24.25;388,2; Vikr. 24,20), JM. *aihiṇa* (Kk.); M. JM. JŚ. *parihiṇa* (H.; KI. 8; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 400, 329); AMg. *paḥiṇa* (Bhag.); Š. *avaḥiṇa* (Śak. 30,2), M. *aṇohiṇa* (R.); JŚ. Š. *vihiṇa* (Kattig. 404,387.389; Mṛcch. 18,10).—On *juṇṇa*=*jūrṇa* and *tūha*=*tīrtha* see § 58.

1. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 18; FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte vanskelige Pāli-Ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1888) p. 19. Not correctly TRECKNER, Milindapaṇho p. 423 f.

§ 121. Most of the dialects, beside *ī*, partly have *e* in *idṛśa*, *idṛkṣa*, *kidṛśa*, *kidṛkṣa* : Aśoka *eḍisa*, *heḍisa* *heḍisa* (Khālsi) *eḍisa*, *heḍisa*; Pāli *eḍisa*, *erisa*, *edikkha*, *erikkha* beside *iḍisa* *irisa*, *iḍikkha*, but only *kidisa*, *kirisa*, *kidikkha*, *kirikkha*; M. AMg. JM. Š. *erisa* (Vr. 1,19,31; Hc. 1,105.142; Ki. 1,15; Mk. fol. 8.11; H. 10; R. 11,104; Sūyag. 197; Dasav. 626,27; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Āv. 24,3ff.; 25,31.32;27,2,6.25; Dvār. 508,6; Erz.; Kk.; Lalitav. 555,6;562,22; Mṛcch. 151.20.155,5; Śak. 50,4; Prab. 4,9); AMg. JM. *erisaṇa* (Nāyādh. 1284; Āv. 24,10); A. *erisiṇa* (Piṅgala 2,185); AMg. *elisa* (C. 2,5 p. 43), *anelisa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1;1,7,2,4; 1,7,8,1,17; 1,8,1,15; 2,16,2; Sūyag. 301.434 [text *anā*], 533.544.546.549.869); P. *etisa* (Hc. 4,317.323); Š. mostly *iḍisa* (Mṛcch. 24,20;39,11;54,1;72,19; 80,9;82,12;88,16;151,16; Śak. 103,5;104,7;123,12; 127,7;130,1;135,15; Vikr. 20,6;44,13. Ratn. 317,33;318,16.22; Karp. 19,6;21,4 etc.), Mg. only *iḍisa* (Mṛcch. 38,7;129,7;131,7;158,24;165,13;166,21;177,10); AMg. *elikkha* (Uttar. 237), *elikkhaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5); M. AMg. JM. Š. *kerisa*

(Grr.; H. 374 [read so with v.l.]; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 141,7; Vikr. 50,6;52,3; Prab. 10,15;39,13), JM. *kerisa* (Kk.), Mg. *keliśa* (Prab. 46,14.16;50,14;53,15.16;56,1; Venis. 35,3); Ś. also *kidiśa* (Mṛcch. 27,18; Śak. 39,6; Vikr. 28,19; Mudrār. 58,6;184,5). Doubtful forms are M. *irisaa* (H. 940), JM. *iisa* (Erz.), Ś. *irisa* (Uttarar. 26,6 beside *iḍisa* 26,8; Mālav. 6,1;44,18;47,3; Mahāv. 119,12.14.20; Mudrār. 233,1), *kirisa* (Mālav. 5,3.17)¹, Mg. *kiliśa* (Mṛcch. 125,2,4;132,9; GODABOLE 344,7;345,1 has *keliśa*, only 363,2 also *kiliśa*). According to the testimony of the best manuscripts only *erisa*, *kerisa* and *iḍisa*, *kidiśa* will be correct in Ś.; in Mg. the correct forms will be **eliśa*, *keliśa* and *iḍiśa*, **kidiśa* (the v.l. often has *keliśa*). Cf. § 244-245. The hitherto unexplained² *e* goes back to -*ayi*, -*ai*. From Vedic *ka'yā+drś* has developed *kerisa*; *erisa* comes from Vedic *ayā+drś*, like *kaiā taiā*, *jaiā* from *kāyā+dā*, *tāyā+dā*, *ya'yā+dā* (§ 113). *ayā* has been influenced by *kāyā*. In A. *aśa=iḍśa*, *kaiśa=kidiśa* (Hc. 4,403) it is better to consider them as formations on the analogy of A. *taśa=tāḍśa* *jaśa=yāḍśa*, as the intermediate forms for the development of *erisa*, *kerisa*. Cf. Vedic *kayasya* and AMg. *āyamsi*, M. *aammi* and A. *āammi* (§ 429). On *ēddaha*, *kēddaha*, *tēddaha*, *jēddaha* see § 122. Beside *piyūśa*, Skt. has *peyūśa*, so too Pkt. Ś. *pīūśa* (Bālar. 266,19) and M.Ś. *peūśa* (Hc. 1,105; H.; Ś. Karp. 82,5; Bālar. 150,19; 223,5;294,10; Mallikām. 245,6). On *baḥedaa=vibhitakā* see § 115; in Paṇṇav. 31, in AMg. we have *vibhelae=vibhedakaḥ* (§ 244).

1. An uncritical collection in BOLLENSON on Mālav. 5,2-5, p. 122.—2. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,134.

§ 122. Like *i* (§ 119), *ī* also may become *ē* before consonant-groups: AMg. JM. *kiḍḍā*, AMg. *kheḍḍā* dialectical *khēḍḍā*, A. *khēḍḍaa=kriḍḍā* (§ 90); *nēḍḍā* beside *niḍā* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jānījā*, *jānejjā=jāniyāt* (§ 91); M. *ēddaha=iḍśa*¹ with reduplication according to § 90 and *ha* for *śa* according to 262 (on Vr. 4,25 and Appendix B. p. 101; Hc. 2,157; Mk. fol. 40; Deśin. 1,144; H.; also in Ś. Viddhaś. 71,1, everywhere *ēddahameṭta=iḍśamātra*); *kēddaha=kidiśa* and on its analogy *tēddaha=tāḍśa*, *jēddaha=yāḍśa* (Grr.). Similarly is explained also *e* in AMg. M. JM. *āmeḷa* (garland; braid; Vr. 2,16; Hc. 1,105.202,234; Ki. 1,15;2,9; Mk. fol. 8,16; Pāiyāl. 140; Deśin. 1,62; G. 112; Paṇṇav. 111; Ovav.; JM. in *kamalāmeḷā*, Av. 29, 18ff.), M. *āmeḷaa* (R. 9,21), AMg. *āmeḷaga* (Rāyap. 111), *āmeḷaya* (Uvās. §206; read as such; Ovav.). *āmeḷa* is=**āpīḍya*, which passes through the stages **āpīḍḍa*, **āpēdda*, **āpeḍa* with *ma* for *pa* according to §248, *e* for *ē* according to §66 and *la* for *ḍa* according to §240². Ś. *āpīḍa* (Mālatim. 207,4); according to Hc. 1,202 there occurs dialectically also as *āveḍa*. In the same way we must explain *ṇimeḷa* (gums; Deśin. 4,30) from **nīpīḍya*, and AMg. *veḍa* from **veḍḍa* for **vīḍya* of the present stem *vīḍya*; cf. §240. Doubtful is the origin of *e* in *peḍha* (Hc. 1,106) beside the common *pīḍha=pīḥha*. M. *peḍhāla* (G. 731) has been falsely derived by Haripāla from *pīḥayukta*. It means "broad" or "round" (Pāiyāl. 84; Deśin. 6,7) and perhaps is connected with *piṇḍa*, *e* never appears in the passive in -*iija* and the participles nec. and adjectives in -*aṇijja* in M. AMg. JM. JS. (§91).

1. The grammarians explain it by *etavat*, Hc. Deśin. 1,144 by *iyat*. 2.—WEBER has correctly connected it with *iḍśa*, H. p. 59. The grammarians equate *āmeḷa* as=*āpīḍa*; likewise LASSEN, Inst. p. 207; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakritica p.15; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v. Thereby it is only *e* that remains unexplained. In Triv. 1,2,56, the printed edition has *ḥa* and the MSS. have *ḥa*.

§ 123. In Pkt. there appears several times *a* in place of Skt. *u*, especially in the first syllable of a word whose second syllable likewise has *u*. In most of such cases *a* might have been the original vowel

and the forms with *u* might have been formed analogically (Vr. 1,22; Hc. 1,107; Kī. 1,6; Mk. fol. 9): M. Ś.Ā.A. *garua*, AMg. JM. *garūya* = *guru* (G.H.R.; Sūyag. 692.747.750; Paṇṇav. 8,10; Vivāhap. 126.436; Āṇuḥ. 268; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Śak. 10,3; Mālav. 34,9; 37,8; Priyad. 4,7; Ā. Mṛcch. 148,1; A. Hc. 4,340,2), feminine AMg. *garūi* (Grr.; G.; Nāyādh.; cf. § 139), and in derivatives like M. *garuattana* = **gurutana* (G.H.R.), *garūia* (G.R.), *garūei* (G.), JM. *garukka* = *gurutva* (Kī. 13; cf. § 299); Ś. *garuadā* (Priyad. 31,12), *agaruadā* (Mahāv. 54,19). Cf. *gārava* and *gorava* § 61^a. As Hc. 1,109 explicitly teaches, *a* has come in only with the addition of the suffix *-ka*; in all the dialects *guru* retains its *u*¹. — A. AMg. JM. *agaru* (Grr.; G.; Sūyag. 248; Uvās.; Erz.), also in Skt. beside *aguru* (M. Karp. 87,9); AMg. also *agaluja* (Ovav.); M. *kālāaru* (G.), AMg. *kālāgaru* (Ovav.; Kappas.). — *gaḷoi* = *guḷūci* (§ 127). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūḍa* = *mukūṣa* (Grr.; G.; Āyār. 2,13,20; p. 128,3; Paṇḥāv. 160.234.251.440; Paṇṇav. 100.101.117; Vivāgas. 161; Nāyādh. § 35.92; p. 269.1274; Jiv. 615; Rāyap. 21; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Veniś. 59,22). — *maūra* = *mukura* (Grr.), but Ś. *radanamuura* (Mallikām. 194,4; text *raa*^o). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūla* = *mukula* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Anarghar. 20,3; Kāmsav. 9,3; Paṇḥāv. 284; Paṇṇav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mudrār. 46,7 [to be read as such]; Mālav. 69,2), and in the derivatives like M. *maūlia* (G.H.R.), AMg. *maūlija* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *maūlida* (Śak. 14,6; Mahāv. 22,20; Uttarar. 163,5) = *mukulita*, M. *maūlāia* (Ratn. 293,2); Ś. *maūlānta* (Mālatim. 121,5; 254,2); Ś. *maūlāvijjanti* (Priyad. 11,3; read *°vianti*); Mg. Ś. *maūlēnti* (Mṛcch. 80,21; 81,2); AMg. *maūli* = *mukulinaḥ* (Paṇḥāv. 119)². In a similar manner is explained also *kohala* = *kutūhala* (Hc. 1,171) from **katūhala*, **kaūhala*, beside M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*, Ś. *kodūhala* (61^a), and M. *somāra* (H.R.), *somāla* (Bh. 2,30; Hc. 1,171.254; Pāiyāl. 88; Lalitav. 563,2) from **sakumāra*, **saūmāra* (§ 166) = *sukumāra*, while AMg. *sūmāla* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.) goes back to AMg. *sukumāla* (Vivāhap. 822.946; Antag. 7.16.21; Jiv. 350.549.938; Paṇḥāv. 278.284; Ovav. § 48 etc.). M. has also *suumāra* (Śak. 2,14), Ś. only *suumāra* (Mṛcch. 37,5; Śak. 19,6; 54,4), *sukumāra* (Vikr. 5,9), JM. *sukumārayā* = *°ratā* (Erz.). *somāla* has been taken over to Skt. as well³. *soamalla* = *saukumārya* (§ 285) presupposes a transition of the second *u* to *a*, as AMg. JM. too have *dugamchā*, beside *dugumchā* = *juguṣā* (§ 74). Assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable on account of accent takes place in M. *avarim* = *upa'ri* (Grr.; G.), beside M. AMg. JM. *uvarim* (Hc. 1,108; H.R.; Paṇṇav. 90ff.; Samav. 101; Rāyap. 62; Vivāhap. 198; Ovav.; Āv. 8,12; Erz.), M. JM. Ś. *uvari* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 41,22; Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 66,2; Prab. 38,8), Ś. *uvaridaṇa* (Mṛcch. 42,13), Mg. *uvali* (Mṛcch. 134,8), AMg. *uppiṃ*. (§ 148). To *avarim* belongs M. *avarilla* (upper garment; Hc. 2,166; Pāiyāl. 175) as well as *varilla* (Karp. 56,7; 70,8; 95,11). In the same way is explained *a* in M. *avahovāsa*, *avahoāsa* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2, 138; H.R.)⁴, beside AMg. *ubhaopāsaṃ* (Samav. 151; Ovav.), *ubhayopāsaṃ* (Paṇḥāv. 258), *ubhaopāsiṃ* (Samav. 98; Jiv. 496f.500.502.504; Nāyādh. 275; Vivāhap. 826.830), *ubhaopāse* (Kappas. p. 96,24), *ubhayokālāṃ* (Hc. 2.138), *ubhaokūlenam* (Ovav.) *ubhao* (Vivāhap. 941; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) is = **ubhata* for *ubhayatas*⁵ from *ubha'*, *avaho* = **uba'thas* (§ 212) wherefrom, is derived *avaha*, and according to some (Hc. 2.138), is derived also *uvaha*. So also *bhamajā* = **bhruvakā* (§ 124) and *avajjhā* = *upādhyāya* (Deśin. 1.37; cf. § 28). — *tarakṣu*, in AMg. has become an *a*-stem: *taraccha* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345), feminine *taracchi* (Paṇṇav. 368). On *kattha* = *kutra*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kaohinto* = *kutah*, see § 293.428, on *jahiṭṭhila*, *jahuṭṭhila* = *yudhiṭṭhira*, § 118.

1. BOLLENSEN wrongly states, on Mālav. p. 172, that when it is an adjective, it is

garu, and when, a substantive, it is *guru*. In Jiv. 224, *garu* is a false reading, likewise Sak., ed. BÖHTLINGK 79,9;86,3.—2. On *mañḍa* and *mañḍa* cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 31, 324.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 10,135ff.—Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 81; WEBER, ZDMG. 28,390—LEUMANN, Aup. S.s.v.

§ 124. Beside *tumburu* (*Diospyros embryopteris*) there occur dialectically *ṭimbaru* (Deśin. 4,3) and *ṭimbaruṇa* (Pāiyāl. 258). In lieu of *u* there appears *i* as a separation-vowel¹ in all the dialects in *purisa*, Mg. *puliṣa*=*puṛuṣa* (Vr. 1,23; Hc. 1,111; Ki. 1,26; Mk. fol. 9; e.g. M.: G.H.R.; AMg.: Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203; Paṇhāv. 222; Thāp. 360 and very often; JM.: Erz.; JŚ.: Kattig. 401,345; Ś: Mṛcch. 9,10; 17,19;24,25;29,3; Śak. 126,14;141,10; Vikr. 35,12; Prab. 39,13; Mg.: Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 113,21;116,17;157,14; Prab. 51,8;53,11;62,7; D.: Mṛcch. 104,7); *paūrisa* (Grr.), JM. *porisa*, AMg. *porisi*, *porasiya*, *aporisiya* (§ 61^a). False is AMg. JM. *porusa* in Uttar. 17; Erz. 17,35. In Ś. *purusoṭtama* (Vikr. 35,15) the *u* has been purposely retained on account of similarity of sound with that of *purūrava*-, therefore, it falsely occurs also in Mālatīm. 73,6. Otherwise it is always *purisoṭtama* (Mālatīm. 266,4. Venis. 97,9), in Ś. and *puliṣoṭtama* in Mg. (Prab. 32,7,14). In M. AMg. JM.Ś. *bhuḍi* (Hc. 1,110; G.H.R.; Vivāgas. 90,121.144.157; Nāyādh. 753.1310.1312; Vivāhap. 237,254; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Venis. 60,5;61,18; Bālar. 270,5); AMg. also *bhiguḍi* (Paṇhāv. 162,285) the *i* is not=*u* in *bhrukuṭi*, but=*r* in *bhrykuṭi*. False is M. *bhuḍi* (Pratāp. 220,20) as well as *huḍi* (Acyutaś. 58). On the other hand *a* stands for *u* according to § 123 in *bhamayā* (Hc. 2,167), against AMg. *bhamuhā* (§ 206; Pāiyāl. 251; Āyār. 1,1,2,5;2,13,17 [neuter]; Jiv. 563; Rāyap. 165; Ovav.; Kappas.), A. *bhōhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; § 166 251), and M. *bhumā* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,121;2,167; Ki. 1,117; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.), AMg. *bhumayā* (Pāiyāl. 251; Uvās.; Ovav.), *bhumagā* (Paṇhāv. 272,285 [text *bhū*]; Uvās.); *bhumā* (Ovav. s.v. *koṭṭkuiya*). Cf. § 206.254.261.—AMg. *chiya* (one who has enjoyed; Hc. 1,112;2,117; Nandis. 380) is not=*kṣuta*, but onomatopoeically=**chīta*, corresponding to German *tsi*! To this refer AMg. *chiyamāna* (convalescent; Āyār. 2,2,3,27). In the same way is to be explained *chikka* (Deśin. 3,36); cf. Skt. *chikkā*, *chikkāna*.—On *sūhaga*=*subhaga* see § 62, on *mūsala*=*musala*, § 66.

1. ZIMMER, KZ. 24,220 f.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,515; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 51.

§ 125. Like *i* becoming *e*, (§ 119), before consonant-groups *u* may become *o* (Vr. 1,20; Hc. 1,116; Ki. 1,23; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 31). According to Mk. fol. 66, this change does not take place in Ś. except in *muktā* and *puṣkara*, and this is attested substantially by the texts. PG. *khamdakoṇḍisa*=*skandakuṇḍinaḥ* (6,19); M. *gōccha*=*guccha* (H.R.), *gōcchaa* (H.), M. *toṇḍa* (Grr.; H. 402 [read as such]), but Mg. *tuṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 112,8); *mōṇḍa* (Grr.), but M.Ś.Mg. *muṇḍa* (G.; Mṛcch. 80,20; Prab. 49,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 122,7; Prab. 53,14); Ś. *poṭṭkhara*=*puṣkara* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 2,16; 54,2;95,11), and AMg. JM. *pukkhara* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *pukkharaḥkha*=*puṣkarākṣa* (Mudrār. 204,3); AMg. Ś. *poṭṭkhariṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2 [text **ra*]; Nāyādh. 1060; Dhūrtas. 5,10) and AMg. JM. *pukkhariṇi* (Sūyag. 565,613; T. 4,9); Mg. *poṣkaliṇi* (Mṛcch. 112,11) and *puṣkaliṇi* (Mṛcch. 113,22); AMg. *poṇḍariya* (Sūyag. 813; Paṇnav. 34; Ovav.), and JM. *puṇḍariya* (Erz.), Ś. *puṇḍariya* (Mālatīm. 122,2); JM. *koṭṭima* (Grr.; Erz.), beside M. *kuṭṭima* (R.); Ś. *poṭṭhaa*=*pustaka* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 69,17; Karp. 12,11), AMg. *poṭṭhaya* (Ovav.); *loḍḍhaa*=*lubdhaka* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 248); M. *mōṭṭhā*=*mustā* (Hc. 1,116; Sarasvatik. 16,9); M.Ś. *mōḡgara*=*mudgara* (Grr.; R.; Bālar. 245,18;251,3) beside *muggara* (R.); AMg. JŚ. *poḡgala*=*puḡgala* (Hc. 1,116; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 384,58),

beside JŚ.Mg. *puggala* (Pav. 384,36.47.59; Prab. 46,14); M.Ś. *mo'ttā* (Bh.; Kī.; Mk.; Pkl.; R.; Vikr. 40,18), beside M.Ś. *muttā* (G.R.; Mṛcch. 69,1; Karp. 72,2), Ś. *muttāhala* = *muktāphala* (Karp. 72,3.8; 73,9), M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5; 100,5). On the lengthening of such a secondary *o*, see § 66 and cf. § 127.

§ 126. Beside *duūla*, AMg. *dugulla*, according to grammarians, there occurs also *duulla* (§ 90).—AMg. *uvvīdha*, which according to Hc. 1,120 = *udvīdha*, belongs rather to *uvvīhai* = *udvīdhyati* from *vidh* (*vyadh*) with *ud* (§ 489), as is clear from Vivāhap. 1388 : *se jahā nāmae ke i purise...usurū...uvvīhai uvvīhittā...tassa usussa...uvvīdhassa samānassa*. It has, therefore, been formed on the analogy of *liḍha*, from *lih*, *mīdha*, from *mih*, from the secondary root *vih* = *viḍh*. *udvīdha* forms regularly *uvvīdha* (Hc. 1,120; Śak. 88,2; Jiv. 826). On *u* for *ū* see § 80-82. For *nūpura*, all the dialects have *neura*, Mg. *neula*, that go back to the by-form preserved in modern Indian languages as *nepūra*, *neपुरा*, which may be set side by side with Skt. *keyūra*, Pkt. *keūra* : cf. Ś. *neurakeūram*, (Bālar. 248,17), A. *neurakeuraō* (Piṅgala 1,26). So M.Ś. *neura* (Vr. 1,26; Hc. 1,123; Kī. 1,5; Mk. fol. 9; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,2; Vikr. 31,7; Mālav. 40,7; Ratn. 294,32; Prab. 39,8 [read as such with PM]; Pras. 39,18; 114,9; Karp. 21,1; Bālar. 248,17), M. *neurilla* = *nūpuravat* (G.); *saṇeura* (Mālav. 37,15; 43,2); AMg. JM. *neura* (C. 2,4 [read as such with A]; 3,34 p. 35; Pāiyāl. 118; Paṇhāv. 236.514; Nāyādh. § 65.102; p. 948; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.; Āv. 12,6); Mg. *neula* (Mṛcch. 99,7.10); A. *neura* (Piṅgala 1,17.22.26). Hc. 1,123; Deśin. 4,28 knows also *niura* and 1,123 *niūra*; Pratāp. 220,14 has certainly a false reading *niūvurāin*.

§ 127. Like *ū* (§ 125), before consonant-groups *ū* also may become *ō* : AMg. *koṇpara* = *kūpara* (Hc. 1,24; Vivāgas. 90), beside M. *kuppara* (G.); AMg. JM. *mo'lla* = *mūlya*¹ (Hc. 1,124; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; 2,6,1,2; p. 128,6; Āv. 31,10; Erz.), M. *amo'lla* (G.), beside the more frequent *mulla* (§ 83). Like *ō* from *u* (§ 66), the *ō* from *ū* is also lengthened when an original consonant-group is simplified. Thus may be explained AMg. *toṇa* = *tūna* (Hc. 1,125; Paṇnav. 72.79.81.83; Vivāgas. 112; Nāyādh. 1426), beside Ś. *tūṇi* (Veṇis. 62,4; Mukund. 69,14); M. *toṇira* = *tūṇira* (Hc. 1,124; Karp. 47,8); *thonā* beside *thūṇā* = *sthūṇā* (Hc. 1,125). They go back to **toṇṇa*, **toṇṇiru*, **thoṇṇā* from **tulna*, **tulnira*, **sthulnā*². A similar explanation holds good for M. *thora* from **tho'rra* = *sthūra* (Hc. 1,124.255; 2,99; G.H.R.; Sarasvatik. 171,22; Karp. 50,11; 64,2; 74,7; 81,4) beside AMg. JM. *thulla* = *sthūla* (Hc. 2,99; Āyār. 2,4,2,7; Āv. 22,15.42), *aithulla* (Āv. 22,35) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *thūla* (Āyār. p. 133, 33; 136,3; Sūyag. 286; Paṇhāv. 437; Kattig. 398,303.305; Karp. 72,1; Hāsy. 32,1 [read as such with v.l., while Āv. 22,34 *thulla*, 22,33 *aithulla* should be corrected]). Further for AMg. *ṇaṅgola* = *lāṅgūla* (Nāyādh. 502), *ṇaṅgoli* = *lāṅgūlin* (Jiv. 345), *ṇaṅgoliya* = *lāṅgūlika* (Jiv. 392), beside *ṇaṅgula* (Jiv. 883.886.887), *goṇaṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *ṇaṅgūli* (Aṇuog. 349), and M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *tambola* = *tāmbūla* (Hc. 1,124; Mk. fol. 8; G.; Aṇuog. 61; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 401,350; Mṛcch. 71,6; Mālatim. 201,2 [read as such]; Karp. 98,4; Viddhaś. 28,7; Kasinsav. 55,13) [text *tambo'lla*], AMg. *tambolaya* (Sūyag. 250), *tamboli* (Jiv. 487; Rāyap. 137). The *o* presupposes final accentuation in *lāṅgūla* and *tāmbūla*, in which case *l* is doubled according to § 90, as in *thulla*, *dugulla*. The process of development was, therefore : *tāmbūla*, **tambulla*, **tambo'lla*, *tambola*.³ In *kohaṇḍi* = *kūsmāṇḍi*, (Hc. 1,124; 2,73; Kī. 2,73; Pāiyāl. 146), AMg. *kohaṇḍa* = *kūsmāṇḍa* (Paṇnav. 111), beside *kūhaṇḍa* (Paṇhāv. 172.230.312) and *kuhaṇḍa* (Paṇnav. 115; probably

falsely) *o* is secondary. For *Ś. kohaṇḍa* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 99,3) which is forbidden by Mk. for *Ś. Kono* 103,1 reads *kumbhaṇḍa*, and we must read as such also in *Viddhaś. 23,2*. The series was : **kumhaṇḍi*, **koṃhaṇḍi*, **koṃhaṇḍi*, *kōhaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi* (§ 76.89.312) *kohaṇḍi* (Hc. 1,24; 2,73), *kohaṇḍi* (Pāyā. 146) may in the same way be derived from *kōhōḍi*. Cf. *Marāṭhi. kohaṇḍi. gaṇḍi=guḍḍi* (Hc. 1,107.124; § 123) may be going back to **gaḍḍi*.

1. JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *moḷla*, falsely equates it as *maulya* which is a back formation from Pkt.—2. WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 168; HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG. 39, 92ff. FORTUNATOV. KZ. 36.18. Wrongly BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 157ff.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. § 146 d note, 172 d note; JOH. SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie p.1, note.—3. Impossible is the derivation from *tāmragula* in LEUMANN, Aup. S. p.165.

§ 128. In the syllable preceding and following the accented one *e* sometime becomes *i* (§ 79-82); before a consonant-group it becomes *e*, *i* (§ 84), in the auslaut before an enclitic with a double consonant, in the anlaut it becomes *e*, and dialectically, however, sometimes, after a long vowel it becomes *i* also (§ 85). A secondary *e* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.122). In A. *e* is shortened also in the inst. sing. in *-ena* and in the inst. plur. in *-ehim*, occasionally (cf. *Saṅgītaratnākara* 4,56). So *boḷliṇa* (Hc. 4,383; read as such); *pāṇiṇa* (Hc. 4,434); *khaṇḍiṇa* (Hc. 4,419,1; read as such); *amhēḥi*, *tumhēḥi*. (Hc. 4,371), *vankeḥi* *loaneḥi* (Hc. 4,356; read as such); *attheḥi*, *sattheḥi*, *hattheḥi* (Hc. 4,358; read as such), *denteḥi* (Hc. 4,419,5; read as such). As the manuscripts vary so greatly it is doubtful whether one should or should not in such cases do as I have done in my edition of Hemacandra and write *boḷliṇem*, *pāṇiṇem*, *vankeḥi* or with the v.l. *vankehi*, *loanehi* etc. It is true that we often find without any variant the instrumental plural forms in *-ahim*, *-ahi*, that are formed from the stems in *a* (§ 308). Beside the loc. plur. of the pronouns of the first and second persons in *-esu*, there are some grammarians who prescribe the loc. forms in *-asu*, and Śākalya teaches also *tujjisuṃ* and *tumbhisuṃ* (§ 415.422). JM. *eiṇā*, Ś.Mg. *ediṇā*, JM.Ś. Mg. *imiṇā*, beside *eṇa*, Ś. Mg. *edeṇa*, *imeṇa* (§ 426.430) are best explained with LASSEN (Inst. § 107) as formed from an *i*-stem, which is certainly the case for *kiṇā=keṇa*, on the analogy of which are formed *jiṇā* and *tiṇā* (§ 428).—AMg. JM. *aiṇa*, *aiṇa* are not=*ekona*, but=*aguna* (§ 444). On JM. *āṇasu*, A. *āṇahi* see § 474, and on the causative in *-a* in stead of in *-e*, § 491.

§ 129. For *e* occurs *a* in *nāliara=nālikera* (Deśin. 2,10), beside M. *nālieri* (G.), Ś. *nāriela* (Śak. 78,12), and *pavaṭṭha=praveṣṭa*, equated by Grr. (Vr. 1,40; Hc. 1,156; Ki. 1,40; Mk. fol. 13) as=*prakoṣṭha*¹, which clearly forms M.Amg. *paṭṭha* (Karp. 47,6; Ovav.) and *paṭṭha* (G.; Kappas.); in Ś., as Mk. expressly teaches, it forms only *paṭṭha* (Bālar. 80,1; Viddhaś. 126,3; in the meaning "house", Mṛch. 68,23ff).—*thūṇa* (Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29) beside *teṇa*, AMg. *teṇa* (§ 307)=*stena*, cannot be separated from *thūṇa* (horse; Deśin. 529) and is=*tūrṇa* for **stūrṇa* "quick", "fast"; cf. *thenilla* "fearful" Deśin. 5,32) and *velu* "thief" § 243.—AMg. JM. JS. *dosa* (hate; Deśin. 5,56; Triv. 1,4,121; for example Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 198; Paṇṇav. 638; Dasav. N. 653,6; Uttar. 199.446.648.707.822.876.902.910 ff.; Vivāhap. 125.832.1026; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 384,54; 385,61; Kattig. 404,389), AMg. JM. JS. *padosa*, *paosa* (Sūyag. 81; Uttar. 368; Erz.; Pav. 385,69) are not=*dveṣa*, *pradveṣa*², but=*doṣa*, *pradoṣa* with a change of meaning.³ Add to it also *doṣakaraṇa* (anger; Deśin. 5.51). *dveṣa* becomes *bosa* (§ 300).

1. So wrongly also LASSEN, Inst. p.136, note *. —2. CHILDERS, s.v.; WEBER, Bhag. s.v.; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; Erz. p.xxv, note 1; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; KLATT, Rṣabhap. s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 23.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13, 14ff.

§ 130. *o* becomes *õ*, *u* before consonant—groups (§ 84), in auslaut before enclitics with double consonants in anlaut *õ*, dialectically also otherwise *õ*, *u* (§ 85.346). The secondary *õ* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant—group, simplified (§ 66.127). In A. *o* becomes *u* not only in the auslaut (§ 85.346), but occasionally in the inlaut as well, as in *viuēn* for *vioēn*=*viyogena* (Hc. 4,419,5).—M.*annanna* (Hc. 1,156; G.H.), J.M. *annanna* (Erz.) is not=*anyanya*, which becomes *annõnna*, *annunna* (§ 84), but=*Vedic anyānya*.—*āvajja* is not=*atodya* (Hc. 1,156), which becomes *āõjja*, *āujja*, Ś. *pakkhāujja*=*pakṣātodya* (Karp. 3,3), but=**āvādyā*.—*a* for *o* is seen in *pulaāi*, *pulaei*, *pulaia* beside *puloei*, *paloei*, *puloia*, *paloia*=*pralokayati*, *pralokita* (§ 104) and *pallaṭṭai* beside *palõṭṭai* upsets; (Hc. 4,200), *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,47.68) beside *palõṭṭa* (Hc. 4,258). Probably these words are derived from different roots. On *pavaṭṭha*, probably=*prakoṣṭha*, see § 129.—AMg.JM. *theva* (a drop, a little; Pāiyāl. 164; Hc. 2,125. Deśin. 5,29; Dasav. N.652,32; KI.7; Äv. 45,2; Erz.), has nothing to do with *thova*=*stoka* (§ 230), but it belongs with *thippai*. (Hc. 4,175) to roots *stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3.4), as has correctly been shown by CHILDERS for Pāli *theva*.

(f).—SEPARATION VOWELS.

§ 131. Consonant-groups are often separated in Pkt. by a separation or epenthetic vowel, and the different consonants are then treated according to the phonetic rules holding good for the different dialects. Vocalic development takes place only when one of the consonants is *y*, *r*, *l* or a nasal. The exact quality and quantity of the separation vowels remain undetermined so that they appear as *a*, *i* and *u*. Metrically they are sometimes without any value. Thus in AMg. *a* in *agaṇi* : *nivāvaō agaṇi nivāvaējja*, *na paṇḍie agaṇi samārabhejja* (Sūyag. 330); in *garahio* : *musāvāō ja lagammi savasāhūhi garahio* (Dasav. 625.3); cf. Sūyag. 912.914; *i* in *kiriyaṅkiriyaṃ veṇaiyānuvāyaṃ* (Sūyag. 322); in *kimpurisa* : *asogo kimmarāṇaṇ ca kimpurisāṇaṇ ca campao* (Thāp. 505; Abhayadeva on Samav. 21); in *arihaṭ* : *bhikkhū akkhāum arihaṭ* (Dasav. 631,8), so *bhāsium arihaṭ kiriyaṇvadam* (Sūyag. 476; also in *kiriya°*); in *āyariya* : *āyariyassa mahappaṇo* (Dasav. 631,33)¹. It does not even hinder the shortening of a long vowel under the influence of the accent, as AMg. JM. *āyariya*=*ācārya* (§ 81.134), M.Ś. *veruliya*, AMg. JM. *veruliya*=*vaidūrya* (§ 80), Ś. *murukkha*=*mūrkhā* (§ 139), AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 82; C.3.30; Hc. 1,118; 2,113; Äyār. 2,4,1,7; 2,15,3; p. 131.132; Sūyag. 128.217.493; Paṇṇav. 72.81.83; Paṇhāv. 274; Jiv. 39.41.313; Aṇuog. 260.391.392; Vivāhap. 105.943. 1385.1438; Uttar. 1040; Ovav.; Kappas.)², nor the doubling of the consonant according to § 195, nor the change of *a* into *i* according to § 101, as in AMg. *nigina*=*nagna* (§ 133), nor the transition of *tya* to *cca* and *dhyā* to *jja* (§ 280.)

1. More examples in JACOB, KZ. 23,594ff.—In Sūyag. 174 (=3,2,1) the printed edition reads *ah' ime suhama saṅgā*, in the beginning certainly correctly so that with JACOB, KZ. 23,595, *suhama* is not to be accepted. Cf. § 323.

§ 132. Only in AMg. and A. *a* is more frequently a separation-vowel: it so occurs very rarely in other dialects. AMg. *agaṇi*=*agni* (Hc. 2,102; par ex. Äyār. 1,1,4,6; Sūyag. 273; Vivāgas. 224; Vivāhap. 120; Dasav. 616,32 and very often); AMg. *abhikkhaṇaṇ*=*abhikṣaṇaṇ* (Kappas.); AMg. *garahā*=*garhā* (Vivāhap. 132), *garahaṇā*=*garhaṇā* (Ovav.), *garahāmo*, *garahai* (Sūyag. 912.914), *garahaha* (Vivāhap. 132.332), JM. *garahasi* (Erz. 55,29), AMg. JM. *garahiya* (Sūyag. 504; Dasav. 625,3; Erz. 35,15); AMg. *vigarahamāṇa* (Sūyag. 912), JS. *garahana* (Kattig. 400, 331), beside *gariha* (Vr. 3,62; Ki. 2,59), AMg. *garihā* (Hc. 2,104; Mk.

fol. 29; Pāṭyā. 245; Thān. 40), *garihāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *garihasi* (Sūyag. 912; read ^{ra}), JM. *garihasu* (Erz. 42,18); AMg. *rayaṇi*=*aratni* (§ 141)¹; AMg. *rahasa*=*hrasva*, M.AMg. *Ś.A. dihara*=*dirgha* (§ 354); AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthini* (§ 358); AMg. *haraya*=*hrada* (Hc. 2,120; Āyār. 1,5,5,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 123; Uttar. 376f.; Vivāhap. 105.194.270). A. *garāsa*=*grāsa* (Piṅgala 2,140), *tarāsa*=*trasyati* (P.2,96), *paramāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (P. 1,28), *parasanna*=*prasanna* (P. 2,49), *parāvahi*=*prāpnuvanti* (Hc. 4,442,1). From other dialects some examples are: M. *raṇa*=*ratna* (Vr. 3,60; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29; G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *rayaṇa* (§ 70; C. 3,30; Hc. 2,101; Kattig. 400,325); Ś. *radana* (Mṛcch. 52,9; 68,25; 70,24; 71,1; Śak. 38, 5; 103, 6; 117, 7; Vikr. 77, 15 etc.² D. *radana* (Mṛcch. 101, 12; 159, 12, 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117, 5); Mg. *ladana*, 146,4; 159, 12; 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117,5), Ś. *sattuhana*=*satruggha* (Bālar. 310,15; Anarghar. 317,17), beside *sattuggha* (Bālar. 151,1); M.Ś. *śālāhā*=*ślāghā* (Vr. 3,63. Hc. 2, 101; Ki. 2, 57; Mk. fol. 30; G.; Caṇḍak. 95,8), M. *śālāhā*=*ślāghana* (H.); *salahāi* (Hc. 4,88), M. *śālāhamāṇa* (H.), *ahisālāhamāṇa* (G.), *śālāhanijja* (H.), Ś. *śālāhanā* (Mṛcch. 128,4; Prab. 4,8 [read as such]); Ratn. 304, 18; 319, 15; Mālatim. 82,8 [so to be read], Mg. *śālāhanā* (Mṛcch. 38,1 [read as such]); Ś. *śālāhiadi* (Ratn. 309,5; Prab. 12,11 [read as such]); A. *salahijjasu*, *salahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,95.117); JM. *bhasama*=*bhasman* (Erz.); P. *dharamapatni*=*dharmapatni* (Mk. fol. 87). The dialect remains undetermined in the case of *gahara* from **grdhara*=*grdhra* (Pāṭyā. 126; Deśin. 2,84); *palakkha*=*plakṣa* (C. 3,30; Hc. 2,103), for which AMg. has *pilamkhu*, *pilakkhu* (§ 74.105); *sāraṅga*=*śārṅga* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,100; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29). According to Hc. 4,270 in Ś., and according to 4,323 in P. *purava*, and according to 4,302, in Mg. *pulava*=*pūrva* are used.³ Against the principal rule is P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (Vr. 10,6; Hc. 4,314; Ki. 5,109; ed. *kaṣṭam*; cf. LASSEN, Inst. p.441). False is Ś. *parāṇa*=*prāṇa* (Cait. 54,10) for which read *pāṇa*, for example Mṛcch. 155,18; 166,9.14.15. Cf. also § 140.

1. For AMg. *ahārāṇijjā*=*yathāratnikāya* (Thān. 355.356) is to be read as *ahārāṇijjā*.—2. The printed editions write without exception *raṇa* in Ś. *laṇa* in Mg., which is a blunder committed against the dialects concerned.—3. For in Ś. and in Mg.; these are not attested by the texts (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,270). Probably by Ś. here they mean also JŚ.

§ 133. Most frequently there appears as a separation vowel *i*. In AMg. it is so found in many cases where the remaining dialects show assimilation of consonants. One of the consonants is a nasal: AMg. *usiṇa*=*uṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,6,4; 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 132.590; Thān. 131.135; Pannav. 8.10.786ff.; Jiv. 224.295; Vivāhap. 194.195.250. 436. 465.147off.; Ānuog. 268; Uttar. 48.57), *accusiṇa*=*atyusṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), *siyosiṇa*=*śitoṣṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Vivāhap. 862.863), beside *siuṇha* (Sūyag. 134); Mg. *koṣiṇa*=*koṣṇa* (Venis. 34,4). Cf. § 312. AMg. *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛtsna* (Hc. 2,75.104; Sūyag. 26.28.172.292.416.439.460; Vivāhap. 205; Ānuog. 104; Uttar. 251; Ovav.; Kappas.) and=*kṛṣṇa*, beside *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṇha*, *kiṇha* (§ 52); AMg. JM. *tusiṇiṇa*=*tūsṇika*, beside *tunhia*, *tunhikka* (§ 81.90); AMg. *dosiṇā*=*jyotsnā*, Ś. *dosiṇi*=*jyautsni* (§ 215); AMg. *nigiṇa*=*nagna* (Āyār. 2,2,3,11; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 108 [text *nigaṇa*]) with *i* in the first syllable according to § 101, beside *nagiṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3; Sūyag. 169; Dasav. 627,1), *nagiṇiṇa* (sic; Uttar. 208), *nāgaṇiṇa*=Sūyag. 344)=*nagnatva*; AMg. *paṣiṇa*=*praśna* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17, Sūyag. 383.918; Nāyādh. 301.577.578; Vivāhap. 151.973.978.1251.1261.1408; Nandis. 471; Uttar. 513; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *siṇāṇa*=*snāna* (Mk. fol. 29; Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,2,1,8; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 344.382; Dasav. 626,40; probably incorrectly also in Ś. Cait. 44,4; 92,14; 134 9; 150,7; 260,4); AMg. *asiṇāṇa* (Dasav. 626,39), *pāosiṇāṇa*=

prātaḥsnāna (Sūyag. 337), *siṇāi=snāti* (Mk. fol. 29; Sūyag. 340); *asiṇāittā* (Sūyag. 994), *siṇāyanta-*, *siṇāyanti* (Dasav. 626,37.38), probably incorrectly also *Ś. siṇāveṇti* (Cait. 44,13), *siṇāyaga=snātaka* (Sūyag. 929.933.940), *siṇāyaya* (Uttar. 755; text *siṇāio*); *P. sināta=snāta* (Hc. 4, 314), *kalasinānena=kṛtasnānena* (Hc. 4,322; read as such); *siviṇa*, *simiṇa*, *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa=svapna* (§ 177). *i* is a separation vowel also in the declension of *rājan*, as in inst. sing. JM. *rāiṇā*, *P. rāciṇā* (§ 399).

§ 134. 2) One of the consonants is *ya*, which except in AMg. JM. JS. drops after the separation vowel *i*: AMg. JM. *ceiya*=Pāli *cetiya*=*caitya* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7;2,3,3,1;2,10,17;2,15,25; Sūyag. 1014; Thān. 266; Samav. 101.233; Paṇhāv. 521; Vivāhap. 5.164.934; Rāyap. 154; Jīyak. 6; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; T.6,24; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *ciyatta*=**tiyakta=tyakta*, *jhiyāt=dhyāyati* (§ 280); AMg. *teṇiya*=*stainya* (§ 307); AMg. *bāliya*=*bālya* (Vivāhap. 132); AMg. JM. *bahiya*=*bāhyāt* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1; Sūyag. 954; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 14,10); AMg. *viyaggha*=*vyāghra* (Paṇhāv. 20); *Ś. diṭṭhiā=diṭṭya* (Hc. 2,104; Mṛcch. 68,2;74,11; Śak. 52,10;167,7; Vikr. 10,20;26,15;49,4;75,2 etc); *hijjo*=*hyas* (Deśin. 8,67; Pāiyāl. 211; Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251). *Ś. hio* (Mālav. 51,7; Priyad. 19,12); in words of all the classes, as in the absolutive in *-ya*, for example AMg. *pāsiya*, JM. *pe'cchiya*, *Ś. pe'kkhiya*, Mg. *pe'skia*, Dh. *paḍissudia* (§ 590.591), the optative in *-yā*, as AMg. *siyā*=*syāt*, *haṇiyā*=*hanyāt* (§ 465), *bhuñjējjā=bhuñjyāt*, *karējjā*=**karyāt* (§ 459), the participia nec. and adjectives in *-ijja*, as *karaṇijja*, *ramaṇijja* (§ 91. 571), the numeral, as *M. biia*, *biijja*, AMg. *biija*; *M. taia*, AMg. *JM. taiya*, *Ś.Mg. tadia*, *A. taijji* (§ 82.91.449). The separation-vowel *i* is especially frequent in the consonant-group *rya*. The words of the type are classed by Vr. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Ki. 2,81 under the *ākṛtigana cauryasama*. Common to most of the cases is the long vowel before *rya*. Thus AMg. *āriya*=*ārya* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3;1,2,5,2,3;1,4,2,5; Sūyag. 54.204.363.914; Paṇhāv. 59ff.; Samav. 98; Vivāhap. 1246; Uttar. 109.509; Ovav.); *anāriya* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 56.68.208.210. 437.439.923.931.935; Samav. 98; Uttar. 511.990); AMg. JM. *āyāriya*=*ācārya* (Hc. 1,73; Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff.; Samav. 85; Thān. 157.268; Nandis. 512ff.; Dasav. 633,41;634,19ff.; Uttar. 43; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 33,17;38,13,18,40,9ff.; Erz.; Kk.), also *āriya* (C. 1,5 p.40; Hc. 1,73,2,107), *Ś. ācāria* (Cait. 45,5;89,12;127,13), Mg. *ācālia* (Prab. 28,14;29,7;58,17;61,5;62,1.2.6; Cait. 149,17.19;150,2.33); *M.Ś. coria*=*caurya* (Grr.; H.; Cait. 81,1), AMg. JM. *bhāriyā*=*bhāryā* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 176; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *virīya*=*vīrya* (Sūyag. 351.360.365.442; Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Uvās.; Ovav., Kappas.; Pav. 379,2;381,19;386,1); *M.Ś. verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya*=*vaidūrya* (§ 80); AMg. *sūriya* (Hc. 2,107; Sūyag. 306.310.312; Vivāhap. 452.1040. 1273.1282; Ovav. § 163; Kappas.), *asūriya* (Sūyag. 273); *soria*=*śaurya* (Bh. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Ki. 2,81). Hc. 2,87 has also the examples *theria*=*sthairya*, *gambhīria*, *gahūria*=*gāmbhīrya*, and after a short vowel *sundaria*=*saundarya*, *varia*=*varya*, *bamhacaria*=*brahmacarya*. Corresponding to AMg. *moriyaputta*=*mauryaputra* (Samav. 123.151; Bhag.), JM. *moriyavamsa*=*mauryavamsa* (Āv. 8,17) Mg. has *molia*=*maurya* (Mudrār. 268,1). After a short vowel *i* has entered into the group *rya* in AMg. *tiriyam*=*tiryak* (Āyār. 1, 1,5,2,3;1,2,5,4; Sūyag. 191.273.304.397.428.914.931; Kappas.), *tiriyā* (Hc. 2,143), AMg. JM. JS. *tirīya* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380.12;383,70,27); AMg. *pariyāga*=*paryāya* (Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 235.796.845; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), often beside *pariyāya*; AMg. *vippariyāsa*=*viparyāsa* (Sūyag. 468.497.498).

§ 135. 3) Consonant-groups with *r* besides *rya* (§ 134): PG. *parihartavāṇ*=*parihartavyam* (6,36); M. *kiriā*, AMg. JŚ. *kiriā*=*kriyā* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,104; G.: Sūyāg. 322.412.445.460; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Pav. 381,21; 386,6,10; Kattig. 403,373.374); AMg. *darisaṇa*=*daršana* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29; Sūyāg. 43; Bhag.; Ovav.), *darisi*=*darśin* (Nandīs. 388; Bhag.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *darisaṇijja*=*darśaniya* (Paṇṇav. 96.118.127; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.); *darisai*, JM. *darisei*, Ā.D. *darisedi*=*darśayati* (§ 554); *āarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29), AMg. *āarisa* (Ovav.)=*ādarśa*; M.AMg. *pharisa*=*sparśa* (Vr. 3,62; Mk. fol. 29; Pāiyāl. 240; H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,7,4; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); AMg. *pharisa*=*sparśaka* (Kappas.), *duppharisa*=*duḥsparśa* (Paṇḥāv. 508); *pharisa*=*sparśayati* (Hc. 4,182); *marisai*=*marśayati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); M. *amarisa*=*amarśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.R.); M.Ś. *āmarisa*=*āmarśa* (Acyutaś. 53; Uttarar. 20,11), Mg. *āmalisa* (Mallikām. 143,11); Ś. *parāmarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mṛcch. 15,6; 70,1), *marisedu* (Mṛcch. 3,19; Mālav. 86,8), *marisehi* (Mālav. 38,4; 55,12); cf. Sak. 27,6; 58,9.11; 73,6; 115,2; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *varisa*=*varśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.H.; Ovav.; KL 19; Āv. 13.25; 14,12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Bālar. 276,3; Venis. 65,3; Mallikām. 225,2; 259,6); AMg. *varisā*=*varśāḥ* (Hc. 2,105; Nirayāv. 81); *varisaṇa*=*varśaṇa* (Mk. fol. 29); Ś. *varisi*=*varśin* (Venis. 60,6; Karp. 71,6); AMg. A. *varisai* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Dasav. N.648,10; Piṅgala 1,62); A. *varisei* (Vikr. 55,2); JM. *varisum*=*varśayitum* (Āv. 40,4); Ś. *varisidum* (Mālav. 66,20), *varisanta* (Prab. 44,3; Caṇḍak. 16,18); Mg. *valisa* (Venis. 33,4); AMg. *sarisava*=*sarśapa* (Paṇṇav. 34,35; Nāyādh. § 61; Vivāhap. 1424f. 1526; Ovav. § 73); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *harisa*=*harśa* (Vr. 3,62; Hc. 2,105; Ki. 2,59; G.H.R.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ratn. 300,21; Mudrār. 263,6; Venis. 62,12; 65,7); AMg. *lomaharisa* (Paṇṇav. 90); Ś. *saharisa* (Mṛcch. 71,19; Venis. 65,7); *harisai*=*harśati* (Hc. 4,235), AMg. *harise*=*harset* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), Ś. *harisāvida* (Bālar. 242,6); AMg. *vairā*=*vajra* (Sūyāg. 834; Thān. 265; Vivāhap. 499.1326; Uttar. 589.1041; Kappas.), *vairāmayā*=*vajramaya* (§ 70). On *siri*=*śri* and *hiri*=*hri* (Vr. 362; C.3,30; p. 50; Hc. 2,104; Ki. 2,57; Mk. fol. 29) see § 98.195.

§ 136. One of the consonants is *l* (Vr. 3,60.62; Hc. 2,106; Ki. 2,59.104; Mk. fol. 29): M. *kilammai*=*klāmyati* (Hc. 2,106; G. R.), AMg. *kilamejja*=*klāmyet* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1), Ś. *kilammadi* (Śak. 123,8; Mālatim. 135,5; Mallikām. 69,7; 133,14; 159,8; [text °aī]), M. A. *kilāmita*=**klāmita* (G.R.; Vikr. 60,16), M.AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. *kilanta*=*klānta* (Grr.; G.R.; Vivāhap. 1308; Rāyap. 258; Kappas.; Erz.; Uttarar. 18,12 [text *kilinta*]; Mṛcch. 13,7.10 [text *kilinte*]; see v.l. in GODABOLE); JM.Ś. *kilammanta* (Erz.; Mālatim. 81,1); Ś. *kilammida*=**klāmita* (Karnas. 47,12; text °li°), *adikilammida* (Mālatim. 206,4); JM. *kilissai*=*kliśyati* (Erz.), AMg. *samkilissai*=*saṅkliśyati* (Ovav.; Ś. *adikilissadi* (Mālav. 7,17), *kilissanta* (Ratn. 304,30); JM. *kiliṭṭha* (Grr.; Erz.), AMg. *saṅkiliṭṭha* (Ovav.), *asaṅkiliṭṭha* (Dasav. 642,41); Ś. *kilesa*=*kleśa* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 68,8.10; Lalitav. 562,22); MŚ. *kiliṇṇa*=*klinna* (Hc. 1,145; 2,106; G.; Mukunda. 15,1); A. *kilinnai* (Hc. 4,329), beside *kiṇṇai* (cf. § 59); AMg. *kiliva*=*kliḥa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); AMg. *gilāi*, *vigilāi*=*glāyati*, *viglāyati* (Hc. 2,106; Sūyāg. 200.215; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *milāi* (Hc. 2,106; 4,18; Āyār. 1,1,5,6); M. JM.Ś. *milāṇa*=*mlāna* (Grr.; G.H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,16; Vikr. 26,13; Cait. 73,9), Ś. *milānta* (Mālatim. 249,4), *milāamāṇa* (Vikr. 51,10; Mālav. 30,7); for Ś. *ṣammalādi* (Mālatim. 120,2) is with ed. Madras 105,3 and ed. Bombay 1892, p. 92,2 to be read *parimilādi* (§ 479); *miliccha*, AMg. *milakkhu*, beside AMg. JM.Ś. A. *me'ccha*, AMg. *miccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105); *silimha*=*śleṣman* (Hc. 2,106); AMg. JM. *siliṭṭha*=

śiṣṭa (Grr.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 38,10,12), *asilīṭṭha* (Āv. 38,8); *Ś. susilīṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 71,13; Mālatīm. 234,3), *dussilīṭṭha* (Mahāv. 23,19); AMg. *silesa*=*śleṣa* (Hc. 2,106; Vivāhap. 658); AMg. JM. *siloga*=*śloka* (Sūyag. 370,497,938; Ānuog. 557; Dasav. 637,31,44; 638,8; 641,7; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *silōja* (Sūyag. 405,417,506), *Ś. siloa* (Hc. 2,106; Lalitav. 554,13; Mudrār. 162,6; Viddhaś. 117,13; Karpas. 30,3,5); *suila* (Hc. 2,106), AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla* (Hc. 2,106 [read as such]; Thāp. 569; Jiv. 27,33, 224,350,457,464,482,554,928,938; Ānuog. 267; Uttar. 1021,1024,1041; Ovav.; Kappas.¹; JM. *sukkiliya* (Āv. 7,16).

1. The Indian editions very frequently write *sukkilla* (e.g. Thāp. 339-345,348-349, 406,568, Vivāhap. 436,532,535,544,1033,1322,1323,1421,1451,1456, Paṇṇav. 8,11ff. 46,241, 379,380,481,525, Paṇhāv. 167; Samav. 64; Rāyap. 50,55,104,110,120 (*sukkila*) etc. Sometimes both the forms stand side by side, thus Thāp. 568 *sukkilla*, but 569 *sukkila*, Ānuog. 267 *sukkila*, but 269 *sukkilla*. According to Hc. 2,106, the correct form is *sukkila* in spite of § 195.

§ 137. The separation vowel *i* sometimes appears after a secondary *b* developed from *mr*, *ml* (§ 295): *ambira*=*āmra* (Hc. 2,56; Deśin. 1,15); M. *tambira*=*tāmra* (Hc. 2,56; H. 589 [read as such]); M. *āmbira*=*ātāmra* (G.H.); *tambirā* (rust of wheat; Deśin. 5,5); AMg. JM. *ambila*=*amla* (Hc. 2,106; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,1,7,7; 2,1,11,1; Thāp. 20; Paṇṇav. 8,10,12ff.; Vivāhap. 147,532; Jiv. 224; Uttar. 1021; Dasav. N.656,29; Kappas.; Āv. 24,18); AMg. *ānambila* (Āyār. 2,1,7,7), *accambila* (Dasav. 621,14); *ambiliyā* (tamarind; Pāiyāl. 145); AMg. *āyambila*=*ācāmla*¹ (Vivāhap. 223; Nāyādh. 1292; Ovav.; Dvār. 498,2), *āyambilaṣya*=*ācāmlaka* (Thāp. 352; Ovav. [text °*biṣe*]). For Mg. *tikkhā-bilakeṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,19), according to v.l. in GODABOLE p. 442, we should read *tikkhambilakeṇa*.

1. So is the word explained by the scholiasts. Improbable assumptions with regard to its derivation in LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. āyambiliya* and in WEBER, *IS. 16,305*, note 12.

§ 138. In Ś. Mg. *i* appears as a separation-vowel in the passive in -ia as in *paḍhiadi*=Pāli *paṭhiyate*=*paṭhyate*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍhijjai*, P. *paḍhiyyate* (§ 535ff.), in the participia nec. and adjectives in -aṇia as in Ś. *karaṇia*, Mg. *kalāṇia*=*karaṇiya*, Ś. *ramaṇia*, Mg. *lanaṇia*=*ramaṇiya*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *karaṇijja*, *ramaṇijja*=**karaṇyā*, **ramaṇyā*¹ (§ 91,134,571), and in M.AMg. in the ending -mīṇa=Skt. -māna as in AMg. *āgamamīṇa* (§ 110,562). The separation vowel oscillates between *i* and *ī* in M.Ś. *accharia* JM. *acchariya*=*āścarya* (Vr. 12,30 for Ś.; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Mṛcch. 172,6; Mālav. 69,2; 85,8; Vikr. 9,12; Prab. 4,1; Mālatīm. 25; Lalitav. 562, 19 etc.¹; Pāiyāl. 165; Kk.), Mg. *aścalia* (Lalitav. 565,11 [°*ja*°]; 566,3; Venis. 34,6) and Ś. *accharia* (Hc.; Mṛcch. 73,8; Śak. 14,4; 157,5; Ratn. 296,25; 300,7,13; 306,1; 313,23; 322,23 etc.); M.AMg. also *acchera* (Bh. 1,5; 3,18,40; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Ki. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Paṇhāv. 380 [text *acchara*]), AMg. JM. *accheraṣya* (Nāyādh. 778f. 1376; Kappas.; Āv. 29,23; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *accheraḡa* (Paṇhāv. 288), according to Hc. also *accharijja*, a form which points to accentuation as *āścarya*, and *acchaara*, whose origin is still in the dark. Beside M. *pilosa* (G. 589; [read as such])=*ploṣa*, *pilutṭha*=*pluṣṭa* (Hc. 2,106) we have also *pilutṭha* (Deśin. 6,51). M.Ś. *jīā* (Vr. 3,66; Hc. 2,115; Ki. 2,61; Mk. fol. 30) is not=*ijyā*, but=*jivā*. In PG. *āpiṭṭiyam*=*āpiṭṭyām* (6,37), and in inscriptions *i* frequently stands for *ī*.

1. In many editions of the drama they are falsely written as *accar*. Cf. § 301.

§ 139. If one of the connected consonants is a labial or *va*, the more usual separation vowel is *u*: M. *uddhumāi*=**uddhmāti* (Vr. 8,32;

Hc. 4,8), *uddhumāa*=*uddhmāta* (G.R.), *uddhumāia* (R.); *khuluha*=*kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 250; cf. § 206); AMg. *chaūma*=*chadman* (Hc. 2, 112), especially in *chaūmattha*=*chadmastha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,15; Thāp. 50,51. 188; Vivāhap. 78,80; Uttar. 116,805,812; Ovav.; Kappas.); *tuvarai*=*tuvarate* (Vr. 8,4; Hc. 4,170), M.Ś. *tuvara*=*tuvarasva* (H.; Śak. 77,3;79,6), Ś. *tuvaradi* (Mṛcch. 97,9; Vikr. 9,12); *tuvaradu* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 64,11; Ratn. 313,7), *tuvaradu* (Mālav. 39,11), *tuvaramha* (Ratn. 293,31), *tuvaranta* (Mālatim. 119,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālatim. 24,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālav. 33,7;39,13), *tuvarāvedu* (Mālav. 27,19), *tuvarānti* (Mālatim. 114,5); Mg. *tuvaladu* (Mṛcch. 170,5), *tuvalēsi* (Mṛcch. 165,24); AMg. JM.Ś. *duvāra*=*dvāra* (Hc. 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Pāiyāl. 235; Āyār. 2,1,5,4ff.; Vivāhap. 126,4; Nāyādh.; Āv. 25,34; Erz.; Kk.; Mālatim. 238,6; Mudrār. 43,8 [read as such with v.l. for *dāra*]; Ratn. 303,2;309,10;312, 22; Mālav. 23,6;62,18;65,7; Bālar. 35,6; Priyad. 37,9;38,7), *duāra* (Mṛcch. 39,3;50,23;70,9;72,13;81,25; Śak. 115,5; Viddhaś. 78,9;83,7); *duāraa* (Mṛcch. 6,6;44,25;51,10;68,21;99,18; Mahāv. 100,6); Mg. *duvāla* (Prab. 46,12), *duāla* (Mṛcch. 43,11; Cait. 150), *duālaa* (Mṛcch. 45,2; 97,17); AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādaśa* (§ 244); M.AMg.Ś. Mg. *duve*, A. *dui*=*dve* (§ 437); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *paūma*=Pāli *paduma*=Skt. *padma* (Vr. 3,65; Hc. 2,112; Ki. 2,62; Mk. fol. 31; Acyutaś. 36,44,90,94 [text *paduma*]; Thāp. 75ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Priyad. 13,16 [°du]); Ś. *paūmarāa*=*padmarāga* (Mṛcch. 71,1); AMg.Ś. *paūmiṇi*=*padmini* (Kappas.; Mṛcch. 77,13); AMg. *paūmāvai*=*padmāvatī* (Nirāyāv.), Ś. *padmāvadī* (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *puruvva*=*pūva* (Mṛcch. 39,23; 89,4; Nāgān. 49,10); AMg. *riuvveja*=*ṛgoeda* (Thāp. 166; Vivāhap. 149, 787; Nirāyāv. 44; Kappas.); M.AMg. JM. *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaradi*, Mg. *sumaladi*=*smarati* (§ 478); AMg. *suve* (C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,114), *sue* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Uttar. 103; Dasav. 639,15), Ś. *suvo* (Mukund. 14,18)=*svah*. The separation vowel *u* appears regularly in the feminine of the adjectives in *-u* (Vr. 3,65; C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,113; Ki. 2,62; Mk. fol. 30 f.), as in *guruvi* (Grr.)=*gurvī*, while *garui* belongs to *garua*=*guruka* (§ 123), consequently in Hc. 2,113 the word with *b* is to be corrected as *guruvi*; *tanuvi*=*tanvi* (Grr.), M. *tanui* (H.); *lahuvi*=*laghvi* (Grr.), M.Ś. *lahui* (G.; Mṛcch. 73,11); *mauvi*=*mrdvi* (Grr.), M. *maui* (G.); *bahuvi*=*bahvi* (Grr.); *sāhuvi*=*sādhvi* (Mk.). The feminine of *prthu* is *puhuvi*, when it is used adjectively (Hc. 1,131;2,113), against which M. JM.Ś.A. *puhavi*, *puhai*, AMg. JM.Ś. JŚ. *puḍhavi* in the meaning "the earth" (§ 51.115). In the same way may be explained also the absolutive Ś. Mg. Dh. *kadua*=*kṛtvā*, *gadua*=*gatvā* from **kaduvā*, **gaduvā* (§ 581), and the absolutive in *-tuāṇam*, *-tuāṇa*, such as *kāuāṇam*, *kāuāṇa*=**kartvānam* (§ 584).—Sometimes *u* is brought in when the syllable preceding or following the consonant group contains *u* or *o*. Thus *murukkha*=*mūrkhā* (§ 131; Hc. 2,112), which according to Mk. belongs to the *prācyā bhāṣā* that should be spoken by the Vidūṣaka (§ 23), and which occurs in Pras. 48,1 in Ś. [text *murukha*], whilst otherwise *mukkha* is used (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 52,11,15;81,4; Karp. 13,8; Priyad. 18,5,14;38,1,8; Cait. 82,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 81,17,19; Prab. 50,13); P. *sunusā*=*snuṣā* (Hc. 4, 314), to which *sunhā* and *soṇhā* of the rest of the dialects go back (§ 148); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *duruhaī*=**udruhati* (§ 118.141.482).

§ 140. The separation—vowel oscillates between *a* and *i* in *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); M.Ś. *barahi*-, AMg.Ś. *barahiṇa* (§ 406)=*barhin*, beside *bariṇa*=*barha* (Hc. 2,104), A. *bariṇa*=*barhin* (Hc. 4,422,8); *saṇeṇa*=*sneha* (2,102), A. *sasaṇehi* (Hc. 4,367,5), *saniddha*=*snigdha* (Hc. 2,109), otherwise M. JM.Ś. *siṇeṇa*, that is not mentioned by Vr. and Hc. though it is the only

form found in the dramas and occurs very frequently (Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26; G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,17; 28,10; Śak. 9,14; 56,15; 90,12; 132,1; Mālav. 39,6; Mālatīm. 94,6; Uttarak. 68,8; Ratn. 327,13) Ś. *nissinēha* (Mṛcch. 25, 21), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *siṇiddha*=*snigdha* (Hc. 2,109; G.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,52; 57,10 [to be read as such]; 59,24; 72,7; Śak. 53,8; 84,11; 132,11; Mālav. 5,10; 60,6); M. *siṇiddhaam* (Vikr. 51,7; 53,5); AMg. *sasiṇiddha*=*sasniḍḍha* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6,7,9 [*sasa*°]; v. l. Kappas.). Beside these forms, we have also M. A. *neha*, AMg. JM. *neha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, M. *niddha*=*snigdha* (§ 313). The separation-vowel oscillates between *a* and *u* in *puhavi*, *puhai*, *puḍhavi* and *puhuvi* (§ 139); AMg. *suhuma* (§ 131) and AMg. *suhama* (Hc. 2,101; Sūyag. 174); Ś. *sakkaṇomi* and *sakkeṇomi*=*sāknomi* (§ 505). Dialectically *a*, *i* and *u* are exchanged in *arh*, *arha* and *arhant* (Hc. 2,104,111): AMg. *araha-* (Sūyag. 321; Samav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JŚ. *arahanta-* (Sūyag. 322; Thāṇ. 288; Vivāhap. 1.1235; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,3,4 [here the text has *°ri*°]; 383,44; 385,63); AMg. JM. M. *arihai* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Sūyag. 178; Dasav. 631,8; Erz.; Śak. 120,6), Ś. *arihadi* (Śak. 24,12; 57,8; 58,13; 73,8; Ratn. 323,1), Mg. *alihadi* (Śak. 116,1); Ś. *ariha*=*arha* (Vr. 3,62; Mukund. 17,4); *arihā*=*arhā* (Ki. 2,59); AMg. JM. *mahariha*=*mahārha* (Vivāgas. 128; Rāyap. 174; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *jahāriha*=*yathārha* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *mahāriha* (Śak. 117,7), Mg. *mahāliha* (Śak. 117,5); Mg. *a'ihanta-* (Prab. 46,11; 51,12; 52,7; 54,6; 58,7; 59,9; 60,13; Mudrār. 183,2 [to be read as such]; Latakam. 12,13; 14,19; Amṛt. 66,2); JM. *aruha* (Hc. 2,111; Dvār. 502,27, beside *arahantānam*, v. l. *°ri*°). The reading *aruhadi* is found in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śak. (BÖHTLINGK on 17,7,8 of his edition), and Mālav. (33,1; 65,2), likewise we find it in Priyad. 34,20, based on the South Indian manuscripts, in Ś. assuredly falsely. — *aruhanta-* (Hc. 2,111).

g) DROPPING OFF AND ADDITION OF VOWELS.

§ 141. Originally a vowel, at the beginning of a word, dropped off only when it was not accented. So in many disyllabic words, having more than two syllables with final accentuation: AMg. *daga*=*udakā* (Sūyag. 203.209.249.337.339.340; Thāṇ. 339.400; Paṇhāv. 553.531; Vivāhap. 942; Dasav. 619.27; 630,13; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside *udaga*, *udāja* (Ovav. § 83ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), sometimes both occur beside one another as in Sūyag. 337 *udageṇa* [= *dogeṇa*] *je siddhim udāharanti sāyam ca pāyam udagam phusantā* [*udagassa*]=*dagassa phāseṇa siyā ja siddhi sijjhiṃsu pāṇā bahave dagaṃsi*. The rest of the dialects do not have this dropping off: M. *uaa* (G.H.R.), *udāja* (Erz.), Ś. *udaa* (Mṛcch. 45,12; 112,10; 133,7; 134,7). JM. AMg. *duruhai*=**udruhāti* (§ 118.139.482). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo*=*upāndhau* (Sūyag. 384 [text *pāhaṇāo*]; Thāṇ. 359 [text *°vā*°, commentary *°pā*°]; Paṇhāv. 487 [text *°vā*°] 1212 [text *vāhaṇāo*]; Ovav. *°pā*° and *°vā*°, beside Ś. *uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), AMg.; *chattoṇāhaṇa* (Sūyag. 249 [text *°vāṇaha*]; Vivāhap. 153), *anovāhaṇaga*, *°ja* (§ 77). — AMg. JM. JŚ. *posaha*=*upavasathā* (Antag. 19; Sūyag. 771.994; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,359; 403,376); AMg. *posahiya*=*upavasathika* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.). — AMg. *rayaṇi*=*aratri* (§ 132; Vivāhap. 1563; Ovav.). — AMg. *lāu*=*alābū*, *lāu*=*alābū* (Hc. 1,66; Āyār. 2,6,1,1; Aṇuttar. 11; Ovav. § 79, VII [to be read as such]), *lāuja*=*alābuka* (Āyār. 2,6,1,4; Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 41.1033; Paṇnav. 31), also *lāum* (Hc. 1,66), beside AMg. *alāu* (Sūyag. 245), *alāuja* (Sūyag. 926.928 [°bu°]), Ś. *alwū* (Hc. 1,237; Bālar. 229,21).

§ 142. We must also presuppose final accentuation in AMg. *gāra*=*āgāra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 126.154.345), *gāraththa*=*agārastha* (Sūyag.

642.986; Uttar. 208), *gāri*=*agārin* (Uttar. 207), beside *agāra* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,5; Nāyādh.).—M. AMg. *rahaṭṭa*=*araghaṭṭa* (H. 490; Panhāv. 67), beside M. JM. *arahaṭṭa* (G. 685; Rṣabh. 30.47; not correctly the ed. Bomb. 47 *palīā rahaṭṭa vva*).—M. *vaamsa*=*avataṃsa* (H. 439), AMg. *vaḍṇsa*, *vaḍṇsaga* (§ 103), beside M. *avaṃsa* (H. 173.180), *avaṃsaanti* (Śak. 2,15).—Mg. *hage*, *hagge*=**ahakah*; A. *haū*=**ahakam* (§417). AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā*=*adhastāt* and derivatives (§ 107).—To this further belong the cases like AMg. *tiya*=**afita* (Sūyag. 122.470; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.155; Uttar. 833; Uvās.; Kappas.).—AMg. *piṇidhattae*=**apinidhātave* (Ovav. §79,X).—AMg. *pūha*=**apyūha* (§286).—AMg. *vakkamaī*=**apakrāmati* beside *avakammaī*, Ś. Mg. *avakkamadi* (§ 481), AMg. *vakkanta*=**apakrānta* (Paṇṇav. 41; Kappas.), *vakkanti*=**apakrānti* (Kappas.); M. *valagganti*=**avalagyanti* (G. 226.551); Ś. *vaṭṭhida*=**avasthita* (Mṛcch. 40,14); *vamhala*=**pasmārah* (Hc. 2,174), where also the shortening of the *ā* points to final accentuation. Agreeing with Skt. is M. AMg. *piṇaddha*=**pinaddha* (G.H.R.; Rāyap. 81f; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). A different accent from that of Skt. is presupposed in M. AMg. JM. A. *raṇṇa*=**dranya* (Vr. 1,4; Hc. 1,66; Ki. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117.1439; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 58,9; 71,9; 72,10), beside the rarer *araṇṇa* (G.H.; Āyār. p. 133,32; Kappas.; Erz.), which is the only form in Ś. (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Mālatim. 30,9; Uttarar. 190,2; Dhūrtas. 11,12; Kaṇṇas. 46,12; Vṛṣabh. 28,19; 50,5; Caṇḍak. 17,16; 95,10); against the dialect is *pāraddhiraṇṇa* (Viddhaś. 23,9).—M.A. *riṭṭha*=**ariṣṭa* (R. 1,3; Piṅgala 2,72), JM. *riṭṭhanemi*=**ariṣṭanemi* (Dvār. 496,2; 499,13; 502,6; 505,27), beside AMg. JM. *ariṭṭhanemi* (Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9; 497,26; 504,19; 505,5); AMg. *riṭṭha* (a precious stone; Jiv. 218; Rāyap. 29; Vivāhap. 212. 1146; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.)=**ariṣṭa*, Pāli *ariṭṭha*¹, AMg. *riṭṭhaga* (Nāyādh. §61; Uttar. 980), *riṭṭhaya* (Ovav.)=**ariṣṭaka*, *riṭṭhāmaya*=**ariṣṭamaya* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), beside *ariṭṭha* (a tree; Paṇṇav. 31). Cf. *ariṣṭātāli*. Probably to this group belongs also M. AMg. JM. Mg.A. *to*, which the grammarians and, with them, S. GOLDSCHMIDT², connect with *ta-*, but which could better be derived from *dta-*.

1. WINDISCH, ZDMG. 49,285 against whose explanation goes Pkt.—2 Prākṛtica p. 22.

§143. The initial vowel very frequently drops off in enclitic words under the influence of loss of accent. When the words are not used enclitically the vowel is retained. Thus: *api* after an anusvāra becomes *pi*, after a vowel, *vi*, as PG. *anne vi*=**anyān api* (5,6), *amhehi vi*=**asmābhirapi* (6,29); M. *maṇaṇ pi* (H. 12), *taṇ pi* (G. 430), *caḍulaṇ pi* (R. 2,18), *ajja vi*=**adyāpi* (H. s.v. *vi*), *taha vi*=**tathāpi* (R. 1,15), *ṇimmaḷa vi*=**nirmalaḷa api* (G. 72), *amhe vi*=**asme api* (H. 232), *appavaso vi*=**alpavaso'pi* (H. 265). So also in the other dialects. At the beginning of a sentence *a* remains: PG. *api* (6,37), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *avi* (R.; Āyār. 1,8,1,10; Dasav. 632,42; Kk. 270,46; Mṛcch. 46,5; 57,6; 70,12; 82,12; Śak. 49,8; often in *avi a* and *avi nāma*), so in verses after *m*, when a short vowel is wanted, as AMg. *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *kālagam avi* (Kappas. Th. 13,3), and when in AMg. *-ām* remains against the rule (§68); further in AMg. JM. *puṇar api* (§342) and in AMg. JM. *jāvi*=**ja+api*=**cāpi* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5; 1,1, 5,3; Sūyag. 120; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,13; Erz. 34,15), in cases like M. Ś. *keṇāvi* (H. 105; Vikr. 10,12 [to be read as such]), JM. Ś. *teṇāvi* (Erz. 10,25; 17,17; 22,9; Mālatim. 78,8), Ś. *ettikenāvi* (Śak. 29,9); Ś. Mg. *mamāvi* (Mṛcch. 65,19; Śak. 9,13; 19,3; 32,3; 50,4; Mṛcch. 140,1); Ś. Mg. *tavāvi* (Mālatim. 92,4; Mṛcch. 124,20); AMg. *khaṇam avi*=**kṣaṇam api* (Nāyādh. § 137); JM. *evam avi* (Āv. 16,24); JM. *sāyalam avi* *jivāleyam*

(Kappas. § 44); M. *piṭṭaṇṇāvi* = **priyātvaṇṇāpi* (H. 267); Ś. *jivida-savvasseṇāvi* = *jivitasarvasenāpi* (Śak. 20,5). In all such cases an special emphasis is to be laid on the word standing before *avi*¹. On AMg. *app* see § 174.—After anusvāra *iti* becomes *ti*, after vowels, *tī*; and long vowels are shortened before it (§ 92): PG. *ca tti* = *ceti* (6,37); *jiviam tti* = *jivitam iti* (R. 5,4), *ṇatthi tti* = *nāstīti* (G. 281); AMg. *iṇam tti* = *enad iti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3), *aṇupariyattāi tti* = *aṇuparivartata iti* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *laheam tti* = *labheyam iti* (Śak. 13,9), *pekkhadi tti* = *prekṣata iti* (Śak. 13,6). So in all the dialects. On AMg. *i* see § 93, on M. *ia*, AMg. JM. *iva* at the beginning of a sentence see § 116, on AMg. *icc* § 174. In M. AMg. JM. after anusvāra and short vowels *iva* becomes *va*, after long vowels which are shortened (§ 92), in verses sometimes even after short vowels it becomes *vva*: M. *kalam va* = *kalam va* (G. 668), *uaassa va* + *udakasyeva* (H. 53), *pakkehi va* = *pakṣair iva* (H. 218), *ālāpakkhambhesu va* = *ālānastambhesu iva* (R. 3,1), *mahamahāṇeṇa vva* = *madhumathaneneva* (H. 425), *samāsasanti vva* = *samucchvasanti iva* (H. 625), *dāru vva* = *dārūva iva* (H. 105); AMg. *puṇcham va* = *puccam iva* (Uvās. 94); JM. *puttam va* = *putram iva* (Erz. 43,34), *kaṇagam va* = *kanakam iva* (Kk. 258,23). Ś. Mg. do not know the word but substitute *via* for it (Vr. 12,24). In M. AMg. JM. occurs also *iva*: M. (G.); AMg. *ṭaṅkaṇā iva* (Sūyag. 198), *meham iva* = *megham iva* (Uvās. § 102); cf. § 345; JM. *kiṇṇaro iva* (Āv. 8,28), *tiṇam iva* = *tiṇam iva*, *vammaho iva* = *manmatha iva* (Erz. 24, 34; 84,21). On A. *jīva*, M. AMg. JM. P. *piva*, *viva*, *miva* see § 336.

1. BOLLESEN, Vikr. p. 156f. wrongly rejects the writings of this sort.

§ 144. In Ś. Mg. *idāṇim* is often used enclitically in the weakened sense of “well”, “now”, “then”, and then it becomes *dāṇim* (Hc. 4,277.302). Ś. *vācādo dāṇim aham* = *vyāpṛta idāṇim aham* (Mṛcch. 4,24), *jo dāṇim...so dāṇim* (Mṛcch. 6,4,8; 147,16.17), *kiṃ khu dāṇim* = *kiṃ khalv idāṇim* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *ko dāṇim so* = *ka idāṇim saḥ* (Mṛcch. 28,13), *aṇantarakaraṇiam dāṇim āṇavedu aṇjo* = *aṇantarakaraṇiyam idāṇim āṇāpayaḥ āryaḥ* (Hc. 4,277 = Śak. 2,5); Mg. *āyiviā dāṇim samvuttā* = *āyivikedanīm samvuttā* (Mṛcch. 37,6), *se dāṇim, ke dāṇim*, (Mṛcch. 37,19.25), *ēṭṭha dāṇim* (Mṛcch. 162,18), *toṣide dāṇim bhaddā* = *teṣita idāṇim bhartā* (Śak. 118,1). In other dialects this use is rare, as PG. *ēṭṭha dāṇi* (5,7); M. *aṇṇam dāṇim bohiṃ* = *anyāṃ idāṇim bodhiṃ* (Hc. 4,277), *kiṃ dāṇi* (H. 390), *to dāṇi* (R. 11,121). In the beginning of a sentence and when stress is to be laid on the meaning “now” the *i* is retained in Ś. Mg.¹ too: *idāṇim* (Mṛcch. 50,4; Śak. 10,2; 18,1; 25,3; 56,9; 67,6; 77,6; 87,1; 139,2; Vikr. 21,12; 22,14; 24,1; 27,4 etc. (read so everywhere). M. hardly uses the word, but it employs *inhiṃ*, *ēṇhiṃ*, *ēṭṭahe*, that are quite foreign to Ś. and Mg. AMg. JM. JŚ. have *iyāṇim*, *idāṇim* even inside sentences (e.g. Āyār. 1.1.4,3; Uvās. § 66; Ovav. § 86.87; Āv. 16,14; 30,10; 40,5; Pav. 384,60), metrically also AMg. *iyāpi* (Dasav. N. 653,40).

1. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125, who in his edition of Ratn. rightly maintained the distinction.

§ 145. An initial *a* generally drops in the sing. indic. pres. of the root as “to be” in the first and second persons when the forms are used enclitically: AMg. JM. *mi* (§ 498), M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* [text *mhi*], *si*. Thus for example AMg. *vañcio mi tti* = *vañcito smiti* (Uttar. 116); JM. *viddho mi tti* = *viddho smiti* (Āv. 28,14); M. *ṭhia mhi* = *sthitāsmi* (H. 239); Ś. *iam mhi* = *iyamasmi* (Mṛcch. 3,5; Śak. 1,8; Ratn. 290,28 [read so]; Nāgān. 2,16 [and so on]; Pārvaṭip. 1,18 [and so on]; Mg. *kilante smi* = *klānto smi* (Mṛcch. 13,10). cf. § 85.96.—M. *aṇja si* = *adyāsi* (H. 861), *taṃ si* = *tvam asi* (G.H.R.), *diṭṭhā si* = *dr̥ṣṭāsi* (R. 11,129) *mūḍho si* (G. 487); JM. *kā si* (Erz., 4,8,12), *mukko si* = *mukto si* (Kk. 266,25),

taṃ si=*toam asi* (Rṣabhap. 15); *paccādiṭṭho si*=*pratyādiṣṭo 'si* (Mṛcch. 5,3), *pucchidā si*=*prṣṭāsi* (Mṛcch. 28,21), *dāṇiṃ si* (Mṛcch. 91,18), *sariraṃ si* (Mālav. 38,5); Mg. *śante śi kilante śi*=*śrānto 'si klānto 'si* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *eśā śi*=*eśāsi* (Mṛcch. 17,1).—*atthi*=*asti* is never used enclitically as it is generally employed in the pregnant sense="there is", "it actually exists" and remains, whilst as copula are used M.AMg.JM. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi*=*bhavati*, as already pointed out by LASSEN, Inst. p. 193. On AMg. *namo 'tthu naṃ* see § 175.498, on M.JM. *kim tha* § 175, on AMg.JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. *naṃ*=*nūdam* § 150.

§ 146. Final *a* has dropped in the ins. sing. of *a*-stems in A.: *aggiē*=*agnikena*, *vāem*=*vātena* (Hc. 4,343,1); *em cihem*=*ena cihena* (Vikr. 58,11); *koheṃ*=*krodhena* (Piṅgala 1,77^a); *daieṃ*=*dayitena* (Hc. 4,333,342); *daiveṃ*=*daivena* (C. 4,331); *pahāreṃ*=*prahāreṇa* (Vikr. 65,4); *bhamanem*=**bhramanena*=*bhramatā* (Vikr. 58,9;69,1;72,10); *rūem*=*rūpeṇa* (Piṅgala 1,2^a); *sahajem*=*sahajena* (Piṅgala.1,4^a). In the ins. sing. of *i*- and *u*-stems, *ā*, after its transition into *a*, (§100) has dropped off likewise: *aggiṃ*, beside *aggiṇa* from *aggiṇā*=*agninā* (Hc. 4,343). On *m* from *n* see §348. In A. *a* has decayed in the absolute in *-i* from *-ia*=*ya*, as *daī*=Ś. *daīa* (§ 594).

§ 147. The flexion of *strī* shows that originally the word was disyllabic. In AMg.JŚ.JM.Ś. *itthī* (Hc. 2,130; examples under § 97. 160), AMg.JM. *itthiyā* (Dasav. 628,2; Dvār. 507,2; Āv. 48,42); Ś. *itthā* (e.g. Mṛcch. 44,1,2;148,23; Vikr. 16,9;24,10;45,21;72,18; Mālav. 39,2; Prab. 17,8 [read so]; 38,5;39,6 etc.), also Ā. (Mṛcch. 148,22), Mg. *istiā* (§ 310)=*strikā*, the *i* is, therefore, the remnant of an old vowel, as correctly noticed by JOHANSSON¹. In M. *itthī* is rare and it is only in the later-day poets that it is visible (Acyutaś. 15; Pratāp. 220,9; Sāhityad. 178,3), *iṭhiyāṇa* (Sukasaptati 81,5), as also Vr. 12,22 correctly requires *itthī* for Ś.² In AMg. we also find, mostly in verses, *thī* (Hc. 2,130; Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 482,483,485) and *thiyā*=*strikā* (Sūyag. 285) used; yet the usual form even in verses is AMg. *itthī*. A. also has *thī* (Kk. 261,4).

1. Shāhbāzgarhi 1,149. But his etymology is not correct; Correct BEZZENBERGER, GN. 1878, 271ff.—2PACHEL on Hc. 2,130; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 26,745 WEEBER, H.² p. 454.

h).—DROPPING OFF OF VOWELS

§ 148. Unaccented vowels, especially *a*, are sometimes pushed out, in the interior of words: *katta* "wife" (Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251) =*kālatra*, **kaltra*; AMg. *piusiyā*=*pitṛvasyā* from **piusasiyā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142), M. *piussiā* (Mk. fol. 40), AMg. *piussiā* (Vivāgas. 105; Dasav. 627,40), AMg. *māusiyā* (Hc. 1,134;2,142; Pāyāl. 253; Vivāgas. 105 [text *māsiyā*; correctly the commentary]; Dasav. 627,39 [text *māu siu iti*], M. *māussiā* [Mk. fol. 40; MS. *māussāā*]=*māṭṛvasyā*. M. *piucchā*, *māucchā* (Hc. 1,134;2,142; Mk. fol. 40; Pāyāl. 253; H.), AMg. *piucchā* (Nāyādh. 1299.1300.1348), Ś. *māducchā*, *māducchiā* (Karp. 32,6. 8; cf. v.l.) presuppose a change of *sa* into *cha* according to §211. *pupphā*, *pupphiā*=*pitṛvasā* (Deśin. 6,52; Pāyāl. 253) remain unexplained notwithstanding BÜHLER, ZDMG. 43,146; E. KUHN. KZ. 33,478f., because the dropping off of *i* is without an analogy. M. *po'pphala*=*pūgaphalā* from **pūgphala*, **pupphala* (§ 125.127; Hc. 1,170; Karp. 95,1), beside AMg. *pūyaphala* (Sūyag. 250), M.Ś. *po'pphali*=*pūgaphali* (Hc. 1,170; Sukasaptati 123,9; Viddhaś. 75,2 [text *pophalli*]); AMg. *saṇapphaya*=*sānakhapada* Sūyag. 288,822; Thāṇ. 322; Paṇṇav. 49; Paṇṇāv. 42; Uttar. 1075)¹;

AMg. *subbhi*=*surabhi*' (Āyār. 1,6,2,4; 1,8,2,9; 2,1,9,4; 2,4,2,18; Sūyag. 409. 590; Thān. 20; Samav. 64; Paṇṇav. 8.10ff.; Paṇhāv. 518.538; Vivāhap. 29.532.544; Uttar. 1021.1024), according to which has been formed *dubbhi*, which mostly occurs beside it. Vivāhap. 29 has *subbhi durabhi*, Āyār. 1,5,6,4 has *surabhi durabhi* side by side. In *khu*, *hu*=*khālu* (§ 94) the dropping off of *a* is explained through **khlu*, by the enclitic use of *khālu*. AMg. *uppiṃ* (e.g. Thān. 179.492; Vivāgas. 117.216.226.227.235. 253; Vivāhap. 105.199.233.250.410.414.797.846; Jiv. 439.483 etc.) presupposes the accentuation **ūpari* or **uṃpari*', whilst *upāri* becomes M. JM. *ṣ. uvari*, M.AMg. JM. *uvarim*, Mg. *uvali*, M. also *avarim* (§ 123).—*ā* has disappeared in JM. *bhāujjā*=*bhrātrjāyā* (Deśin. 6,103; Āv. 27,18 [read so; see v.1.]).—*i* has dropped off in M.Ś. *majjhaṇṇa*=*mādhyaṃdina* (Vr.3,7; Hc. 2,84; Kī. 2,54; Mk. fol. 21; H. 839 [read so]; Mālav. 27,18; Nāgān. 18,2; Mallikā. 67,7; Jivān. 42,20 [cf. also **ṇha* 46,10.17]), Mg. *mayyhaṇṇa* (text *majjhaṇṇa*; Mṛcch. 116,6; Mudrār. 175,3), *mayyhaṇṇika* (Mṛcch. 117,14), beside Ś. *majjamaṇḍina* (Śak. 29,4). The grammarians derive *majjhaṇṇa* from *madhyāhna*, and they have been followed by their European disciples. BLOCH² has characterized the form as false, that has been rightly rejected by WACKERNAGEL³; however, he himself quite wrongly explains the development of the form through the process of disinclination, allowing two aspirates to follow one another, since disinclination is unknown in Pkt. (§214).—*u* has dropped in AMg. JM. *isattha*=*iṣuṣāstra* (Samav. 131; Paṇhāv. 322 [text *i*?]; Ovav. § 107; Erz. 67,1.2)*; AMg. *challūya*=*śaḍulūka* (Thān. 472; Kappas. Th. §6 [read so], with shortening of *ū* of *ulūka*, according to §80; JM. *dhīyā*, Ś.Mg. *dhidā* (Prākṛtamañjari on Vr. 4,33 *dhidā ca duhitā matā*) mostly in the compounds JM. *dāśiedhīyā*, Ś. *dāśiedhīdā*, Mg. *dāśiedhīdā* (§ 392)=**duhitā* for *duhitā*⁵; M. AMg. JM.Ś. *suṇhā* (Hc. 1,261; H.; Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,2,1,12; Sūyag. 787; Antag. 55; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 628.631.633.634.647.660. 820.1110; Vivāgas. 105; Vivāhap. 602; Āv. 22,42; Bālar. 168,5 [read thus], M. *soṇhā* with *o* according to § 125 (Vr. 2,47; Kī. 2,91; Mk. fol. 39; H.), in Kāleyak. 14,7 also in Ś. [text *soṇhā*]=*snusā*, from P. *sunusā* (§ 139), **suṇuhā* (§ 263)*; so also AMg. *suṇhatta*=**snusāṭva* (Vivāhap. 1046), beside AMg. *ṇhusā* (Sūyag. 377) and Ś. *susā* (Hc. 1,261; Bālar. 176,15 [correct ?]).—*ū* has dropped off in *ohala*, *o'kkhala*, AMg. *ukkhala*=*udūkhala* (§ 66), which presupposes an accentuation other than *ulū'khala*?. On *ētto*, *aṇṇo* see § 197.

1. The texts often write the word falsely. KZ. 34,573 I have blundered in considering the word an avayyibhāva. JACOBI, KZ. 35,571 rightly rejects this, but he forgets to note that the word is a bahuvrīhi, through which, in fact, it is not altered.—2. Vr. and Hc. p. 33f.—3. KZ. 33,575f., Altind. Gr. §105, note; §108, note.—4. LEU-MANN, Aup. Ś. s.v. and JACOBI Erz. s.v. explained the word with *īvastra*, that is factually and linguistically impossible, Abhayadeva on Paṇhāv. 322 rightly equates it as=*iṣuṣāstra*. Cf. §117 HOFER, De Prākṛita dialecto p. 61 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,693 reject the derivation of the word from *dhītā* from √ *dhai*, BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 172 derives the word from another *duhitā*=*duhitā*, wherein *i* remains unexplained.—5. Wrongly JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxii, note 3, has understood the word *suṇhā* to have developed from *ṇhusā* through metathesis. AMg. proves that *ṇhusā* was not improper. Cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 33,479. In Kī. 2,91 there occurs also *ṇohā* beside *soṇhā*.—7. Wrongly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,582; FISCHER, KZ. 34,573f.

i) DROPPING OFF AND WEAKENING OF SYLLABLES.

149. Disappearance of the syllable *ya* occurs in M. A. *attha-maṇa*=*astamāyana* (H.; Hc. 4,444,2), the form has crossed also into Skt. as *astamana*; A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (Piṅgala 1,104.143) with reduplication of *ma* according to §194; *ṇisaṇi*, *ṇisaṇiā* (ladder; Deśin. 4,43)

=*niḥśrayaṇī*, *niḥśrayaṇikā*, beside AMg. *nisseṇī* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,6).—*va* has dropped in *aḍa*=*avaḍā* (Hc. 271; Pāiyāl. 130); AMg. JM. *em*=*evam* in AMg. *em ee*=*evam ete* (Thāṇ. 576. 579; Dasav. 613,9). JM. *emāi*=*evamādi* (Erz.; Śagara 8,12), M. *emea* (G.H.), AMg. JM. *emeva* (Hc. 1,271; Pāiyāl. 166 [*emeya*]; Āyār. 2,1,6,4,7,5; 2,5,1,11; Uttar. 442.633.804; Dasav. N.646,9; 650,28; 652,21; 660,29; 662,43; Āv. 19,37). In JM. *evadda*, *evaddaga* (so big; Āv. 45,6,7), AMg. *emahālaya*, femin. *emahāliya* (Vivāhap. 412.415 [femin.]. 1041; Uvās. §84), *emahiddhiya* (Vivāhap. 214), *esuhuma* (Vivāhap. 1191f.; Ovav. § 140) *e* should not with HERNLE¹ be equated as=*evam*, but with WEBER² as=*iyat*, more rightly **ayat* (§153), to which AMg. *evaiyā* (Vivāhap. 212.214.1103; Kappas.), *evaiḥkutto* (Kappas.) and the parallel *kemahāliya* (Paṇṇav. 599ff.; Jiv. 18,65; Aṇuog. 401ff; Vivāhap. 415), *kemahiddhiya*, *kemahajjiya*, *kemahābala*, *kemahāyasa*, *kemahāso* *kkha*, *kemahānubhāga* (Vivāhap. 211), *kemahesakkha* (Vivāhap. 887), *kevaiya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Vivāhap. 17.26.209.211.239.212.734.738.1076f.), *kevaciraṃ* (Vivāhap. 180.1050; Paṇṇav. 545ff.), *kevacciraṃ* (Jiv. 108.128ff.) M.*keccira*, *kecciraṃ* (R.3,30.33)³, Ś.*kecciraṃ* (Mālatīm. 125,2 [read so]; 278,8; Viddhaś. 18,11; 61,8; Kāleyak. 9,22), *keccireṇa* (Mālatīm. 276,6) point. WEBER has likewise already compared Vedic. *ivat*; Vedic *ivat* stands in the same relation to *keva*-. Cf. also §153.261.434. Dropping off of *va* occurs in *kalera* (rib; Deśin. 2,53; Triv. 1,3,105) from *kalevara*=*kalebara*⁴. An isolated case is *duggāvī*=*durgādevī* (Hc. 1,270).

1. Uvās. s.v. *emahālaya*.—2 Bhag. 1,422.—3 S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica' p.23, note 1.—4 FISCHER, BB. 6,95.

§ 150. Dropping off of the initial syllable occurs in AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. *ṇaṃ*=*nūndm* (Hc. 4,283.302; e.g. Āyār. 1,6,3,1; 1,7,1,5,3,1,4,1,2,6,1,3 etc.; Ovav. §2ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,3; 16,17; 17,12; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,12; 17,22; 23,10; Śak. 3,4; 27,5; 37,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 12,16; 22,5; 31,2; 81,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 32,23; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,10,13). The usual derivation of the word from *nanū*¹, which Hc. 4,283 even has, fails because of the accent, since *ṇaṃ* in Ś. Mg. Dh. is used even in the beginning of a sentence and, therefore, was not always an enclitic. To regard AMg. *ṇaṃ*, with WEBER², as the remnant of an old pronominal stem *na* and separate it from the *ṇaṃ* of the dramas is impossible, because their use in other respects is similar. Further, AMg. sometimes employs *nūṇaṃ* exactly like *ṇaṃ*; e.g. *se nūṇaṃ* (Uvās. §118.173.192) as against *se ṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,17ff.). Sometimes *nūṇaṃ* as well stands at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. JM. *nūṇaṃ gahēṇa gahia tti teṇa tte mamaṃ dinnā* (Āv. 12,28); Ś. *nūṇaṃ esa de attagado maṇoradho* (Śak. 14,11); Mg. *nūṇaṃ . . . takkemi* (Mṛcch. 141,1), as otherwise in Ś. Mg. *ṇaṃ*. That in AMg. JM. *ṇaṃ* is always written with cerebral *ṇa* (§224) is also an argument for its having been originally used within a word, although it may have its source in the enclisis.—M. *dhilla*=*ṣithild* (§194; Karp. 8,5; 70,8) as in Modern Indian³, beside *sadhila*, *siḍhila* (§ 115). Identical with it is *dhe'lla* (poor; Deśin. 4,16), with *e* for *i* according to §119. Dropping off of the final syllable occurs in *ova* (elephant-trap; Deśin. 1,49)=**vopata*, AMg. *ovā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,4), beside *oā* (Deśin. 1,166)=*avapāta*; *kisala*=*kisālaya* (Hc. 1,269); cf. *pisalla* (§232); M. AMg. JM. *je*, A. *ji* for *jeva*=*eva* (§336); M. *dā* for *dāva*=*tāvat* in *mā dā* (R. 3,10.27) against the dialect (§185); Mg. *ghaḍukka*=*ghaṭotkaca* (Mṛcch. 29,20). In *sahia*=*sahṛdaya* (Hc. 1,269) we should not assume dropping off of a syllable. The word is=**sahṛd* with a regular descent to the *a*-declension. Likewise is *hia* (Mk. fol. 33), AMg. *hiya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5)=*hṛd*, Mg. *haḍakka* (§194)=**hṛdaka*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 173; BOHTLINGK on Śak. 4,4 p 149, etc.—2 Bhag. 1, 422 ff.—3 FISCHER on Hc. 1,89.

k) SAMPRĀSĀRAṆA

§151. Samprasāraṇa takes place in Pkt. in the same cases as in Skt.; *ya* in an unaccented syllable becomes *i*, and *va* becomes *u*: Ś. *iṭṭhi*=*iṣṭi* from *yaj* (Śak. 70,6); M. *utta*=*upta* from *vap* (G); M. AMg. JM. *sutta*=*supta* from *svap* (H; Kappas.; Erz.). Pkt. has, however, this change of sound also in a number of cases in which Skt. shows *ya* and *va*. Thus *ya* becomes *i*: AMg. *abhintara*=*abhyantara* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *tirikka*=*tiryakṣa* from *tiryak* (Thān. 121,336; Sūyag 298; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. Ś. A. *tiricchi* (Hc. 2,143; 4,295; Karp. 37,5; Mallikām. 74,2 [text °ra°]; Hc. 4,414, 3,420,3), Mg. *tiliṣci* (Hc. 4, 295 [so it is to be read]); Ś. *tiriccha* (Bālar. 68,14; 76,19; 246,9; Viddhaś. 34,10; 124,3); AMg. *vitiriccha* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. *paḍiṇiya*=*pratyānika* (Ovav. §117; *viṇa*=*vyajana* (Vr. 1,3; Hc. 1,46; Ki. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5); M. *vilia*=*vyalika* (Hc. 1,46; H.); in future such as *kāhimi* from **karsyāmi*, *dāhimi* from **dāsyāmi*, and the endings *-ihisi*, *-ihii* in M. AMg. JM. (§520ff.). On *bāhim* see §181. In AMg. sometimes even the secondary *ya*, which has taken the place of some other consonant, becomes *i*: *āriya* beside *āyariyā*=*ācāryā* (§81,134), *rāiṇṇa* for **rāyāṇṇa*=*rājanya* (Thān. 120; Sam. v. 232; Vivāhap. 800; Ovav.; Kappas.).¹ *ya* has become *i* in AMg. *viikkanta*=*vyatikrānta* (Āyār. 2,15,2,25 [text *vi*°]; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s.v. *viikkanta*; Uvās. s. v. *vaikkanta*); *viivayamāna*=*vyativarajamāna* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *viivaittā*=**vyativarajitvā* (Ovav.)². For *yā* has developed *i* in *thiṇṇa*, *thiṇṇa*=*styāna* (Hc. 1,74; 2,33,99), beside *thiṇṇa*, M. *thiṇṇa* (R.).

1. So more correctly than in KZ. 34,570; falsely JACOBI, KZ. 35,573. The frequent interchange of *ya* and *i* in Jaina manuscripts need not be assumed here, because the word is always written with *i*, and for *āriya* the change to *i* has been explicitly taught by the grammarians.—2. From the v.l. I feel assured to admit that it is *vi*, and not *vi* or *va* that is to be written. The lengthening of the second *i* is explained according to §70.

§ 152. *va* is changed to *u*, before double consonants also to *o* (§125) AMg. *aṃso'tha*, *asso'tha*, *āso'tha*=*aśvasthā* (§74); *gāūā*=*gavayā*, femin. *gāūā* (Hc. 1,54,158; 2,174; 3,35); A. *jāū*=*yānat*, *tāū*=*tānat* (Hc. 4,406,423,3; 426, [read *jāū*]); M. A. *turiā*=*tvaritā* (Vr. 8,5; Hc. 4,172; G.H.R.; Piṅgala 1,5), AMg. JM. *turiya* (Pāiyāl. 173; Vivāhap. 949; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). Ś. *turiḍa* (Mr̥cch. 40,24; 41,12; 170,4; Ratn. 297, 12; Venīś. 22,20; Mālatīm. 284,11; 289,6 etc.), Mg. *tulida* (Mr̥cch. 11,21; 96,18; 97, 1; 98,1,2; 117,15; 133,11; 171,2; Caṇḍak. 43,8), A. D. Ā. *turiā* (Vikr. 58,4; Mr̥cch. 99,24; 100,3,11); *viṣum*=*viṣvak* (Hc. 1,24,43,52); M. *suoi*, *suvoi*, JM. *suia*=**svapāti*=*svapiti*, JM. Ś. *suwāmi*, A. *suahī* (§497), AMg. *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa*, A. *suina*=*svāpnā* (§177) with reference to the verb; M.Ś. *so'tthi*=*svasti* (Ki. 2,148; H.; Mr̥cch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11,19; 73,18; Vikr. 15,16; 29, 1; 44,5 etc.), *so'tthivāṇa*=*svastivācana* (Vikr. 43,14; 44,13), *so'tthivāṇa* (Vikr. 26,15), AMg. *so'tthiya*=*svastika* (Paṇḍāv. 283,286; Ovav.); AMg. *soṇiya*=*śauvanika* (dog-keeper; Sūyag. 714; but *sovaṇiya* 721). Also secondary *va*, which has first arisen in Pkt., sometimes becomes *u* through ablaut in the prefix *upa* (§155); further in A. *nāū* from **ūnāvam*=*nāma* (Hc. 4, 426,1). Secondary *u* is sometimes also raised, as in *sovaī*, JM. *soveṇti*, *soūm*, A. *soevā*; *sovaṇa*, AMg. *osovaṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *svap* (§78,497); AMg. *sovaṅga*=*śvapāka*, *sovaṅgi*=*śvapāki* (§78), and *o* arising from *u* is lengthened, as in M. *soṇāra*=*svaṇakāra* (§66).—*vā* appears as *ū* in the absolute in PG. M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇam*, P. *-tūnam*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇa*, P. *-tūna*, JŚ. *-dūṇa*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūna*=*Vedic tvānam*, as in PG. *kātūṇam*, P. *kātūnam*, AMg. JM. *kāūṇam*, JŚ. *kādūṇa* M.

JM: *kāūga* = **kartvānam*, **kartvāna* (§ 584 ff.). On *do*, *du* apparently = *dvī*, see § 435.

§ 153. Under the law of *saṁprasāraṇa* falls also the change of *aya* into *e* and of *ava* into *o*. Thus *aya* becomes *e* in verbs of the 10th class, causatives and similarly formed denominatives, such as PG *anuvaṭṭhāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati*, AMg. *ṭhāvei*, M. AMg. JM. *ṭhāvei* = *sthāpayati* (§ 551f.); M. AMg. *kahei*, Mg. *kadhedi* = *kathayati*, Ś. *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (§ 490); Ś. *sīdalāvedi* = *śītalayati* (§ 559). Further in cases like M. *nei*, JM. *nei* = *nayati*, Ś. *ṇedu* = *nayatu* (§ 474); M. JM. *dei*, Ś. *dedi* = **dayati*, Mg. *dedha* = **dayata* (§ 474); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* = **trayadaśa* = *trayodaśa* (§ 443), AMg. JM. *tevīsaṁ*, A. *teisa* = **trayaviṁśati* = *trayaviṁśati*; AMg. JM. *teṭṭisaṁ*, *tittisaṁ* = *trayastrīṁśat* (§ 445); AMg. *nisseṇi* = *niḥśrayaṇi* (§ 149). — AMg. *leṇa* = *layana* (Sūyag. 658; Ṭhāṇ. 490.515; Paṇhāv. 32.178.419; Vivāhap. 361 f. 1123. 1193; Ovav.; Kappas.). — M. Ś. A. *eṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; G. H.; Mṛcch. 41,19; 60,12; 77,10.24; Vikr. 45,4; Mālav. 26,10; Mālatīm. 82,9; Uttarar. 18,2; 66,1; 72,6; Hc. 4.341.2), JM. *eṭṭiya* (Āv. 18,6; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *eṭṭika* (Śak. 29,9; 59,3; 70,10; 71,14; 76,6; Vikr. 25,7; 46,8; 84,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 125,24; 165,14; Śak. 114,11), *ittia* (Hc. 2,156) can neither with LASSEN¹ be referred directly to **ati* nor with S. GOLD² SCHMIDT² with the support of Hc. directly to *iyat*, but it presupposes one **ayāt*, from which was derived **ayattya*, with a separation-vowel **ayattiya*, corresponding to Skt. *ihatya*, *kvatya*, *tatraya*. In the same way M. Ś. A. *keṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; H.; Mṛcch. 72,6; 88,20; Vikr. 30,8; Hc. 4.383,1), JM. *keṭṭiya* (Erz.) = **kayattya*, **kayattiya* from the stem *kaya-*. So we must explain *e-* and *ke-* also in the first member of compounds in AMg. M. Ś. (§ 149). Analogous formations are M. *jeṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.), Mg. *yeṭṭika*, *yeṭṭia* (Mṛcch. 132,13; 139,11); *jittia* (Hc. 2,156), M. Mg. A. *teṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 139,12; Hc. 4.395,7), Mg. *teṭṭika* (Mṛcch. 132,14); *tittia* (Hc. 2,156). Derivatives are *eṭṭila*, *keṭṭila*, *jeṭṭila*, *teṭṭila* (Hc. 2,157), JM. *eṭṭilliya* (Āv. 45,7), A. *eṭṭula*, *keṭṭula*, *jeṭṭula*, *teṭṭula* (Hc. 4, 435).

1. Inst. p. 125. — 2. Prakṛtica p. 23.

§ 154. *ava* becomes *o* through *āū*, e.g. in M. *oaraṇa* = *avataraṇa* (G.H.); M. *oāra* (G.H.), Ś. *odāra* (Śak. 21,8), beside *avadāra* (Vikr. 21,1) = *avatāra*, Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati*, Mg. *odala* = *avatara* (§ 477); JŚ. *oḡgaha* = *avagraha* (Pav. 381,21); AMg. *oma* = *avama* (Ṭhāṇ. 328; Uttar. 352.768.918), *aṇoma* = *anavama* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), *omāna* = *avamāna* (Uttar. 790), *vodāna* = *vyavadāna* (Sūyag. 523), and so very frequently in all the dialects in the prefix *ava* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *osā* = *avaśyā* (Sūyag. 829; Uttar. 311; Dasav. 616,21), also *ussā* for *ośśā* (Ṭhāṇ. 339; Kappas. S. § 45; v.l. *osā*, as should read be everywhere), *bahuosa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1), *apposa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,1,2); M. Ś. *osā* = *avaśyāya* (R. Vikr. 15,11 [read so with v.l. and the Drāviḍa recension 625,11, ed. PISCHEL]); M. AMg. JM. *ohi* = *avadhi* (H.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *jonijā* = *yavanikā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), but *javaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 41; Paṇnav. 58), *javanijā* (Kappas.); M. Ś. *ṇomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Hc. 1,170; H.; Mṛcch. 73,10; Lalitav. 560.9.17.20 [a proper noun]; Mālatīm. 81,1; Śak. 9,11; 12,13; 13,3; 15,3), *ṇomalliā* = *navamālikā* (Vr. 1,7); M. *ṇohaliā* = *navaphalikā* (Hc. 1,170; Kī. 2,148 [am]; H.); M. AMg. JM. A. *loṇa* = *lavaṇa* (Vr. 1,7; Hc. 1,171; Kī. 1,8; Mk. fol. 6; G.H.; Kāleyak. 14,13; Āyār. 2,1,6,6,9; 2,1,10,7; Sūyag. 337.834.935; Dasav. 614,15.16; 625,13; Āv. 22,39; Hc. 4,418.7.444,4), PG. JM. *aloṇa* = *alavaṇa* (6,32; Āv. 22,39), JM. *loṇijā* *aloṇijā* (Āv. 22,14.30.31). According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lavaṇa* only. M. AMg. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi* = *bhavati* (§ 475f.).

The secondary *ava* derived from *apa* also may become *o* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35), as in M.JM. *osarai*=*apasarati*, JM. *Ś. osara*=*apasara*, Mg. *osaladi*=*apasarati* (§477).—*āva* appears as *o* in M. *oli*=*āvali* (Hc. 1,83, who equates it as=*āli*; G.H.R.) and in *loṇṇa*=*lāvaṇya* (Mk. fol. 6), A. also *salona*=*salāvaṇya* (Hc. 4,444,4) in rhyme with *loṇa*=*lavana*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *Ś.* has *lāvaṇṇa* only, and so it occurs in Śak. 158,10.

§155. According to Hc. 1,173, *upa* may become either *ū* or *o*. His examples are : *ūhasiaṃ*, *ohasiaṃ*, *uvahasiaṃ*=*upahasitaṃ*; *ujjhāo*, *ōjjhāo*, *uvajjhāo*=*upādhyāyaḥ*; *ūāso*, *oāso*, *uvavāso*=*upavāsaḥ*. Mk. fol. 35 mentions that these do occur according to somebody (*kasyacinmate*). *ujjhā*, that is found in poetry in JM. (Erz. 69,28;72,39), stands for **ujjhā* from **uujjhā*=M. *Ś. uvajjhā* (H.; Karp. 6,3; Vikr. 36,3.6.12; Mudrār. 35,9;36,4 6;37,1; Priyad. 34,14.17.21;35,15), AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff; Samav. 85; Thāp. 354f. 366.384ff.; Erz.)=*upādhyāya*. There arises, therefore, *u* from *va* according to §152 and the two colliding *u*'s have been contracted into one. The same process is effective in *ūhasia* (Hc.) from **uuhasia*=*uvahasia*=*upahasita*, beside the dialectical *ūhaṭṭha* (laughter; Deśin. 1,140)=**upahasta*; further in *ūāsa* (Hc.)=**uūāsa*=*upaāsa*=*upavāsa*; *ūnandī* (overjoyed; Deśin. 1,141)=**upanandita*; *ū'aṭṭha*=**upavṛṣṭa* (Pāṇyā. 197); *ūsitta*=*upasikta* (Pāṇyā. 187)¹. Against these there occur the parallel forms with *o*, not going back to *upa*. In *ōjjhā*, from which is derived NI. *ojhā*, *ō* is to be explained according to §125, in AMg. *paḍoṇāra*=*pratyupacāra*, *paḍoṇārei*=*pratyupacārayati* (§163) *o*, if the reading is correct, must be explained according to §77; in all other cases *o*=*ava* or *apa* according to §154, even when no corresponding word is found in Skt. Thus :—*ohasia* (Hc.)=*apahasita*, as *ohaṭṭha* (Deśin. 1,153)=**apahasta*, *oāsa* (Hc.) is=**apavāsa*; *ositta* (Deśin. 1,158)=*avasikta*. *ua* never becomes *o*, for the Pāli, M. *o* (R.), that is equated by Hc. 1,172 and most of the scholiasts to=*uta*, and by others is explained with *atha vā*², is=Pāli *ādu*³, AMg. *adu* (Sūyāg. 118.172.248.253.514; Uttar. 90), *adu vā* (Sūyāg. 16,46.92.142; Uttar.28.116.180.328; Samav. 82.83), *adu va* (Sūyāg. 182.249; Samav. 81), Ś. Mg. *ādu* (Mṛcch. 2,23;3,14;4,1;17,21;51,24;73,4; Mālatim. 77,3; Priyad. 30,13;37,14; Adbhutad. 53,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,14; 132,21;158,7), which, as sometimes *o*, is explained as=*atha vā*. *o* has, therefore, developed from **āu*, **aū*.⁵

1. In the last two examples *ū* can be equated also as=*ud*, as usually it is according to § 64.327a.—2. CROOKE, An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 96 note. False with others, FISCHER, GGA. 1894.419, note 1.—3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s. v. o.—4. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 25 wrongly equates the word as=Vedic *ād u*. Cf. also FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte Vanskelige Pāli-ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1881) p. 25ff. The words do not have something in common in meaning.—5. Falsely JACOBI ZDMG. 47,578; KZ. 35,578. Pāli *oka*=*udoka* is to be explained from **ukka*, **o kka* according to 66. AMg. *adu* cannot be=*ataḥ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,422; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p.36), because *ta* does not become *da* in AMg. Cf. §203.204.

1) VOCALIC SĀMDHI

156. Similar vowels, when they meet together in compounds, are generally contracted, as in Skt. : *a*, *ā*+*a*, *ā* becomes *ā*; *i*, *i*+*i*, *i*=*i*; *u*, *ū*+*u*, *ū*=*ū*. PG. *mahārājādhiraṇṇa* (5,2), *ārakhādhikate*=*ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5), *saḥassāṭṭireka*=*sahasrāṭṭireka* (7,42), *vasudhādhīpataye*=**patin* (7,44), *narādhamo* (7,47); M. *kaūvarāha*=*kṛtāparādha* (H.50); AMg. *kālākāla* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM.

inṅiyākāra (Āv. 11,22); JŚ. *surāsura* (Pav. 379,1); Ś. *kilesāṇala*=*klesāṇala* (Lalitav. 562,22); Mg. *yūḍialāvamāna*=*dyūṭakarāvamāna* (Mṛcch. 39,25); A. *sāsāṇala*=*śvāsāṇala* (Hc. 4,395,2); M. *puhaviṣa*=*prthiviṣa* (H. 780); A. *āmsūsāsaiḥ*=*āsrūcchvāsaiḥ* (Hc. 4,431). So also in secondary vowels in M. *iśiṣa*, *iśiṣi*=*iṣat+iṣat* (§102). Before double consonants a long vowel is shortened according to §83: M. *uddhaccha*=*ūrdhvākṣa* (H. 161), *kaṇḍa*=*kavindra* (Karp. 6,9); JŚ. *adindiyatta*=*atindriyatva* (Pav. 381,20); AMg. *guṇatthi*=*guṇārthin* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM. *rattaccha*=*raktākṣa* (Āv. 12,27); Ś. *jamantare*=*janmāntare* (Mṛcch. 4,5); Mg. *aṇṇaggāmāntala*=*anyagrāmāntara* (Mṛcch. 13,8); PG. *aggiṭṭhomavāḷapeyassamedhiyāḷi* (5,1). So also in the verse before a simple consonant in AMg. *rāyamacca*=*rājāmātya* (Sūyag. 182; Dasav. 624,22). In AMg., more rarely in JM. JŚ., however, similar vowels often remain uncontracted, particularly in dvandva compounds. Thus: —*a+a*: AMg. *samānamāhaṇaaihi*=*śramaṇabrāhmaṇātithi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; 2,2,1,2,2,8; cf. 2,10,4), *puvavidehaavaravideha* (Jiv. 161.174f. 210; Apuog. 396.397; Bhag.), *saṅgū*=*svāṅga* (Sūyag. 364), *saṭṭha*=*sārtha* (Sūyag. 579), *kharapharusaasiṇiddhadittāṇiṭṭhaasubhaappiyakāntavaggūhiya*=*kharaparusaṇiḍḍhadittāṇiṭṭhaasubhāpriyākāntavagnubhiṣca* (Nāyādh. 757), *puḍhavidagaṇi*=*prthvyudakāṇi* (Paṇhāv. 353), *indaṇilāyāsikusuma*=*indranilātasikusuma* (Ovāv. §10), *maṇaagutti*, *kāyāagutti*=*manogutti*, *kāyāgutti* (Vivāhap. 1462); AMg. *suraasurā*=*surāsūrāḥ*, JM. *suraasuramaṇṇuyamahiṇā*=*surāsuramanujamahitāḥ* (Āyār. 2,15,12; Kk. 269,26); JM. *egaakkhara*=*ekākṣara* (Āv. 7,27), *airegaatthavāsa*=*atirekāṣṭavārṣa* (Āv. 8,9) *sayalaatthamiyāyialoa*=*sakalāstamitajīvaloka* (Āv. 8,22); JŚ. *savvaatthesu*=*sarvārthesu*, *vandaṇaattham*=*vandanārtham* (Kattig. 399.313; 402.356). —*a+ā*: AMg. *akiriyaāyā*=*akriyātmānaḥ* (Sūyag. 410; —*a* for *ā* according to §97), *selagajakkhaḍḍruhaṇa*=*śailakāyakṣārohaṇa* (Nāyādh. 966). —*ā+a*: AMg. *mahāaḍḍavi* (Nāyādh. 1449), beside JM. *mahāḍḍavi* (Erz.); JM. *dharmakahāavasāṇa*=*dharmakathāvasāṇa* (Āv. 7,27), *mahāakkanda*=*mahākranda* (Dvār. 505,20). —*i+i*: AMg. *maūddhigārava*=*matyūddhigaurava* (Dasav. 635,38), where, therefore, the second *i* is secondary. —*u+u*: AMg. *bahujihiya*=*dharmiya*=*bahūjjhitadhārmika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,4,11,9; Dasav. 621,6), *bahūidaga*=*bahūdaka* (Sūyag. 565), beside *bahūdaya* (Thāṇ. 400), *bahuupala*=*bahūpala* (Nāyādh. 509), *devakuruuttarakuru* (Jiv. 147.174.194.205.209.211; Apuog. 396), **kuruga* (Vivāhap. 425), *devakuruuttarakurāo* (Samav. 111), **kurayāo* (Samav. 114), *suuddhara* (Dasav. 636,30), *suujjuyāra*=*svrjukāra* (Sūyag. 493), in which the second *u* is secondary. The vowels remain uncontracted in M. very rarely, somewhat more frequently in Ś. as M. *paṇālāṇkuraa*=*paṇālāṇkuraka* (H. 680), *piāahara*=*priyādhara* (H. 827), *dhavalaamsua*=*dhavalāṃsuka* (R. 9,25; cf. also the v.l.); Ś. *piamvadāṇusūḍo*=*priyamvadāṇusūye* (Śak. 67,6), *puṇṇikadaojjāuttakiṭṭi*=*puṇṇikṭāryaputrakṭiṭṭi* (Bālar. 289,20), *aggisaraṇāḍḍilinda*=*āgniśaraṇāḍḍilinda* (Śak. 97,17), *ceḍḍiaccāṇā*=*ceṭṭikārcanāya* (false dative), *pūāriha*=*pūārha* (Mukund. 17,12,14). So also in A. *addhaiddha*=*ardhārdha*, *biaaddha*=*dvitīyārdha* (Piṅgala 1,6,50). In cases like Piṅgala 1,24,25 we must not assume composition, but the stem, used as nominative. Too general is Hc. 1,4.

§157. *a*, *ā*, with short dissimilar vowels before single consonants in compounds, undergo, the same sandhi as prescribed in Skt.: *a*, *ā+i* becomes *e*; *a*, *ā+u*=*o*. Thus for example M. *disebha*=from *disā*=**disā*=*di+ibha* (G. 148), *saṇḍaṭṭebhamoṭṭi*=*saṇḍaṭṭebhamauṭṭika* (G. 236), *pañcesu*=*pañcesu* (Karp. 12,8; 94,8), *kisoari*=*krīṣṇodari* (H. 309), *sāmoa*=*śyāmodaka* (R. 9,40.43.44), *giriluliohi*=*girilulitodadhi* (G. 148). Likewise in the other dialects. Contraction takes place in the case of secondary *i* and *u* as well, so

AMg. *Ś. mahesi* from *mahā + isi = ṛṣi*, M. *Ś. rāesi* from *rāa = rāja + isi = ṛṣi* (§57); AMg. *savvouiya* from *savva = sarva + uiya = rtuka = sarvartuka* (Panhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Vivāgas. 10; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. 527; Paṇṇav. 111; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niccouga, ōya = nilvartuka* (Samav. 233; Thān. 369), *anouya = anytuka* (§77; Thān. 369). In AMg. the vowels often remain uncontracted: *savvauvarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), beside *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879); *paḍhamasamayāuvasanta = prathamasaṃyopasanta* (Paṇṇav. 65); *kakkolaūstira* (Panhāv. 527); *āyariyauvajjhāya = ācārvopādhyāya* (Thān. 354f. 366.384ff.; Samav. 85); *heṭṭhimaūvarima* (Samav. 68; Thān. 197 [hi°]); *vōyoghaṇatūdahi vātaghanodadhi* (Vivāhap. 102); *kaṇṭhasuttarāttha = kaṇṭhasūtrorastha* (Vivāhap. 791); *appaūdaṇḍa = alpodaka* (Āyār. 2.3.2, 17), *divadisāndhīnam = dvīpadigudadhīnam* (Vivāhap. 82). *mahāudoga = mahodaka* (Uttar. 714); also in the secondary second vowels: *ihāmigaūsabha = ihāmgerṣabha* (Jiv. 481.492.508; Nāyādh. 721 [ha]); Ovav. §10; Kappas. §44); *khaggaūsabha = khadgarṣabha* (Ovav. §37). In other dialects the vowels seldom remain uncontracted, such as in JM. *pavayaṇauvoghāya = pravacanopaghātaka*, *saṃjamaūvaghāya = saṃyamopaghāta* (Kk 261, 25.26); *Ś. vasantussavauvāṇa = vasantotsavopāyana* (Mālav. 39, 10; uncertain; cf. v.l.); and in the secondary second vowel *Ś. visajjidsiddhāra = visarjitarṣiddhāra* (Uttarar. 123.10).

§158. If the second member of a compound begins with *i, u*, followed by a double consonant or with either original or secondary *i, u*, the final of the first member is, as a rule, discarded. (C.2,2; of Hc. 1,10). So M.A. *gaṇda = gajendra* (G.H.R.; Vikr. 54,1), A. *gaṇda* (Vikr. 59,8; 60,21; 63,2); J. *Ś. A. narinda = narendra* (Kattig. 400,326; Mālatim. 206,7 [so to be read]; 292,4; Piṅgala 1,21.24), Mg. *nalinda* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. *Ś. Mg. mahinda = mahendra* (Thān. 266; Mālatim. 201,5; Mṛcch. 128,8); AMg. *JS. devinda = devendra* (C. 2,2; Hc. 3, 162; Kattig. 400,326); AMg. *joisinda = jyotiṣendra* (Thān. 138); AMg. JM. *JS. jīninda = jinendra* (Ovav. §37; Āv. 7,24; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,42); *Ś. mūinda = mygendra* (Śak. 155,1 [to be so read]; 156,7) and so many compounds with *indra* in all the dialects (cf. §159); JM. *māindajāla = māyendrajāla* (Āv. 8,53); AMg. *egindiya = ekendriya* (Vivāhap. 100.109.144); AMg. *soindiya, ghāṇindiya, jibbhindiya, phāsindiya = śrotendriya, ghrāṇendriya, jihvendriya, sparśendriya* (Thān. 300; Vivāhap. 32; Ovav. p. 40, VI; Uttar. 822), A. *jibhinda = jihvendriya* (Hc. 4,427 [so to be read]); M. *taddiasindu = taddivasendu* (G. 702); *tiasisa = tridaśeśa* (Hc. 1,10); JM. *rāsara = rājeśvara* (Erz.); *pavadiśara = parvateśvara* (Mudrār. 40,6; 46,9; 216,13); M. *kaṇṇuppala = kaṇṇopala* (G. 760), AMg. JM. *niluppala, Ś. niluppala = nilotpala* (Uvās. §95; Ovav. §10; KI. 18 [ni°]; Erz. 79,8; Priyad. 15,8; 33,2; 39,2); Mg. *nahuppala = nakhotpala* (Mṛcch. 122,19); M. *khaṇḍhukkheva = skandhotkṣepa* (G. 1049), CP. *pātukkheva = pādokṣepa* (Hc. 4,326); AMg. *gandhuddhuṣa, A. gandhuddhua = gandhoddhuta* (Ovav. §2; Vikr. 64,16); JM. *raṇṇajjala = ratnojjala* (Āv. 8,4); *Ś. mandamāruduvveḷḷida = mandamārutodvellita* (Ratn. 302,31; cf. Mālatim. 76,3), *pavvadummūlida = parālonmūlita* (Śak. 89,13); Mg. *śavouyyāna = sarvodyāna* (Mṛcch. 113,19); M. *kaūsāsa = kṛtochchāsa, liḍhūsa = liḍhoṣa* (G. 387.536), *gamaṇūsua = gamanotsuka* (R. 1,6); AMg. *egūṇa = ekona* (§144), *pañcūṇa* (Samav. 208; Jiv. 219), *desūṇa* (Samav. 152.219), *bhāgūṇa, koṣūṇa* (Jiv. 228.231); M. *gāmūsava = grāmotsava* (G. 598); M. JM. *Ś. mahūsava = mahotsava* (Karp. 12,9; Erz., Mṛcch. 28,2; Ratn. 292,9.12; 293,13; 295,19; 298,30; Mālatim. 29,4; 119,1; 142,7; 218,3 etc.; Uttarar. 108,2; 113,6; Caṇḍak. 93,6; Anarghar. 154,3; Nāgān. 42,4 [text °ūssa°]; 53,19; Vṛṣabh. 11,2; Subhadr. 11,5.17); *Ś. vasantūsava = vasantotsava* (Śak. 121,11; Vikr. 51,14; Mālav. 39,10 [so to be read]). So also in the case of secondary

second vowels : AMg. *uttamiddhi*=*uttama*+*iddhi* (Thāṇ.80), *deviddhi* (Uvās. *mahiḍḍhi* (Thāṇ. 178), *mahiḍḍhiya* (Ovav.); very seldom before a simple consonant, as in JM. *visesuvaogo*=*viśeṣopayoga* (Kk. 277,9) and Ā. *addhuia*=*ardhodita* (Mṛcch. 100,12).

§159. In the cases mentioned in §158 contraction takes place, sometimes, when the second member begins already in Skt. with *i*, *ū* and is followed by a simple consonant : Ś. *vāderida*=*vālerita* (Śak. 12,1); M. *kariaroru*=*kariara*+*ūru*=*karikaroru* (H. 925), *piṇoru*=*pīna*+*ūru* (R.12,16), *pāadoru*=*prakaṣoru* (H. 473), *valioru*=*valitoru* (G. 1161); AMg. *varoru* (Kappas. 33,35), *pīvaroru*, *disāgaīndoru*=*diggajendruru* (Kappas. §36), *egoruja*=*ekoruka* (Pannav. 56), but *egūruja* (Jīv. 345ff.; Vivāhap. 717); JM. *kariaroru* (Erz. 16,12); Ś. *mantharoru* (Mālatīm. 108,1), *pīvaroru* (Mālatīm. 260,3 [so to be read]). If the first member is a prefix, the vowels in contact are always contracted: Mg.AMg. JM. *peṇchāi*, JŚ. *peṇchadi*, Ś. *peṇkkhadi*, Mg. *peṇskadi*=*prekṣate* (§84); M. *aṇaveṇkkhia*=*anapekṣita* (R.), JM. *aveṇkkhāi* (Erz.); Ś. *aveṇkkhadi*=*apekṣate* (Śak. 43,10; 130,2); M. *uveṇkkhia*=*upekṣita* (H.); M. *peṇllia*=*perita* (G.H.). Also in the case of *i*, *u* with double consonants following, contraction occurs, but only seldom without a v.l. Thus: M. *nisārenda*=*niśācarendra* (R. 7,59); M. Mg. *mahenda*=*mahendra* (R. 6,22; 1320; Mṛcch. 133,12); M. *rakkhasenda*=*rākṣasendra* (R. 12,77); Ś. *ṇarenda*=*narendra* (Mālatīm. 90,4; 179,5); *rattoṇpala*=*raktotpala* (Mṛcch. 73,12). JŚ. *pañcendiya*=*pañcendriya* (Pav. 388,9) must be an error. Beside it, almost always, is found also the v.l. with *i*, *u*, as for example Ś. *mahenda* (Vikr. 5,10; 6,19; 8.11.13; 36,3; 83,20; 84,2) which always occurs as *mahinda* in the Bengālī recension, as it occurs also otherwise in Ś. (§158)¹; for Ś. *ṇiṇṇoṇṇa*=*nimnonnata* (Śak. 131,7) we should read *ṇiṇṇuṇṇa* with the v.l., as there stands in M. *ṇiṇṇuṇṇa* (G.681); for Ś. *uṇhoṇṇa* (Śak.29,6), the correct form will be *uṇhuṇṇa*, for Ś. *maddaloḍḍāma*=*mardaloddāma* (Ratn. 292,11), *maddaluddāma*². Contraction might correctly be required in cases like JM. *ahe-sara*, *khajaresara*, *naresara* (Erz.); Ś. *paramesara* (Prab.14,9; 17,2), which were probably first contracted with secondary *isara*, and certainly in Ś. *purisoṭtama*, Mg. *puliśoṭtama*=*puruṣoṭtama* (§124), since as a proper noun, it has directly been taken from Skt. Otherwise one says AMg. *purisuttama* (Dasav. 613,40 [at the original place Uttar. 681 has ^oso²]; Kappas. §16 [so it is to be read with v.l.]; Ovav. §20 [so it is to be read; cf. the following *loguttama*]).

1. In any case BOLLENSSEN is in the wrong when he, on Vikr. 8,11p.176, considers that *mahinda* has transgressed the boundary of high Pkt., by which he means Ś.—2. Explanation of ^o in such cases, according to §125, does not appear likely in the face of a large number of counter-examples. Presumably in cases of this sort we have examples of Sanskritism that are to be corrected. Cf. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 175, note.

§160. In AMg. *a*, *ā* is often retained, even when a double consonant follows *i*, *u*, as with simple consonants (§157; cf. §156). So AMg. *kakkejaṇaīndaṇila*=*karkatanendranila*, *mādambijaiḍḍha*=*mādambikebhya*, *koḍumbijaiḍḍha*=*kaṭumbikebhya* (Ovav. §10.38.48); *piśāyaīnda*=*piśācendra* (Thāṇ. 90), but *piśāinda* (Thāṇ. 138.229); *bhūyaīnda*=*bhūtendra* (Thāṇ. 90), but *bhūinda* (Thāṇ. 229), beside *jakkhinda*, *rakkhasinda*, *kiṇnarinda* etc. (Thāṇ. 90; cf. §158); *annāyaūṇha*=*ajñatoṇha* (Dasav.636,17); *lavaṇasamuddoṭṭaraṇa*=*lavaṇasamudrotṭaraṇa* (Nāyādh. 966); *pehuṇaūkkhevaga*=*preṇkhaṇotkṣepaka* (Paphāv. 533); *nāvāussināca*=*nāvotsināca* (Āyār 2,3,2,19.20); *indijaūddesa*=*indriyoddeśa*, *dugullasukumālaūttarija*=*dukūlasukumārottariya*, *aṇegāūttama*=*anekottama*, *bhajaūvviṅga*=*bhayodvigna*, *sohammakappaūddhaloya*=*saudharmakalpordhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 177f. 791.809.835.920); *āyāmaūsseha*=*āyāmotsedha* (Ovav. §10). Very

rarely the vowels remain beside one another in other dialects, as M. *paṇaṭṭhatijjō*=*pranaṣṭoddyota*, *khaṭṭpā*=*khotpā* (R. 9,77,78), *piṇaṭṭha-naṭṭhambhīṇaṇa*=*pinastanuttambhitānana* (H. 294), *muhāṭṭvūḍha*=*mukho-dvūḍha* (Śak. 88,2). False is Ś. *mōttiāṭṭpatti*=*mauktikotṭpatti* (Viddhaś. 108,2), for which we should read *mōttiṭṭpatti* [v.l. °oṭṭpā°]; as for example M. *piāmahuppatti*=*pitāmahotṭpatti* (R.1,17), AMg. *aṅkuruppatti* (Paṇṇav. 848) remain, and in Prab. 17,2 Ś. *pabohōppatti*=*prabodhotṭpatti* is to be corrected to *pabohuppatti*. Hiatus is the rule in all dialects in *ittḥi*=*strī* (§147): AMg. *asurakumārāittḥio*, *thaṇṇakumārāittḥio*, *tirikkhajonijāittḥio*, *maṇu-saṭṭḥio*, °*devaṭṭḥio* (Vivāhap. 1394); JŚ. *paraṭṭhiāloa*=*parastryāloka* (Kattig. 401,344), *bhūsaṇaṭṭhisamsagga* (Kattig. 402,358); Ś. *anteuraṭṭḥi* (Śak. 38,5). However, there occurs also AMg. *maṇussittḥio*, *devittḥio*, beside *tirikkha-jonittḥio* (Thāṇ. 121); JŚ. *purisittḥi* (Kattig. 401,345).

§161. Falling out of *a*, *ā* is also to be assumed before original or secondary *e*, *o*, but not before the *e*, *o* going back to Skt. *ai*, *au*: *gāmeṇi* (goat; Deśin. 2,84)=*grāma*+*eṇi*; M. *ṇavelā*=*nava*+*elā*, *phullelā*=*phulla*+*elā* (R. 1,62,63), *ukkhaṇḍiēkkapāsa*=*utkhaṇḍitaikapārśva* (R. 5,43); Ś. *avalambiderāvaṇahattha*=*avalambitairāvaṇahasta* (Mṛcch. 68,14), *silādalekkadesa*=*silātalaiḥkadesa* (Śak. 56,11), *karuṇēkkamaṇa*=*karuṇaikamanas* (Mālatim. 251,7); M. *kusumōtṭhaa*=*kusumāvastṛta* (R. 10,36), *paḍhamasaria*=*prathamāpasṛta* (H. 351), *bāhumaṭṭha*=*bāṣpāvamṛṣṭa* (R.5,21), *jāloli* from *jāla-jvālā*+*oli*=*āvali* (§. 154; H. 589), as *vaṇoli*=*vana*+*āvali* (Hc. 2,177=H. 579, where *vaṇāli*), *vāoli*=*vāta*+*āvali*, *paholi*=*prabhā*+*āvali* (G. 555,1008); AMg. JM. *udaōlla* from *udaka*+*ōlla*=**udra*, (§111; Dasav. 625,27; Āv. 9,3), beside AMg. *udaṭṭla*=*udaka*+*ṭṭla* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6; 2,6,2,4); AMg. *vāseṇōlla*=*vārṣeṇa*+*ōlla*=(Uttar. 673); AMg. *mālohaḍa*=*māla* (platform; pedestal; Deśin. 6,146)²+*ohaḍa*=*avahṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Dasav. 620,36), *maṭṭiolitta*=*maṭṭiā*=*myttikā*+*olitta*=*avalitta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); JM. *jāloha*=*jalaugha* (Erz. 3,26), *saṁsthāṇasappiṇi*=*saṁsthānāvāsarpīṇi* (Rṣabhap. 47); Ś. *guḍodaṇa*=*guḍaudana* (Mṛcch. 3,12), *vasantodāra*=*vasantāvatāra* (Śak. 21,8), *kararuherampa*=*kararuha*+*orampa* (attack; Mālatim. 261,2; so to be read; cf. Deśin. 1,171; Pāiyāl. 198). Sometimes the vowels remain beside one another, as M. *vāandolanaṇṇavia*=*vātāndolanāvanamita* (H. 637); AMg. *khuddagaḍḍāvali*=*kṣudrakakāvali* (Ovav. [§38]), *vippahāijyaolamba*=*vippahāijyāolamba* (Ovav. §4); JM. *sabhāovāsa*=*sabhāvakaśa* (Āv. 15,12).

1. In cases like *ṇavelā*, *jāloha*, *guḍodaṇa* one may be in doubt. The proposition is proved with the help of the compounds with secondary *e*, *o*, *o*, that have, therefore, been quoted as examples copiously.—2. Cf. JACOBI, SBE. XXII, 103 note 1.

§162. *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, as a rule, do not undergo *saṁdhi* with a following dissimilar vowel (Hc. 1,6): M. *ṇahappahāvaliaraṇa*=*nakhaprahāvaliaraṇa* (Hc. 1,6), *rattiaṇḍhaa*=*rātryaṇḍhaka* (H.669), *saṁjḥāvahuvaṭṭha*=*saṁdhyā-vadhvaṭṭha* (Hc.1,6); AMg. *jāīriya*=*jātyārya* (Thāṇ.414), *jāiṇḍha*=*jātyaṇḍha* (Sūyag. 438), *sattiogga*=*śaktyagra* (Dasav. 634,11), *puḍhaviāu*=**prthivyāpaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 742), *paṇṭvahiivaaraṇa*=*prāntopadhyupakaraṇa* (Uttar. 350), *pagaiṇvasanta*=*prakṛiyupaśānta* (Vivāhap.100,174), *puḍhaviūddhaloṇa*=*prthvyūrdhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 920), *kadalīūsuga*=*kadali*+*ūsuga* (middle, inside; cf. BÖHLINGK 2, ūsa 1) b) c); Āyār. 2,1,8,12), *suahijjiya*=*svadhīta* (Thāṇ. 190,191), *bahuaṭṭhiya*=*bahvastika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5 [to be read thus] 6; Dasav. 621,4), *sāhuajjava*=*sādhvārjava* (Thāṇ. 356), *sualamkiya*=*svalamkiṛta* (Dasav. 632,39), *kavikacchuagaṇi*=*kapikacchvagni* (Paṇḥāv. 537), *bahuosa*=*bahva-vaśya* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1); also in secondary second vowels, as in AMg. *suiṣi*=*svrṣi* (Paṇḥāv. 448), *bahuiḍḍhi*=*bahuvradhi* (Nāyādh. 990). Beside AMg. *cakkuhiṇḍiya*=*cakṣurindriya* (Samav. 17) more frequent is *cakkhindiya*=*cakḥha*

cakṣas + *indriya* (Samav. 69.73.77ff; Vivāhap. 32; Uttar. 822; Ovav. p. 40, VI). JM. *osappiṇiussappiṇi*⁰ = *avasarpinyutsarpini*⁰ (Rṣabhap. 47), *suṇuyatta* = *svanuyṛtta* (Āv. 11,15), *meruāgāra* (7.5.8); Ś. *santiudaa* = *śāntiyulaka* (Śak. 67,4), *uvarialindaa* = *uparyalindaka* (Mālatim. 72,8; 187,2), *uvvasiakkhara* = *urvaśyakṣara* (Vikr. 31,11), *sarassadiuvāṇa* = *sarasvatyupāyana* (Mālav. 16,19), *sidāmaṇḍavūmmilā*⁰ = *sītāmāṇḍavyūrmilā*⁰ (Bālar. 151,1), *dehacchaviyullūñcīda* = *dehacchavyullūñcīta* (Prab. 45,11). Quite isolated is the dropping off of *i* in AMg. *itthattha* = *stryartha* (Dasav. 638,18) and *kimcūna* from **kimciūna* = *kimciūna* (Samav. 153; Ovav. 30,II,e), as well as of the initial *i* in AMg. *bendiya* (Thān. 275; Dasav. 615,8), *tendiya* (Thān. 275.322), beside *beñdiya*, *teñdiya* (Thān. 25,122.322 [ve⁰]; Samav. 228; Vivāhap. 30.31.93.144; Dasav. 615,8 [te⁰] = *dvindriya*, *trindriya*. AMg. *iśāsa* = *iṣvāsa* (§ 117) is directly derived from Skt.

§ 163. *i* and *u*, as the final sounds of prefixes, with the following dissimilar vowels, undergo the same saṁdhi as prescribed in Skt. The group of sounds thus arising is treated according to the rules holding good for the individual dialects. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *accanta* = *atyanta* (G.; Niraṣv.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12; 389,1; Mṛcch. 60,25; Mālav. 28,13); AMg. *accei* = *atyeti* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna* = *adhyupapanna* (§ 77); M. *abbhāga* = *abhyāgata* (H.); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvīya*, *abbhuvagāya* = *abhyupagamita*, *abhyupagata* (Āv. 30,9.10); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavanna* = *abhyupapanna* (Mṛcch. 28,18; Vikr. 8,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 175,18); M. AMg. Ś. A. *pajjatta* = *paryāpta* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Śak. 71,7; Vikr. 25,6; Hc. 4,365,2); M. Ś. *nivvūḍha* = *nirvūḍha* (G.H.R.; Mālatim. 282,3); M. *anṇesai*, Mg. *anṇesati* = *anveṣati* (G.; Mṛcch. 12,3); JM. Ś. Ā. *anṇesanta* = *anveṣati* (Erz.; Vikr. 52,20; Mṛcch. 148,7.8). The sound-groups *ty*, *ry*, especially in AMg. JM., are often divided by separation-vowels, in which case *y* disappears often in AMg. and JM., and always in the other dialects, so that the vowels, as in § 162, come beside one another. M. *aiāra* (H.); JM. *aiyāyara* (Erz.) = **aiyādara* = *aiyādara*; AMg. *nāiunṇa* = *nātyuṇṇa* (Vivāhap. 954), beside AMg. *accusina* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), M. *accunṇa* (H.); M. *aiujjua* (H.), Ś. *adiujjua* (Ratn. 309,24; Priyad. 43,15) = *atyrjuka*; AMg. *ahijāsiṇṇanti* = *adhyāyante* (Ovav.); JM. *paḍijāgāya* = *pratyāgata* (Erz.), beside M. *paccāgāya* (H.). JM. *paccāgāya* (Erz.), Ś. *paccāgata* (Uttarar. 106,10); AMg. *paḍijāikkhiya* = *pratyākhiyāta*, beside *paccakkhā* (§ 565); AMg. *paḍiuccāreyavva* = *pratyuccārayitavya* (Vivāhap. 34); AMg. *pariyāvanna* = *paryāpanna* (Āyār. 2,1,9,6.11,7.8); AMg. *paliucchūḍha* = *paryutkṣubḍha* (§ 66); M. *viola* = *vyākula* (§ 166). In AMg., and sometimes in other dialects, the *i* of *prati* too, is thrown out before a dissimilar vowel following it. Thus beside AMg. M. *pāḍiēkka* = *pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; R.; Nāyādh. 1224; Vivāhap. 1206; Ovav. [read so in all the places for *pāḍijakka*]) also *pāḍikka* for **pāḍēkka* (§ 84; Hc. 2,210); *paḍaṁsuā* = **pratyāśrut* (§ 115); *paḍāyāna* = **pratyādāna* (§ 258); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *vaccāi* = *orajati* (§ 202.590), *pāḍuciya* = *prāṭitika* (Thān. 38); AMg. *paḍuppanna* = *pratyuppanna* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; Sūyag. 533; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.78.79.80.651; Jiv. 337.338; Aṇuog. 473.510ff.; Uvās.), JM. *apaḍuppanna* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *paḍoyāra* = *pratyavatāra* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and = *pratyupacāra* (§ 155; Vivāhap. 1235.1251), *paḍiyāreu* = *pratyupacārayata*, *paḍoyāreha* = *pratyupacārayata* *paḍoyāre* = *pratyupacārayanta*, *paḍoyarijāmāna* = *pratyupacāryamāna* (Vivāhap. 1235.1251). On M. *paṭtiāi*, JM. AMg. *paṭtiyāi*, Ś. Mg. *paṭtiādi*, AMg. *patteya* see § 281.487.

§ 164. A vowel, which remains after dropping off of a consonant (§ 186), is called *udvṛtta*¹. An *udvṛtta* vowel, as a rule, undergoes no saṁdhi with a vowel previously existing (C.2,1 p. 37; Hc. 1,8; cf. Vr. 4,1). So

M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G. H. R.²); *gaa*=*gaja* and *gata*; *paavi*=*padavi* (G.H.); *saala*=*sakala*; *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *ghāa*=*ghāta* (H. R.); *kai*=*kati* (R.)=*kapi* (G. H. R.)=*kavi* (G. H.); *jai*=*yadi*; *nai*=*nadi*; *gāiā*=*gāyikā* (H.); *taūsī*=*trapuṣī* (H.); *paūra*=*prapura* (H.); *piā*=*priya*; *piāma*=*priyatama*; *piāsā*=*pipāsā* (H.); *riu*=*ripu*, *juala*=*yugala*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *sūi*=*śūci* (G. H.); *aneā*=*aneka* (G.H.); *joāna*=*yojana* (R.); *loa*=*loka*. The rule holds good also for compounds of all kinds: M. *āira*=*acira*; *āūva*=*apūva*; *avaamsa*=*avatamsa* (H.R.); *āaa*=*āyata* (H.R.); *uvaūdhā*=*upagūdhā*; *paāva*=*pratāpa*; *paīva*=*pradīpa*; *dāhiṇamsaada*=*dakṣiṇāṃśataṭa* (G.104); *soāhha*=*satṛṣṇa* (H.). *golāda*=*godātaṭa* (H. 103); *disāala*=*diktala* (R. 1,7); *vasahaīndha*=*vr̥ṣabha-cihna* (G. 425); *niṣiara*=*niścara* (R.); *saurisa*=*satpuruṣa* (G. 992); *gandhaūdi*=*gandhakūṭi* (G. 319); *golāūra*=*godāpūra* (H.231); *viṇṇaūra*=*vitṛṇatūra* (R. 8,65); *guruāna*=*gurujana* (H.). So in all other dialects under similar conditions.

1. Hc. 1,8 calls the vowel *udvṛtta*. In C. 2,1 p. 37 it is called *uddhṛta*. Triv. 1,1,22; Sr. fol. 9; Narasimha 1,1,29; Appayadikṣita 1,1,22 call it *śeṣa*, a term that is not recommended, as Hc. 2,89 and Triv. 1,4,86 employ it for the consonant that is retained out of a group.—2. These quotations hold good for all the following words, under which nothing has not been noted.

§165. *Udvṛtta* vowels are sometimes contracted with preceding similar vowels. Thus *a*, *ā* with *a*, *ā*: *attamāṇa* beside *āvattamāṇa*=*āvartamāṇa* (Hc.1,271); AMg. *āra* from **aara*=*avara* (Sūyag. 106,322) and JM. *ādara* (Kk. II); *oāva* (time of the sun'set; Deśin. 1,162)=**oāva*=*apagatātapa*, whereas *ovāa* (Triv. 1,4,121; ed. *oāva*; cf. also BB.13,13) is=*apavātuka*; *kālāsa* beside *kālāsa*, as according to Mk. always in Ś.,=*kālāyasa* (Vr. 4,3; Hc. 1,269); A. *khāi* beside *khāi*=*khādanti* (Vr. 8,27; one: Kī. 4,77; Hc. 4,228;419,1); A. *khanti*=*khānti*, **khānti*=*khādanti* (Hc. 4,445,4), *khāu*=*khādanti* (Bh. 8,27), from which a root *khā* has been deduced, from which have been formed a future *khāhii* (§525), a second person singular imperative A. *khāhi* (Hc. 4,422,4,16) and a past passive participle *khāa*=**khāta* (Hc. 4,228); *gāṇa* from *gāṇa*=*gāyana* (Deśin. 2,108); *gāṇi* (trough for cattle; Deśin. 2,82) from **gaṇāṇi*, AMg. *gavāṇi* (Āyār. 2,10,19)=*gavādani*; Mg. *gomāo* from **gomāao*=*gomāyavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 168,20); A. *campāvaṇṇi*=*campakavarṇi* (Hc. 4,330,1); *chāṇa* (clothing; Deśin. 3,34)=*chādana*; A. *jāi* from *jaai*=*jayati* (Piṅgala. 1,85^a); *dhāi* beside *dhāvai*=*dhāvati* (Vr. 8,27; Hc. 4,228), M. *uddhāi*=*uddhāvati* (R.), from which is deduced, as in the case of *khā*, a root *dhā*, from which are formed *dhāu* (Bh. 8,27), *dhāha* (Hc. 2,192), *dhāhii* (§525), *dhāo* Hc. 4,228); AMg. *pacchitta* (Samav. 91; Hc. 4,428), beside AMg. *pāyaccchitta* (Jiyak. 18; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.)=*prāyaścitta*; *pāvaḍaṇa*, beside M. *pāvaḍaṇa* (H.^opa^o)=*pādapatana* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); M. JM. Ś. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (§194); *pāviḍha* beside *pāviḍha*=*pādapiḍha* (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); AMg. *bhante*=*bhadantaḥ* (§366b); *bhāṇa*=*bhājana* (Vr. 4,4; Hc. 1,267; Kī. 2,151), whilst Ś., as noted by Mk., has only *bhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,6; Śak. 72,16;105,9; Prab. 59,4; Veṇis. 25,3,5; Mallikām. 289,3; Adbhutad. 2,15). On forms like *gāi*=*gāyati*, *jhāi*=*dhyāyati*, *jāi*=*jāyate*, *palāi*=*palāyate* see §479. 487,567.—*i*, *ī* get contracted with *udvṛtta i*, *ī* in M.A. *bia* (Hc. 1,5,248; 2,79; G. s.v. *viya*; H. s.v. *vīa*; R. s.v. *biia*; Piṅgala. 1,23.49.56.79.83), A. also *bia* (Piṅgala. 1,50), AMg. JM. *biya* (Vivāhap. 55; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kī. 21; Erz.), beside M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biiya* (§82)=*dvitiya*; A. *tia* from **tiia*=*tritiya* (Piṅgala. 1,49.59.70); AMg. *paḍiṇa*, *uḍiṇa*=*praticina*, *udicina* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4;1,6,4,2; Ovav. §4), *paḍiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1675f.), also shortened prosodically *paḍiṇa* (Dasav. 625,37; cf. §99); AMg. *si'ā*=*śibikā* (Āyār. p. 127,26; Nāyādh. 865ff.; 1021f. 1074.1097.1189.1497; Nirayāv. 61,62;

Vivāhap. 275.277.362.1262; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside AMg. JM. *siyā* (Āyār. 127,15 [to be read so]; Ovav.; Erz.); in future, as JM. *hohi* beside M. JM. *hohi*=**bhoṣyati*=**bhaviṣyati* (§521). JM. *vināsihi* (§527), *jarehi*, *nivārehi* (§528), *ehi*, A. *esi* (§529), JM. *dāhi* (§530), *sakkehi* (§531), AMg. JM. *kāhi* (§533), AMg. *nāhi* (§534). M. *cā* (H. 104) is=**cīa* from **citiya*=**cīya*, AMg. *cī* in *civandana*=**cātyavandana*, according to Hc. 1,151 is=**cīi*=Skt. *citi*-.—u, ā with the udvṛtta -u, ā, are contracted in AMg. *umbara* from *uumbara*, **ūmbara*=**udumbara* (Vr. 4,2; Hc. 1,270; Ki. 2,152; Aṇuttar. 11; Nāyādh. §137; p. 289.439; Ṭhāp. 555; Jiv. 46.494; Nira-ṣav. 55, Paṇṇav. 31; Vivāhap. 807.1530).

§166. Sometimes *a*, *ā* becomes contracted with an udvṛtta *i*, *i*, *u*, *ū*: *ke'i* from **kaūi*=**kadili*=**kadali* with *i* according to §101, and on the same model *kela* from **kaūla*=**kadila*=**kadala* (Hc. 1,167.220)¹; M. AMg. JM. *Š. thera* from **thaira*=**sthavira* (Hc. 1,166;2,89; Pāyāl. 2; Deśin. 5,29; H. 197 [to be read so]; text *thera*); Kāvya prakāśa 73,9=H. 983 [to be read so according to the best MS.; text *thera*]; Sarasvatik. 8,13 [*thera*]; Acyutaś. 32 [*thera*]; Ṭhāp. 141.157.286; Vivāhap. 131.132.169.172.173.185.792; Uttar. 786; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk.; Anarghar. 63,4 [*thera*]; M. *Š. also thavira* (Prab. 38,10 [ed. Bomb. P.M. *thavira*]); Nagān. 3,2 [v.l. *thavira*, *thera*]; M. *theri* (Pāyāl.107; H.654 [text *theri*⁰; ed. Bomb. 7,52 *thera*⁰]); AMg. *theraja* (Sūyag.176), *theraga* (Sūyag.334), *theriyā* (Kappas.); *therāsaṇa* (lotus; Deśin.5,29), *therosāṇa* (lotus; Triv.1,4,121)=**stha-virāvāsana*²; *meḍambha* from **maḍambha*=**mṛgidambha* (noose for catching a roe; Deśin. 6,139); *mehara* beside **maihara*=**matidhara* (headman; Deśin. 6,121); AMg. *vera* (Kappas. §45) from *vāra* (§135)=**vajra*; A. *eha*, *jeha*, *teha*, *keha* (H. 4,402) from and beside *aīsa*, *jāisa*, *taīsa*, *kaīsa* (Hc. 4,403)=**idṛśa*, *vāḍṛśa*, *tāḍṛśa*, *kidṛśa* (§121); A. *jā* for the common *jāi*=**yadi* (Piṅgala.1,4^a.97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *jam*]); A. *de* beside *daī*=**daīa*, absolute from *daya* (§594). In AMg. A. -*aī*=**-ati*, the ending of the third person singular, is sometimes contracted into -*e* in poetry. So AMg. *aṣṭe* (Sūyag. 412) from *aṣṭai* (cf. *pariṣṭai* (Hc. 4,230)=**atyai* from *aṣ* (not from *aṣṭa*=**ārta*), *kappe*=**kalpati* (Āyār.1,8,4,2), *bhuñje* from *bhuñjai* (§507)=**bhunakti* (Āyār. 1,8,4,6,7), *abhibhāse*=**abhibhāṣate*, *paḍijākkhe*=**pratyākhyāti* (§491), *seve*=**sevati*, *paḍiseve*=**pratiṣevati* (Āyār.1,8,1,7.14.17.4,5); A. *naṣce*=**nṛtyati*, *sadde*=**śabdanti*=**śabdayati*, *gaṇje*=**garjati*, *bo'lle*=**bo'llai* (Hc. 4,2), *ugge* from **uggai*=**udgāti* (goes up; Piṅgala. 2,82.90.228.268), *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6) from *hosai* (Hc. 4,388.418,4)=**bhoṣyati*=**bhaviṣyati* (§521). Similarly are explained also AMg. *bemi* from **baīmi*=**bravīmi* (§494).—A. *co*=**caū*=**catur* (Piṅgala. 1,65; GOLDSCHMIDT, however, reads *aṭṭha vi lahuā* for *co laghu kattha vi* of the ed. Bomb.), *covisa*, *covisa* beside *caūvisaha*=**caturvimśati*, *coālisaha* beside *caūālisa*, AMg. *coyālisaṃ* bes'd: *caūyālisaṃ*=**caturścatvīṃśat*, *coṭṭisaṃ*=**catuṣṭriṃśat*, etc. (§445); M. *coṭṭha* beside *caūṭṭha*=**caturthi* (§449); *coḍḍaha* beside A. *caūḍḍaha*, AMg. *coḍḍasa* beside *caūḍḍasa*=**caturdasa* (§443), AMg. *coḍḍasama*=**caturdaśama* (§449); *coḍḍaṇa* beside *caūḍḍaṇa* (an ear-ornament; Deśin. 5,23;6,89); M. AMg. *po mma*=**padma* (Hc. 1,61;2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Kāleyak. 14,15; Pārva'ip. 28,15; Uttar. 752 (text *po mma*)), *po mma*=**padmā* (H.); M. *Š. po mma*=**padmarāga* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Karp. 47,2;103,4 (Š.); Viddhaś. 113,7 (Š.); Pras. 121,8 (Š.); text *pa*⁰); 155,12; Bālār. 157,12 (Š.); 168,4 (Š.); M. *po mma*=**padmāsana* (Kāleyak. 3,11), from and beside M. AMg. JM. *Š. paūma*, *paūmarā* (§139); *bohāri* beside *baūhāri* (brush; Deśin. 6,97;8,17); A. *bhōhā* from **bhāuhā*=**bhamuha* (Piṅgala 2,98; §124.251); *moḍa* beside *maūḍi* (tress; Deśin. 6,117; Pāyāl. 57), M. AMg. JM. *Š. A. mora* (Vr. 1,8; Ki. 1,7; Mk. fol. 6; Pāyāl. 42, H.;

Āṇuog. 502.507; Nandis. 70; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52; Kappas.; Kk.; Śak. 155,10; 158,13; Uttarar. 163,10; Jivān. 16,12; Vikr. 72,8; Piṅgala 2,90), A. *moraa* (Piṅgala 2,228), femin. M. Ś. *morī* (Śak. 85,2; Ś. Śak. 58,8; Viddhaś. 20,15), Mg. *molī* (Mṛcch. 10,4 [to be so read], AMg. *moraga*=*mayūra* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18) from and beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūra* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 54; Dasav. N. 662,36; Erz.; Vikr. 32,7; Mallikām. 220,20), AMg. *mayūra* (Vivāgas. 187.202), *mayūratla*=*mayūratva* (Vivāgas. 247), Mg. *maūlaka* (Śak. 159,3), femin. AMg. *mayūri* (Nāyādh. 475.490.491). *mora* has gone into Skt. too, and consequently it has been treated as Skt. by Hc. 1,171. M. *moha*=*mayūkha* (Grr.; R. 1,18) from and beside M. Ś. *maūha* (Grr.; Pāyāl. 47; G.H.R.; Prab. 46,1); M. *viola* from **viāula*=*vyākula* (Deśin. 7,63; R.; cf. §162)*; A. *saṃhāro* from *saṃharaū*=*saṃharatu* (Piṅgala 2,43). Cf. also *kohala*, *saṃāra*, *saṃāla* §123, o §155. M. AMg. *bora*=*badara* (Vr. 1,6; Hc. 1,170; Ki. 1,8; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 609.1256.1530), AMg. *borī*=*badarī* (Hc. 1,170; Mk. fol. 5; Pāyāl. 254; Āṇuttar. 9) presuppose one **badura*, **badurī*⁵. AMg. *būra* (v.l. *pūra*; Jiv. 489.509.559; Rāyap. 57; Uttar. 986; Vivāhap. 182; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) is not=*badara*, but=*pūra* (citron-tree) which will be the correct reading. The scholiasts generally explain it as *vanaspathiviśeṣa*.⁶ Obscure is *pora*=*pūta* (Hc. 1,170).

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34,572; not correctly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573.—
2. FISCHER BB. 13,3.—3. FISCHER, Deśin. Introduction p. 7.—4. FISCHER, GGA., 1880, p. 335.—5. FISCHER, KZ. 34,572; falsely JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *baara* only.

§167. In compounds too the udvṛtta vowel is sometimes contracted with the final vowel of the first member: M. A. *andhāra*=*andhakāra* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Piṅgala. 1,117^a; 2,90), A. *andhāraa* (Hc. 4,349), M. *andhāra*=*andhakārita* (H.), JM. *andhāriya* (Erz.; Kk.), beside M. Ś. *andhāra* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 44,19; 80,9; 88,17; 138,3; Śak. 141,7; Priyad. 51,12; Karp. 85,6; Mallikām. 209,17; Prab. 14,17; Cait. 40,15), Mg. *andhāla* (Mṛcch. 14,10 22; 16,22), AMg. JM. *andhāyāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ṛṣabhap.), JM. *andhāyāriya* (Erz.); M. JM. A. *āa* from and beside *āaa*=*āgata* (Hc. 1,268; H.; Āv. 8,47; Piṅgala 2,255.264); *kāmsāla*=*kāmsyātāla* (Hc. 2,92), Ś. *kāmsātāla* (Mṛcch. 69,24), AMg. *kammāra*=*karmakāra* (Jiv. 295) and other compounds with *kāra*, like AMg. *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra* (Hc. 1,8; Mk. fol. 32; Uvās.), beside *kumbhāra* (Grr.), AMg. *kumbhakāra* (Uvās.), JM. *kumbhagāra* (Erz.), D. *cammaāraa*=*carmakāraka* (Mṛcch. 104,19), M. *mālāri*=*mālākāri* (H.; Deśin. 1,146,114), AMg. *lohāra*=*lohakāra* (Jiv. 293), M. *valāāraa*=*valayakāraka* (H.), *soṇāra*=*svaṇa-kāra* (§66), AMg. *dodhāra*=*dvidhākāra* (Ṭhāp. 401); A. *piāri*=*priyākāri* (Piṅgala 2,37); JM. *khandhāra*=*skandhāvāra* (Mk. fol. 32; Erz.), beside *khandhavāra* (Erz.); M. *cakkāa*=*cakravāka* (Hc. 1,8; Ki. 2,151; Mk. fol. 32; Candrasekhara on Śak. 88,2 p. 192; G.R.; Śak. 88,2), AMg. *cakkāga* (Paṇṇav. 54); AMg. *niṇṇāra*=*nirnagara* (Vivāhap. 1277); AMg. *nimboliyā*=*nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152.1173); *talāra*=*talavāra* (Deśin. 5,3; Triv. 1,3,105; FISCHER, BB. 3,261); *pāra* beside *pāāra*=*prākāra* (Hc. 1,268); M. *pāraa* (Hc. 1,271; H.; Ind. Stud. 16,78, at 184) beside *pāvāraa*=*prāvāraka*; *pārāa* beside *pārāva*=*pārāvata* (Bh. 4,5; cf. §112); M. *pāvāliā*=*prapāpālikā* (H.); JM. *varisāla*=*varṣākalā* (Erz.); *vāraṇa* beside *vāaraṇa*=*vyākaraṇa* (Hc. 1,268); M. *sālāhaṇa*=*sātavāhana* (Hc. 1,8,211; H.); M. *sāhāra*=*sāhakāra* (Karp. 95,1); AMg. *sūmāla* beside *sukumāla*=*sukumāra* (§123); *sūrisa*=*beside suurisa*=*supuruṣa* (Hc. 1,8). As compounds are treated M. *jālā*, *tālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; Dhvanyāloka 62,4) too; falsely even in Ś. (Mallikām. 87,11; 124,14) and Mg. (Mallikām. 144,3)=**yāt kālāt*, **tāt kālāt*, *kālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46)=**kāt kālāt* (FISCHER, BB. 16,172). Cf. also §254.

§168. In some cases *a* at the end of the first member of a compound is elided before a dissimilar udvṛtta vowel that is at the beginning of the second member : *indova* from **indaova*=*indragopa* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1,81), beside AMg. *indagova* (Aṇuog. 344), *indagovaga* (Uttar. 1062), **ya* (Pannav. 45); *indovatta*=**indragopātma* (cochineal; Deśin. 1,81); *gharoli* from **gharaoli*=**gharagoli*=*grhagoli* (domestic multipede; Deśin. 2,105), AMg. *gharoliyā*=**grhagolikā* (Panhāv. 22; Pannav. 53 [text *gharolika*]); *gharola* from **gharaola*=**gharagola*=**grhagola(ka)* (a kind of home-made pastry; Deśin. 2,106); M.AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *deula*=*devakula* (Hc.1,271; Mk.fol. 33; H.; Aṇuog. 387; Nāyādh. 535; T. 4,9;7,18; Erz.; Mṛcch. 151,14; Karpas. 25,1; Mṛcch. 29,24;30,11,12), beside and from JM. Ś. *devaūla* (Hc.; Mk.; Erz.; Viddhaś.59,7; Cait.134,10,14), AMg. *devakula* (Āyār.2,2,2,8;2,10,14;2,11,8; Panhāv. 521; Nāyādh. 581; Kappas.); JM. *deuliā*=*devakulikā* (Āv. 31,10); JM. D. *rāula*=*rājakula* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,267; Mk. fol. 32; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), Mg. *lāula* (Lalitav. 565,7,9,15;566,13,12; Mṛcch. 36,22; 135,2), falsely in Ś. (Prab. 47,5,9;49,13,15; ed. M. has throughout *lāūla*, ed. P. 47,9), where *rāūla* (Grr.) is to be read, as stands in Śak. 115,3,6; 119,1; Ratn. 309,9; Nāgān. 57,3; Priyad. 9,13. In Prab. 32,9 for Mg. *lājaūla* (ed.M. *rājaūla*) we should read *lāūla*; JM. has *rāyaūla* (Erz.)¹ also; Mg. *lāutta* from **laaūtta*=*rājaputra* (Śak.114,1;115,7,9;116,9;117,5); *vāutta* beside *vāaūtta*=*vātaputra* (Deśin. 7,88).

1. Cf. Candrasekhara on Śak. 114,1 (p. 197) *rāulaśabda* [so to be read] *īṣare deśi*. In this sense the word stands in Prab. as in Skt. too in the inscriptions (KIELHORN, EL4, 312, note 7). Quite falsely JACOB, ZDMG. 47,576.

§169. In the sentence as a rule vowels remain unchanged in the auslaut, whether they originally stood next to one another or have afterwards come together through dropping out of a consonant. PG. *kāmcipurā aggiṭṭhoma*^o=*kāncipurād agniṣṭoma*^o (5,1), *sivakhaṇḍavamo amhaṁ visaye*=*śivaskandavarmās-mākam viṣaye* (5,2), *govallave amacce ārahādhikate*=*govallavān amātyān ārah-ṣādhikrātān* (5,5), *tti api ca āpiṭṭiyam*=*ityapi cāpiṭṭiyām* (6,37), *tti eva*=*ityeva* (6,39), *tasa khu amhe*=*tasya khalvasme* (7,41), *sakakāle uparilikhitaṁ*=*svakakāla uparilikhitaṁ* (7,44); M. *na a me icchāi*=*na ca ma icchayā* (H. 555), *taṁ si aviniddā*=*tvamasyavinidra* (H. 66), *daṭṭhūṇa unṇamante*=*drṣṭonnamataḥ* (H. 539), *jivie āsaṅho*=*jivitā āsaṁsā* (R. 1,15), *paatṭaū uahī*=*pravartatām-udadhīḥ* (R. 3,58); *āmuai āṅgāim*=*āmuñcatyaṅgāni* (R. 5,8), *jāo elāsura-himmi*=*yāta elāsuraḥ* (G. 417), *so esa kesavo uvasamuddam uddāma*^o=*sa eṣa keśava upasamudramuddāma*^o (G. 1045); AMg. *atthi me āyā ovavāie*=*asti ma ātmaupapātikah* (Āyār.1,1,1,3), *cattāri ee*=*catvāra eṭe*, (Dasav. 632,7) *tāo ajjāo eṭṭjamāṇo pāsai*=*tā āryā eyamānāḥ paśyati* (Nirayāv. 59), *ege āha*=*eka āha* (Sūyag. 74), *khīṇe āummi*=*kṣīṇa āyuṣi* (Sūyag. 212), *jo imāo diṣāo anuḍiṣāo anusaṁcarai*=*ya imā diṣa anuḍiṣo nusaṁcarati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4). So also the rest of the dialects.

§170. *na* (not) not rarely undergoes saṁdhi with the initial vowel of the following word, especially when the latter is a verb : M. AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *naṭṭhi*=*nāsti* (e.g. G.H.R. s.v. *as*; Āyār.1,1,1,3; Āv.9,9; Pav.380,10; Mṛcch. 2,24), Mg. *nasti* (e.g. Mṛcch.19,11 [text *naṭṭhi*]); M. *nāmi*=*na+amī* (G.246), *nalliai*=*na+alliai* (R.14,5); M. JŚ.Ś. *nāham*=*na+aham* (H.178; Pav. 384,36; Vikr.10,13); M. *nālabhāva*=*na+ākulabhāva* (G.813), *nāga*=*na+āgata* (H. 856), *nālavaī*=*na+ālapati* (H.647); AMg. JŚ. *neva*, *neva*=*na+eva* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3,4,1; Pav. 384,59), M. *nea* (G.H.R.); AMg. *nānāgama*=*na+anāgama* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *nābhijāṇai*=*nābhijānāti* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *nārabhe*=*na+ārabheta* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4), *nābhībhāsiṁsu*=*na+abhi*^o, *nāivattai* *na+ativartate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); Ś. *nāgadā*=*na+āgatā* (Mālatim. 72,6); Mg.

nāścadi = *na* + *āgacchati* (Mṛcch. 116, 5, 19; 117, 11); AMg. JM. *nāidūra* (Uvās. §208; Ovav. §33; Nāyādh. §7; Erz. 22, 23), Ś. *nādidūra* (Mālatim. 30, 8), Mg. *nādidūla* (Caṇḍak. 66, 13) = *na* + *atidūra*; Ś. *nārihadi* = *na* + *arhati* (Śak. 24, 12); M. *ne'cchāi* = *ra* + *icchati* (H. 205), Ś. *ne'cchadi* (Śak. 73, 4), Mg. *ne'cadi* (Mṛcch. 11, 1); Ś. *nālamkidā* = *na* + *alamkṛtā* (Mṛcch. 18, 10), *nodaradi* = *na* + *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 108, 21). In such cases *na* is proclitic and is treated as the first member of a compound. This holds good also for the root *jñā*, which after *na* very often, drops its initial *ja*, which, as in the anlaut, is changed into *ja* in AMg. JM.: M. *na āñāmi*, *na āñasi*, *na āñai*, *na āñimo*, *na āñaha*, *na āñanti*; AMg. JM. *na jāñāmi* (Nāyādh. 84; Āv. 29, 19), JM. *na jāñasi*, *na jāñai*, AMg. *na jāñāmo*; Ś. *na āñāmi* (Mṛcch. 52, 16; 65, 11; Vikr. 43, 14; 46, 1); Mg. *na āñāmi* (Mṛcch. 140, 12); Ś. D. *na āñādi*; D. *na āñāsi*, Ś. *na āñādi* = *na jñāyate*; M. AMg. Ś. *na āñe* = *na jāne*. References in § 457.510.548. This formation is quite analogous to compounds such as Ś. *añāntena* = *ajānatā* (Mṛcch. 18, 22; 63, 24). *añña* = *ajñātā* (Śak. 50, 13), AMg. *viyāñāi*, Ś. Mg. *viāñādi*, AMg. *pariyāñāi*, Mg. *paccebhāñādi* (§510). In most of the cases, however, *na* is not proclitic, and, therefore, as a rule it remains unchanged before all vowels, as M. *na ittham* = *neṣṭam* (H. 501), *na isā* = *nersyā* (H. 829), *na uttarāi* = *nottarati* (H. 271), *na ei* = *naiti* (R. 14, 43). *na ohasiā* = *nāvahasiā* (H. 60); AMg. *na ambile*, *na unhe*, *na itthi*, *na annahā* = *nāmlah*, *noṣṇah*, *na stri*, *nānyathā*, beside *natthi* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4), and so in all dialects.¹

1. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 193; BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 193.302; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32, 104.

§171. As in isolated cases in Skt., *na* may be used as the first member of a compound instead of *a*, *an* in Pkt. too. M. *nasahiāloa* = *asodhāloka* (G. 364), *nasahiapaḍiboha* = *asodhapratibodha* (G. 1162), *napahuppanta* = *aprabhat* (G. 16, 46), *napahutta* = *aprabhūta* (G. 114), for which R. 3, 57 has *navahutta* with *pa* treated as a medial sound for the sake of rhyme. One may also like to consider this *na* in AMg. in cases like *taṃ maggaṃ nūttaram* = *taṃ mārgam-anūttaram* (Sūyag. 419); *disaṃ nantajineṇa* = *disamanantajinena* (Āyār. 2, 16, 6); *diṭṭhūhiṃ nantāhiṃ* = *diṭṭibhiranantābhiḥ*, *muttisuhāṃ nantāhiṃpi* [text vi] *vaggavaggūhiṃ* = *muktisukham anantairapi vaggavagnubhiḥ* (Paṇṇav. 135); *aggivaññāṃ negaso* = *agnivarnāny anekasaḥ* (Uttar. 598); *egapae negāṃ padāṃ* = *ekapade'nekāni padāni* (Paṇṇav. 63), *e'ssanti nantasō* = *esyantyanantaśaḥ* (Sūyag. 45.56.71); *bandhanehi negehi* = *bandhanairanekaiḥ* (Sūyag. 225); *gaṇḍavacchāsu* [text 'vatthā°] *negacittāsu* = *gaṇḍavakṣaḥsvanekacittāsu* (Uttar. 252); *itto nantagunīyā* = *ito *nantagunīkāḥ* (Uttar. 599); *virāyae negagunovavee* = *virājate 'negagunopetaḥ* (Sūyag. 309); *buddehi nāññā* = *buddhair anācīrñā* (Dasav. 627, 16). As, however, the dropping off of the initial *a* occurs in all the analogous cases (§175), and the texts always write *n*, never *n*, we shall have here to assume the dropping off of *a*. Hence in transcription we should write *maggaṃ 'nūttaram*, etc.

§172. Besides in the case of *na* contraction takes place within the sentence more frequently only when one of the words is a pronoun, an adverb, a preposition, or in the case of a substantive used as a preposition, in which proclisis or enclisis of the particles has to be assumed. Such a contraction occurs especially in AMg. JM. So AMg. *ahāvārā* = *athāparā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 11, 4ff.; 2, 2, 3, 19ff.; 2, 5, 1, 7ff. etc.), *na jāham* = *na cāham* (Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1), *jeñāham* = *yeñāham* (Uttar. 241); JM. *jeñāham* (Erz. 17, 14), *jeñāñijāham* = *yeñāñitāham* (Erz. 8, 23), *iḥāḍavie* = *iḥāḍoviyāṃ* (Erz. 30, 13), M. *sahasāgaassa* = *sahasā-gatasya* (H. 297); AMg. *purāsī* = *purāsīt* (Sūyag. 898); JM. *sahāmaccenā* =

sahāmātyena (Āv. 11,18); AMg. *dāriḡeyam*=*dārikeyam* (Dasav. N. 648,2); M. *ṇa hujjalā*=*ṇa khalūjjaḷā* (on H. 993); AMg. *no hūvaṇamanti*=*no khalūpaṇamanti* (Sūyag. 100), *ēthovarāe*=*atroparataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,2,4); JM. *siharovari*=*śikharopari* (T. 5,10); Ś. *mamovari*=*mamopari* (Mṛcch. 41,22); JŚ. *jassedha* [text °eha]=*yasyeha* (Pav. 382,24). On *ajjāvi*, *keṇāvi*, *teṇāvi* etc. see §143. Contraction occurs more rarely in other cases, like AMg. *samāsajjāvitaham*=*samāsādyāvitatham* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *jāṇittāyariyassa*=*jñātvācāryasya* (Uttar. 43), *kammāṇāṇaphalā*=*karmāṇyājñānaphalāni* (Uttar. 113), *tahosuyāro*=*tatheṣuk-ārah* (Uttar. 422), *isipāhāra-m-āṇi*=*ṣipāhārādini* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *mānuse-sūvavannā*, *tirikkhesūvavannā*=*manuṣeṣūpapannā*, **tiryakṣeṣūpapannā* (Āv. 17,22. 23), *paḍikappiēnāgao*=*pratikalpitenāgatoḥ* (Erz. 32,18), *subuddhināmeṇamacceṇa*=*subuddhināmnāmātyena* (Erz. 17,19). In AMg. in verses sometimes even the vowels, that have come together, first after a secondary fashion, are contracted. So : *esovarāe*=*eṣa uparataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1); *uvasaggā bhīmāsi*=*upasargā bhīmā āsan* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7); *tamhāvivojjo*=*tasmād atividyah* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3); *buddhāṇusāsanti*=*buddhā anūsāsati* (Uttar. 33); *parājijjāvavassappāmo*=*parājītā aparapāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 186); *akayakaraṇāṇabhigayā*=*akṛta-karāṇā anabhigatāś ca* (Jiyakappa 73). Also after a toneless nasal in *maggā-ṇusāsanti* for *maggā anūsāsanti*=*mārgamanūsāsati* (Sūyag. 465.517), *addhā-nugacchāi*, *panthāṇugāmīe* for *addhā anugacchāi*, *panthā anugāmīe*=*adhvānam anugacchati*, *panthānam* **anugāmīkaḥ* (Sūyag. 59). Cf. §173.175.

§173. In the auslaut vowels are often thrown out in M. JŚ., and especially in JM.AMg. before a vowel in the anlaut : M. *jeṇ' aham*=*yenāham* (H. 441), *tujjh' avarāhe*=*tavāparādhe* (H. 277); JM. *kuṇāleṇ' imaṇ*=*kuṇālenemam* (Āv. 8,16), *tāyass' ānaṇ*=*tātasyājñāṇam* (Āv. 8,18), *jeṇ' evaṇ*=*yenaivaṇ* [Erz. 14,8] *ih' eva*=*ihaiva* (Āv. 29,14; Erz. 17,3; 20,14), *jāv' eṣā*=*yāvoad eṣā* (Erz. 53,28), *tah' eva*=*tathaiva* (Āv. 12,26; 27,19), *tass' anṇesaṇattham*=*tasyāṇveṣaṇārtham* (Erz. 13,18); JŚ. *ten' iha* (Pav. 387,21) *jatth' atthi*=*yatrāsti* (Kattig. 401, 353), *ten' uvaīṭṭho*=*tenopadiṭṭhaḥ* (Kattig. 398,304); AMg. *akkhāy' aṇelisam*=*ākhyāyānidṛṣam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15), *jatth' atthamīe*, *jatth' avasappanti*, *jatth' agaṇi*=*yatrāstamitah*, *yatrāvasarpanti*, *yatrāgñih* (Sūyag. 129.181.273), *vuddhen' anūsāsīe*=*vuddhenānūsāsītaḥ* (Sūyag. 515), *ubhāyass' antareṇa*=*ubhaya-syāntareṇa* (Uttar. 32), *vinnavaṇ' itthisu*=*vijñāpanā striṣu* (Sūyag. 208.209), *jeṇ' uvahammai*=*yenopahanyate* (Dasav. 627,13), *jah' ē'ttha*=*yathātra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,2), *vipphaḍivann' ege*=*vipratipannā eke* (Sūyag. 170), *tass' āharaha*=*tasyā-harata* (Āyār. 2,1,11,2). *i* has dropped off e.g. in AMg. JM. *natth' ē'ttha*=*nāstyatra* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; Erz. 10,21) against Ś. *natthi ē'ttha* (Śak. 121,5); AMg. *jaṇs' ime*=*yasminnime* (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), *sant' ime*=*santime* (Āyār. 1,1,6,1; Sūyag. 65; Uttar. 200; Dasav. 625,25; 626,36); *vajant' ege*=*vadantyeke* (Sūyag. 37), *cattār' itthiyo*=*catasrah striyah* (Tṭhāp. 247), *cattār' antaradivā*=*catvāro 'ntara-dvīpāḥ* (Tṭhāp. 260) in poetry, beside °ri a° in prose and *cattāri agañio*=*caturō 'gnīṇ* (Sūyag. 274) in poetry, *kīlant' anne*=*kṛdāntanye*, *tarant' ege*=*tarantyeke* (Uttar. 504.567), *tinn' udahī*, *dōnn' udahī*=*traya udadhayah*, *dvāvu-dadhī* (Uttar. 996.1000), *dalām' aham*=*dalayāmy.* (= *dadāmy*) *aham* (Uttar. 663). *e* has dropped off for example in AMg. *s' evaṇ*=*sa evam* (Āyār. 1,7,3,3; 2,3,1, 1ff.), *paḍham' ittha*=*prathamō'tra* (Nandis. 74), *tubbh' ē'ttha*=*yusme atra*, *im' ee*=*ima etc*, *mann' erisaṇ*=*manya idṛṣam* (Uttar. 358.439.571), *im' ejārūoe*=*ayametadrūpāḥ* (Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151.170.171; Uvās.). *o* has dropped off in AMg. *guruṇ' antie* for *guruṇo antie*=*gurorantike* (Uttar. 29; Dasav. 632,22). Anusvāra has dropped off after weakening of the nasal sound, for example, in AMg. *ṇiyojivāṇ' anantāṇam*=*niyogajivāṇām anantāṇām* (Paṇṇav. 42), *cariss' aham* for *carissam aham*=*carisyāmyaham* (Sūyag. 239), *pucchiss' aham* for *pucchissam aham*=*apṛākṣamaham* (Sūyag. 259), *veṇāyāṇ' u vāyāṇ*=*vainayikāṇām u vādām* (Sūyag. 322), *vippariyās' uo' nti*=*viparyāsam upayanti*

(Sūyag. 468,497), *dukkhāṇ' antakaro=dukkhāṇām antakaraḥ* (Uttar. 1005), *siddhāṇ' ogāhaṇā=siddhāṇām avagāhaṇā* (Ovav. 171), *paḍham' ittha=prathamam-atra* (Kappas. Th. §9), *im' ejārūvaṃ=imametadrūpaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,24; Kappas. §94), *im' erisaṃ aṇāyāraṃ=imamidrīṣamanācāraṃ* (Dasav. 626,27); JM. *maṇiyavaṃsaṇ' amhaṃ=mauryavaṃsaṇāmasmākam* (Āv. 8,17), *im' erisaṃ=imamidrīṣam* (Āv. 25,26). Almost all the examples are found in verses. In the very frequent AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe* (Sūyag. 852,986,992; Pannav. 366; Nāyādh. 570; Vivāhap. 37,44,46ff,79,106,112ff,204; Ovav. § 69,74; Uvās. s.v. *samaṭṭha*), beside *no inam aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe* (Ovav. §94) "that is not the case" *in'* is to be taken, with Hc. 3,85, as the nom. sing. of the neuter, which, otherwise also in AMg. (§357), is connected with the masculine.¹ Very rarely a final vowel has dropped off in other dialects, as in Ś. *etth' antare* (Mṛcch. 40,23; also in JM. Erz. 17,30); Mg. *tav' edeṇa=tavaitena* (Mṛcch. 12,19) in the verse.

1. Not correctly WEBBER, Bhag. 1,409, where occurs a collection on the *saṃdhi* from Vivāhap., E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation, note 107. Cf. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,344f.

§174. In AMg. the final vowels of *api* and *iti*, with an initial dissimilar vowel, sometimes undergo the *saṃdhi* prescribed in Skt.: *appa=apy* fuses with *eka* and **ekatyā* into one word, as in Pāli: *appege=*apyekakaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5f.), *appege=*apyeke* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5), *jaṃsi, taṃsi 'ppege=yasmin tasminn *apyeke* (Āyār. 1,8,2,13), beside medial *vi ege* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1), *vi ee* (Uttar. 1016), and *v' ege* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 234), *v' ee* (Vivāhap. 101,180), *v' eg' evam āhaṃsu=*apyeka evam āhuḥ* (Sūyag. 240), *evam p' ege* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1,2), *puvvaṃ p' ejam pacchā v'* [so to be read] *ejam=pūrvama-pyetaṭṭhaścādapyetaṭ* (Āyār. 1,5,2,3); AMg. *appegaṇjā=Pāli appekacce=*apyekatyāḥ* (Ovav.); also in JM. *is pp' eva=ilo 'pyeva* (Āv. 19,23). Likewise *iti*: AMg. *iccāi=ityādi* (Kappas. § 196ff.); *icceva* (Āyār. 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 557), *icceva' ege* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2), *iccattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), *iccevaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *iccee* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7,4,7; 1,5,4,5), *iccehiṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *icceyāo icceyāsiṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,11,10,11), *icceyāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4). In Ś. Mg. *nu*, before *etad* becomes *nu* and then fuses with it in a word: Ś. *evam (ēvvaṃ) nedaṃ=evam nvetat* (Mṛcch. 22,16; 57,20; Śak. 2,5; 45,13; 71,6; Prab. 8,6; Ratn. 292,8), *kiṃ nedaṃ=kiṃ nvetat* (Mṛcch. 3,2; 27,17; 40,17; 54,15; 60,4; 97,14; 117,17; 169,20; 171,4; 172,22; Vikr. 25,18; 31,4; Ratn. 301,28), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 40,8; 134,17; 171,5), and against the dialect (§429) *taṃ nidaṃ=tannvidam* (Lalitav. 566,20).

§175. An initial *a* in verses, after *e*, *o*, is sometimes elided as in Skt. M. *piō' 'jja=priyo'dya* (H. 137); AMg. *āsiṇe 'nelisaṃ=āsino 'nīrīṣam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *phāse 'hiyāsae=sparśānadyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,18), *se 'bhinnādaṃsaṇe=so' bhinnāmadarśanaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10), *sisam se 'bhitāvayanti=śīrasamasyābhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280), *se 'nutappaṇi=so 'nutapyate* (Sūyag. 226), *uvasante 'nihe=upaśānto 'nihaḥ* (Sūyag. 365), *tippamāṇo 'hiyāsae=tippamāṇo 'dhyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,10), *inaṃmo 'bbavī=idamabravit* (Sūyag. 259), *ābhogao 'ibahuṃ=ābhogato 'tibahuṣaḥ* (Jiyak. 44), *bālo 'varajjhaḥ=bālo 'parādhyate* (Dasav. 624,32); Mg. *snāde 'haṃ=snāto 'ham* (Mṛcch. 136,11). In prose dropping off of *a* occurs in the standing formula AMg. *ṇamo' 'tthu ṇam=namo 'stu nūnam* (§498) and in JM. in *aham*, as in *tie 'haṃ=tasyāmaham* (Erz. 12,22), *tao 'haṃ=tato 'ham*, *jāo 'haṃ=jāto 'ham* (Erz. 9,36; 53,34). In AMg., seldom in JM.M., in poetry, initial *a* too frequently drops off even after vowels other than *e*, *o*. Thus after *ā* in *pajjijjamaṇā' ḥataram=pāyyamaṇā' ārtataram* (Sūyag. 282); after *i* in *jāija-rāmarapehi' bhiddū= jātijarāmaranairabhidrutaḥ* (Sūyag. 156), *ciṭṭhanti' bhitappa-*

mānā=tiṣṭhantyaabhitapyamānāḥ (Sūyag. 274), *sūlāhi 'bhitāvayanti=sūlābhir abhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280.289), *jāvantī 'vijjāpurisā=yāvanto 'vidyāpuruṣāḥ* (Uttar. 215), *novālabhāmi 'haṁ=nopalahhe 'haṁ* (Uttar. 575), *cattāri 'bhō'jjāim=catvāry-abhojyāni* (Dasav. 626,6), *jāi 'haṁ=yadyahaṁ* (Dasav. 641,21), as M. too has (R. 15,88), *aguṇehi 'sāhū=aguṇairasādhūn* (Dasav. 637,3); after *i* in AMg. *vejaraṇi 'bhiduggā=vaitaranyabhidurgā* (Sūyag. 270), *lahaī 'bhidugge=labhate 'bhidurge* (Sūyag. 277), *jaṁsi 'bhidugge=yasminnabhidurge* (Sūyag. 287.297 [°duggaṁsi]), *nadi 'bhiduggā* (Sūyag. 297); after *u* in JM. *dosu 'bhiggaho=dvayorabhigrahaḥ* (Āv. 19,36); also after anusvāra with weakening of the nasal sound, as in AMg. *kahaṁ 'bhitāvā=kathamabhitāpāḥ* (Sūyag. 259), *vejaraṇim 'bhiduggaṁ=vaitaraṇimabhidurgām* (Sūyag. 270), *vajanaṁ 'bhiuñje=vacana-mabhiyuñje* (Sūyag. 529). False in prose is *tesim 'tie* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), for which, according to the commentators, we have to write *tesim antie*. Cf. §171.172.173. Even vowels, other than *a*, sometimes drop off in AMg. after *e, o*; so *i* in *je 'me* for *je ime=ya ime* (Sūyag. 454), *je 'ha* for *je iha=ya iha* (Sūyag. 304); *e* in AMg. *akāriṇo 'ttha=akāriṇo'tra* (Uttar. 290), *anno 'ttha=anyo'tra* (Uttar. 791), M. *ko 'ttha* (H. 364), and after the weakened nasal sound in M. JM. *kiṁ tha=kiṁ e'ttha=kiṁ atra* (H. s.v. *tha*; Āv. 26,9).

m) EPENTHESIS

§176. The separation vowel *i* in the sound-group *ry* (§134) has sometimes made its way into the preceding syllable, and with an *a*, *ā* of the same become fused into *e*: M. AMg. *acchera*, AMg. JM. *accheraṇya*, AMg. *accheraga*, beside M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. *aścalia*, dialectically *accharijja* and *acchaara=āścarya* (§138) also; M. *kera=kārya*¹ (belonging to; Mk. fol. 40; Kāmsav. 52,11, *keram* (on account of; Kāvya-prakāśa 28,7), Ś. *amhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 19,9), *tumhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 104,6), *parakera* (Mālav. 26,5), otherwise in Ś. *keraka*, *kerāa* (Mṛcch. 4,3,38,3; 53,20; 63,16; 64,19; 65,10.11; 66,11; 74,8; 153,2; Śak. 96,10; 155,9; Mālatim. 267,2; Mudrār. 35,8; Priyad. 43,16; 44,6; Jivān. 9,1; Kāmsav. 50,11); also in Ā. *keraka* (Mṛcch. 100,18); femin. Ś. *kerikā kerīā* (Mṛcch. 88,24 [read *kerika tti*]; 90,14; 95,6; Viddhaś. 83,4), also in Ā. *kerikā* (Mṛcch. 104,9); Ś. *parakeraattana=*parakāryatvaṇa* (Mālatim. 215,3); Mg. *kelaka*, *keloā* (Mṛcch. 13,9; 37,13; 40,9; 96,21.22; 97,3; 100,20; 112,10; 118,17; 119,5; 122,14.15 [read *kelakāim*]; 130,10; 132,2; 133,2; 146,16; 152,6; 173,9; Śak. 116,11; 161,7), also to be mentioned here Prab. 32,8, where *bhaṭṭālakakelakehim*, according to II, 34.115, is to be read; femin. *kelikā, keliā* (Mṛcch. 21,21; 132,16; [read *kelikāe*]; 139,16 [read *kelikā*]; 164,3,8; 167,3,21); A. *kera* (Hc. 4,422.373), *kerāa* (Hc. 4,359.373); M. AMg. Ś. *peranta=pariyanta* (Vr. 3,18; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; 2,65.93; Ki. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 5,22; Pāṇyāl. 173; G.H.; Ovav.; Lalitav. 555,11; 567,23; Vikr. 31,17; Mālatim. 76,5; 103,3; 118,6; 248,5; Mahāv. 97,13; Bālar. 49,2; 67,15; 76,16; 226,3; 278,20; 287,9; Anarghar. 58,9; Mallikām. 55,10; 57,17), AMg. *pariperanta* (Nāyādh. 513.1383ff.; Vivāgas. 107); *bamhacera* (Hc. 1,59; 2,63.74.93), AMg. A. *bamhacera* (Hc. 2,74; Āyār. 1,5,2,4; 1,6,2,1; 1,6,4,1; 2,15,24; Sūyag. 81.171.318.643.652.759.866; Vivāhap. 10,135.722.726; Dasav. 618,33; Dasav. N. 649,38; Uvās.; Ovav. §69; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz. 3,24), beside *bamhacaria* (Hc. 2,63.107)=*brahmacarya*; AMg. JM. *merā=maryā*² (frontier; Hc. 1,87; Āyār. 2,1,2,5; 2,3,1,13; 2,5,1,2; 2,6,1,1; Āv. 47,23,25; Kk.); AMg. *nimmera=nirmarya* (Thān. 136.143 [nī°]; Vivāhap. 483.1048; Ovav.), *samera=samarya* (Thān. 136 [text *sammera*]. 143); AMg. JM. *pādihera=Pāli pāṭihāriya=prāṭihārya*³ (Vivāhap. 1047.1189; Ovav.; Āv. 14,2), JM. *pādiherattana* (Āv. 13,25); AMg. *pariheraga=pari-*

-hāryaka (Ovav.); M. Ś. *sundera*=*saundarya* (§84). On *ukkera* see §107, on *dera*, §112. Isolated is Mg. *ṣeṇam* from **ṣaṇiam* (Mṛch. 134,24) =M. Ś. *saṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*=Pāli *saṇikam* (§84). Epenthesis of *u* occurs in AMg. *pora*=*parvan* from **paurva*- (Āyār.2,1,8,11).

1. FISCHER, IA. 2,121ff.; 366ff.; on Hc. 2,174. HOERNLE, JASB. 41,1, 124ff.; IA. 2,210 ff. Comp. Gr. §377 and BRAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,281 ff. derive the word from *kyta*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *nimmra*, Hc. and Triv. derive it from *mirā*.—3. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.

n) ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

§177. Dialectically the vowels of the neighbouring syllables have sometimes been assimilated to one another. AMg. *miri*=*mdrici* (Jiv.542; Paṇhāv. 254 [text °*riya*]; Ovav. [§38]. 48 [so to be read]; Nāyādh. §122), *samirīya*=*samaricika* (Samav.211 [text °*ma*°]; Ovav.); AMg. *miriya*=*marica* (Hc. 1,46; Āyār. 2,1,8,3; Paṇhāv. 531); M. *avarim*=*upāri*; M. *avahoḍsa*, *avahovāsa*=**ubathahpārsua* (§212), *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (§123); *bhamajā* beside M. *bhumaā*, AMg. *bhumajā*=**bhruvakā* (§124); M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣu*; AMg. *usu*=*i'su*, *susu*=*śiśu* (§117); AMg. *puhutta*=*prthakto* beside *puhatta* (§78). As in Sanskrit, there occur beside one another AMg. *niuramba*=*nikuramba* (Ovav.) and AMg. *niurumba*=*nikurumba* (Samav. 211; Ovav.), beside *sarīsa*=*sarīṣa* there are often found the variants *sirīsa*, *sirīsa* (§81). M. Ś. *sivīṇa*=*svapṇa* (Vr. 1,3; 3,62; C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259; 2,108; Kī. 1,2; 2,59; Mk. fol. 5,29; H. R.; Pratāp. 212,9; Vṛṣabh. 14,6; 17,1,2), M. Ś. *sivīṇa*=*svapṇaka* (H. 2,186; H.; Karp. 75,4; Lalitav. 554,21,22; 555,1; Vikr. 24,17; Mālav. 62,5; Mālatim. 179,9; Bālar 238,14; Karp. 70,3,11,12; 71,1; 73,4; Venīs. 18,13,20,21; Nagān. 12,11; 13,4; 23,3; Kārṇas. 16,9,12); M. *paḍisivīṇa*=*pratisvapṇaka* (Karp. 75,5); *simīṇa* (C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259), beside AMg. JM. *suviṇa* Sūyag. 838ff; Vivāhap. 943ff. 1318ff.; Uttar. 249,456; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), A *suiṇa* (Hc. 4,434,1), and AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* (Hc. 1,46; Thāp. 567; Nandīs. 365; Samav. 26; Vivāhap. 947,1318; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; T. 7,16; Erz.), JM. *suviṇaga*, *sumiṇaga* (Erz.)=*svapṇaka* (§133 152,248). The forms like *kilimmaī*, *kilimmihi*, *kilinta* beside *kilammaī*, *kilanta* are not to be considered as correct with S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹, but they rest upon the variation with the frequent v.l. *kilissai*². On future forms like *bhavissidi* see § 520.

1. ZDMG. 32,107.—2. FISCHER, GGA. 1880,328 f. Cf. §136.

3. ANUSVĀRA AND THE NASAL VOWELS.

§178. Beside *anusvāra*, Pkt. possesses two nasal vowels, of which one is expressed by the sign of *anusvāra* and the other by that of *Anunā-sika*. The distinction between *anusvāra* and the first nasal vowel is not definite in all cases, particularly in the final syllable, where their treatment is mostly the same and the origin cannot be traced definitely. Thus for example in the inst. plur. in *-hiṁ*, beside which *-hī*, *-hi* are used. Ś. *devehiṁ* (Śak.21,5) is equated to Vedic *devēbhiḥ*, which I regard as correct; so a nasal vowel is to be assumed; on the other hand it is equated as *ḍe'ōphiṁ*¹, as the usual hypothesis is and, therefore, *anusvāra* is more probable. Likewise a nasal vowel *i* will have to be assumed in cases, like *aggim*=*agnih* beside *aggī* and *vāum*=*vāyuh* beside *vāū* (§72), on the other hand *anusvāra*, for example, in the genitive plural *devāṇam*, beside which occur also *devāṇā* and *devāṇa*, exactly as *devehi*, *devehi*, has to be assumed. In adverbs like *uparim* beside *wari*=*upari* *anusvāra* is probable, and in *bāhim*=*bahiḥ*, a nasal

vowel. In words where *m* may be traced back to *n*, *m* I assume anusvāra, otherwise, however, a nasal vowel, as a rule.²

1. The equation naturally holds good for the ending only.—2. On anusvāra and the nasal vowel see the literature in WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §223.224.

§179. As in the Veda¹, so in Pkt. too, the anunāsika, is not mostly indicated in the manuscripts so that in very many of the cases its existence is to be deduced only from the statements of the grammarians. Thus in H. 651, the MSS. write *jāi vaanāi*, the Bombay edition, *jāni vaanāni*, whilst Hc.3,26 explicitly demands *jāi vaanāi* which does not, as WEBER thinks², go against the metre, since ardhacandra³ never makes position. In Śak.116,3 in Mg. we have *śaūlānaṁ muhaṁ=svakulānāṁ mukham*, the MS. Z reads *śaanānaṁ muhaṁ=svajanānāṁ mukham*; according to Hc. 4300 there should be read *śaanāhā muhaṁ*, which no MS. has. Vr. 2,3; Kī.2,5; Mk. fol. 14 teach that in *yamunā* the *m* drops out. Hc.1,178, on the other hand, teaches, without doubt more correctly, intrusion of anunāsika: *jāunā*. The manuscripts and the texts write in M.Amg. *jāunā* only, in Ś. *jamunā* (§251). In the Sattasai, the manuscript *ψ* sometimes write ardhacandra instead of bindu of the rest, but not always in the right place⁴. For Apabhraṁśa Hc.4,397 teaches entry of *ṽ* for *m*, e. g. *kāṽalu* beside *kamalu=kamalam*. The manuscripts ordinarily write *mv*. Therefore, the use of ardhacandra can not be determined from the manuscripts.

1. MAX MÜLLER on the Rgvedaprātiśākhya 64; WEBER on the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya 4.9.13.—2. On H.651.—3. So I take, with WEBER, H.p. 4, the mark for anunāsika. Wrongly equate B.-R. s.v., according to WEBER, Die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upaniṣhad (Berlin 1864). p. 394, ardhacandra=anusvāra. The name for the sign for anusvāra is bindu, as has been said in the preceding and following paragraphs.—4. WEBER, H. p. 4; cf. on H. 274.289.292.489.507.548.556.572.597 and γ on 5.

§180. The grammarians teach that in Pkt. and A. the syllables *-im*, *-hiṁ*, *-uṁ*, *-um*, *-huṁ*, *-haṁ*, at the end of a pada, according to Saṁgītaratnākara *-huṁ*, *-im* in A., even in the middle of a pada, may be reckoned short (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṁgītaratnākara 4,55.56; Piṅgala 1,4; Hc. 4,411). Therefore, formerly these syllables were allowed to stand even before vowels and consonants, when a short vowel was necessary. WEBER¹ in this case wishes to irradicate bindu everywhere and he is followed by all the modern European editors.² Sh. P. PANDIT in his edition of the Gāṇḍavaha puts a sign of shortness *˘* over the bindu, e.g. 1,16 *āṅgaim̐ viṇhuṅo*, *bhariḍim̐ va*, and with the same end DURGA PRASĀD; ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, in their editions of the Sattasai, of Rāvaṇavaha, of Piṅgala and of Karpūramañjarī, have employed ardhacandra.³ BOLLESEN⁴ even wished to regard ardhacandra as a sign of elevation, which WEBER⁵ rightly rejects. Hc.3,7.26 teaches *-hi*, *-hī*, *-hiṁ* and *-i*, *-im* and the MS. R^h of the Rāvaṇavaha tends to write *-i*, *-hī* when a short is requisite.⁶ Likewise writes the edition of Samav. in the verses, p. 232.233.239, as *tih̐ tih̐ saehim̐*, *chal̐ purisaesah̐ nikkhanto*, *savriyātoraneh̐ uvavejā=tribh̐s tribh̐h̐ sataih̐*, *ṣaḍbh̐h̐ puruṣasatair̐ niṣkrāntah̐*, *savedikātoraneh̐ upetāh̐*. This place, without doubt, gives the correct direction with regard to the employment of ardhacandra. It will have to be written when a short syllable is requisite and the following word begins with a vowel or the preceding or the following word ends in *m*, as is the case in Samav. at two of the places adduced. We shall, therefore, have to write, for example *sālaṁkarāṇa gāhāṇam* (H.3); *sīlummūliāḥ kūlāim̐* (H. 355); *tumheh̐ uvekkhio* (H.420) *pasāhiāḥ āṅgāim̐* (H.578); *paṇḍū salilāḥ* (G. 577); *vevirapaoharāṇam disāṇa tanumajjhāṇam*. . . *niṁliāḥ muhāim̐* (R.6,89) *dhūsarāḥ muhāim̐* (R.8,9); *khaṇacumbiāḥ hamareh̐ uha suṁmāraḥsarasih̐im̐* (Śak.2,14). ardhacandra has to be written also in

cases like *tanāim* *so'thum diṇṇāi jāi* (H.379), *jai vaṇṇāi* (H.651), which is expressly testified to by Hc. (§179); further in cases like A. *taruhū vi* (Hc.4,341,2); *atthē hī satthē hī hatthē hī vi* (Hc.4,358,1); *mukkāhā vi* (Hc. 4,370,1), where bindu would be incorrect as instead of *vi* there would have to stand *pi* after it. *m* always makes position, which *~* never does (§348.350).⁷

1. On H. 3.—2. As S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX. Against him KLATT, ZDMG. 33,45ff.—3. Cf on Hc. 1,2, note 3.—4. On Vikr. p. 521, note; p. 521f., note.—5. On H. 481.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX, note 2.—7. The nasal vowel uttered with bindu is more strongly nasalized than that indicated by ardhacandra. BOPP was not wrong to the extent assigned by BERGAIGNE (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 2,204, Note 1.

§181. After the vowels, that are final either by origin or become so due to dropping off of a consonant, anusvāra is frequently added in M.AMg. JM. in adverbs except in the cases discussed in §75.114. M. *ajjam* (H.R.) beside *ajja*=*adya*; AMg. JM. *iham* beside *iha*=*iha* (Hc. 1,24; Āyār. 1,1,3,7; Jiv. 305; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kk.)¹, also *ihaṃ* (Hc. 1,24); AMg. JM. *isim* beside M. Ś. *isi* (§102); AMg. JM. *pabhiim*=*prabhṛti* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *uppiim*, M. AMg. JM. *uvarim*, M. *avarim*, beside M. JM. Ś. *uvari*, Mg. *uvali*=*upari* (§123.148); AMg. *saīm*=*sakṛt* (Āyār. 2,1,1,5; Uttar. 201.235), *asaīm*=*asakṛt* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1; Jiv. 308; Uttar. 201); AMg. *jugavam*+*yugapat* (Thāṇ. 227; Vivāhap. 1440; Uttar. 870.878.881.1032; Ovav.); AMg. *jāvam*, *tāvam*=*yāvat*, *tāvat* (Vivāhap. 268.269). In M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* (Hc. 2,140; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyāl. 224; G.; Āyār. 2,7,2,1; 2,10,6; Sūyag. 753; Nāyādh. §122 [so to be read]; Erz.), also in *bāhimsalla*=*bahiḥśalya* (Thāṇ. 314) and *bāhimhinto* (Thāṇ. 408) and in AMg. *pāum*=*prāduḥ* (§341) and *muhum*=*muhuh* (Uttar. 197) a nasal vowel has probably to be assumed (§178). Perhaps, however, *bāhim* should be equated as=*bāhyam* according to §151. Since Mk. fol. 40 teaches *bāhim* as well perhaps this explanation is more correct. It might also be better to separate *bāhim* from *bāhim*. Cf. also *saṇimcara* (§84) and §349.

1. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 217.

§182. In M. anusvāra is sometimes added to the final *a* in the instr. sing. of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems (Hc. 1,27); *sabbhāveṇam*=*sadbhāvena* (H. 286); *paruṇṇenam* *muṇenam*=*praruditena mukhena* (H. 354); *samaavaseṇam*=*samayavaśena* (H. 398); *loaneṇam*, *seeneṇam*=*locanena*, *svedena* (H. 828); *kavāḍantareṇam*=*kapāḍāntareṇa* (G.212); *pañjareṇam* (G.301); *visaṇseṇam*=*viśadāmsena* (R.3,55). This sort of addition is very frequent in AMg. JM. So AMg. *teṇam* *kāleṇam* *teṇam* *samaeṇam*=*tena kālena tena samayena* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,1.6.17.22; Uvās. §1ff. 9.75ff.; Nāyādh. §1.4.6; Ovav. §1.15.16.23ff.; Kappas. §1.2.14 etc.); AMg. *samaṇeṇam* *bhagavajā mahāvireṇam*=*śramaṇena bhagavatā mahāvireṇa* (e.g. Nāyādh. §8 [where, in addition, 21 instrumental forms in *-ṇam* follow; shortened, e.g. Uvās. §2.78.91]), *kohēṇam* *māṇeṇam* *lobheṇam*=*krodhena mānena lobhena* (Vivāhap. 85), *sakkeṇam* *devindeṇam* *devaranneṇam*=*śakreṇa devendrena deva-rājena* (Nāyādh. 852), *paravāgaraṇeṇam*=*paravyākaraṇena* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4; 1,7,2,3), *hiraṇṇeṇam*=*hiraṇyena* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3); JM. *vaccanteṇam*=*vrajatā*, *vaddeṇam* *saddeneṇam*=*vadreṇa śabdena*, *upphaṇeṇam*=*utpathena*, *sureṇam*=*sureṇa* (Āv. 11,19;23,14;36,32.37), *saṇamkumāreṇam* *nāyāmaccavuttanteṇam* *kovaṇ* *uvagaṇeṇam*=*saṇat-kumāreṇa jñātāmātyavṛttāntena kopam upagatena* (Erz. 3,29). Similarly also in adverbially used instrumental forms, like AMg. *ānupuvveṇam*=*ānupūvyena* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1;1,7,7,5; [anu°]; Nirayāv. §13; Nāyādh. §118 [anu°]) *paraṇpāreṇam* (Kappas. S. §27); AMg. JM. *suheṇam*=*sukhena* (Vivāgas. 81; Ovav. §16; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Erz.); AMg.

majjheṇam = *madhyena* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Vivāhap. 236; Ovav. §17).¹ In the nomin. and acc. plural of the neuter Vr. 5,26 teaches the ending -i : *vaṇāi, dahii, mahii* = *vanāni dadhīni, madhūni*, Mk. fol. 43: -im: *vaṇāim dahiiim, mahiiim*, Ki. 3,28 beside -im in *dhaṇāim, jaśāim, dahiiim* and according to the opinion of some in *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* with anusvāra even before the ending, Hc.3,26, ī -, -im. In prose in all the dialects there occurs only -im, so AMg. *se jījāim kulāim* = *sa yāni kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2) beside *kulāni* (§ 367); JM. *pañca egūṇāim addāgasajāim...pakkhittāim* = *pañca-ikonāny ādarśasatāni...prakṣiptāni* (Āv. 17,15); Ś. *rāarakkhidāim tavovaṇāim* = *rājarakṣitāni tapovanāni* (Śāk. 16,13); Mg. *śavalāim duṣṣagandhiāim civalāim* = *śabalāni dūsyagandhikāni civarāni* (Mṛcch. 113,22); Dh. *bhūdāim suvaṇṇāim* = *bhūtāni suvarṇāni* (Mṛcch.36,21). In verses -i is written, when the metre requires a short, surely in many cases and probably in all cases (§179.180) wrongly. Hc. points to ī, and in Vr. 5 26 -i is probably a false reading for -im. The statement in Ki. 3,28, that some scholars required -im before anusvāra ought to teach probably more correctly the forms *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* instead of *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* given in the text, corresponding to AMg. *mahamāsa* for *mahanta + āśva* = *mahāśva* (§74). The anusvāra stands here instead of the long. In the loc. plur. of all stems is found beside in -su, also in -sum, which preponderates in Ś.Mg. (§367). The nom. acc. sing. of the neut. in -i, -u has frequently -im, as in *dahim, mahim* beside *dahi, mahu* (§379), probably with a leaning to the neut. forms in -am; according to Hc. 3,25 some taught also *dahī, mahū*. Beside *mama* M. AMg. JM. have *mamam* (§418; H.; Vivāgas. §121.122; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv.72,28). In the imperative in -hi the presses, according to the MSS.,² print, often wrongly -him for -hi (e. g. Āyār. 2,1,5,5 *paribhāehim*, read °hi; p. 126,7 *pavattehim*, read *pavattehi*; Nāyādh. 144; Vivāhap. 612.613 *bhuñjāhim*, read °hi; Kappas. §114 *jīṇāhim*, read °hi, *vasāhim*, read °hi, *nihañāhim*, read °hi; Vivāhap. 612.613 *śalajāhim*, read °hi). Sometimes anusvāra is introduced on account of m. r, as in *devamānāgasuvaṇṇa* = *devanāgasuparṇa* (Hc. 1,26); AMg. *chandanmīroheṇa* = *chandonirodhena* (Utar. 195). Compounds like M. *uvarimdhūmanivasa* = *uparidhūmaniveśa* (G. 140), AMg. *uvarimpuñchaṇṇo* = *uparipucchinnyaḥ* (Rāyap. 108; text °pucchaṇṇu), according to §181, AMg. *tiriyam-vāya* = *tiryagvāta*, *tirijambhāgi* = *tiryagbhāvin* (Sūyag. 829), according to §75, are to be explained.

1. To these instr. in -eṇam, perhaps both the Vedic. instr. forms *ghanēnā* and *tējanēṇā* are to be compared (LANMAN, Noun-Inflection p. 331), with difficulty the instr. in -enā (LANMAN, l.c. p. 332).—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 58, note g.

§183. Final *n* and *m* as a rule become anusvāra, which in AMg. M. JM. often vanishes before both the vowels and consonants (§348ff.). A short nasal vowel and anusvāra alternate more often with non-nasalized long vowels (§72.74.75.86.114). Before an immediately following sibilant, *r, h* a short nasal vowel is often lengthened accompanied with loss of the nasal tone (§76). A long nasal vowel and a long vowel with anusvāra following them either become shortened (§83), or the nasal tone vanishes (§ 89), before consonants and in the auslaut of the latter, also with a short vowel (§ 72.173.175.350).

B. THE CONSONANTS.

I. CONSONANTS IN FREE POSITIONS.

1. GENERAL REMARKS RELATING TO WHOLE OR SEVERAL CLASSES.

§184. Initial consonants, other than *n*, *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, remain as rule unchanged. In the beginning of the second member of a compound they are generally treated between vowels as in the interior of a word according to §186.188; more frequently, however, the initial of verbal roots remains unchanged even after prefixes ending in a vowel¹: *M. paāsei=prakāśayati* (G.); *bhamaraūla=bhramarakula* (H. 668) beside *mahuarakula=madhukarakula* (G. 468); *āpṇa=ākṛṇa* (G.), *paiṇṇa=prakṛṇa* (G.H.R.); *āaa* (H.) beside common *āga* (G.H.R.)=*āgata*; *vasahaṇḍha=vaśabhacihna* (G.) beside *aṇumaraṇamaṇḍanacindha* (G. 479); *karaala=karatala* (H. 170) beside *calaṇatala=caranatala* (R. 9,37); *uvaiśai=upadiśati* (H.); *avasāria=apaśārita*, *viḥalavasāria=viḥvalaprasārita* (R. 1,1;13,27), and so against §189 also PG. *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti=anuprasthāpayati* (7,45)²; *gahavai=grhapati* (H.); *vaṇsavatta=vaṇṣapattā* (H. 676) beside *aṇkollapattā* (H. 313); *Ś. ajjāitta=āryaputra* (e.g. Mṛch. 53,18) beside Mg. *ayyapuliśa=āryapuruṣa* (Mṛch. 132,23). Aspirates, according to §188, may become *h*: *M. vālahilla=vālakhilya* (G.), *raiḥara=ratighara* (H.), *jalahara=jaladhara* (G.H.R.), *ṇuttāhala=muktāphala* (G.), *thanahara=stanabhara* (H.), beside *M. sarisavakhala=sarṣapakhala* (Hc.1,187), *palaaghaṇa=pralayaghana* (R.5,22), *vammahadh-aṇu=manmathadhanuḥ* (R. 1,29), *ṇimbaphala* (H.248), *rakkhābhuaṇga=rakṣābhujāṇga* (G.178). In the same way, most of the enclitics and sometimes words standing behind p oeritics after vowels are treated as in inlaut: *Ś. Mg. D. adha im=atha kim* (e.g. *Ś. Mṛch. 17,24;60,6;67,11*; *Mg. Mṛch. 14,7;22,1;118,2.4.6.25*; *D. Mṛch. 101,3*); *M. Ś. Mg. D.Ā.A. CP. (Hc. 4,326) a*, *AMg. JM. JŚ. yī=ca*; *M. ira=kira=Skt. kila* (Vr.9,5; Hc.2,186; G.R.); *M. JM.Ś. Mg. uṇa=punar*, in the sense of "now", "however" (Hc. 1,65.177; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.; Āv. 8,33; Erz.; Kk.; *Ś. e.g. Mṛch. 9,8;13,22;25,1;29,6* etc.; *Mg. e.g. Mṛch. 14,22;38,8;43,4;127,24* etc.) also after *anusvāra*, like *M. Ś. kim uṇa=kim punar* (H.25.417; G.R.3,28.32;4,26;11,26; Mṛch. 3,20;18,3; Prab. 15,9;38,6;42,6); *M. eṇhiṇ uṇa=idāniṇ punar* (H. 307), *hiāniṇ uṇa=hrdayaṇ punar* (H. 660); *Ś. sampadāṇ uṇa=sāmpratāṇ punar* (Mṛch. 18,23), *ahāṇ uṇa* (Mṛch. 25,14); *tassiṇ uṇa=tasmiṇ punar* (Vikr. 35,5), *kadham uṇa=katham punar* (Vikr. 73,14); *Ś. Mg. kinṇimittāṇ uṇa* (Mṛch. 88,16;151,2; Mg. 19,5); *vi=api* (§143); *M. na vahuttāṇ=na prabhūtāṇ* (R. 3,57) for the sake of assonance³, beside *apahutta* (H.277.436). In A. the secondary *pa*, originating from *tva* (§300) as well, is treated in the absolute, as in *pekkheviṇu*, *pekkhevi*, *pekkhivi* = **prekṣitvī*, *bhaṇivi* = **bhaṇitvī*, *piavi* = **pibatvī*, *ramevi* = **ramayitvī* (§588). *M.A. navara*, *navaraṇ*, *JM. navaraṇ*, (Erz.; Rṣabhap.) "only" (Vr. 9,7; Hc. 2.187; G.H.R.; Hc.4,377.401,6 [so to be read]), P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ conjectures = *na param*, hardly rightly, as the *anusvāra* appears to be secondary. Certainly wrong is the interpretation of *M. A. navari* (Vr. 9,8; Hc. 2,188; G.H.R.; Hc. 4,423,2), *JM. navari* (Pāṇyā. 17; Erz.; Kk.) "thereon", "so forth" from *na pare*, against which is the *i* (§85). Very frequent is the dropping off of the *ja*, after *na* in *jñā* in all the dialects; *AMg. JM.* have *ja* more often as in inlaut (§170).

1. For the rules, that are common to all the dialects, for the sake of brevity, examples will be given generally only from M.—2. FISCHEL, G. N. 1895, p. 211.—

3. Assonance was also the determinant for the dropping off of the initial consonant in cases, like *o'vvaṇāim* for *jo'vvaṇāim* (R. 7,62), *ṇa ṇāim* for *ṇa dīṇāim* (R. 8,61), *aṇehim* for *jaṇehim*, *ūram* for *dūram* (R. 8,65). The other places mentioned by S. GOLDSCHMIDT (ZDMG. 32,105) do not have "better and weightier" readings but quite false ones (PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,327).—4. GN. 1874,573, note; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,105.

§185. In *tāvat*, *tu*, *te* "your", "to you", "thine" and "these" *t* becomes *d* dialectically. Hc. 4,262.302.323 mentions the transition in *tāvat* for Ś. Mg. P. In Ś. Mg. it is the rule after all vowels and anusvāra, as in Ś. *ciṭṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 138,16;139,3; Śak. 125,1), Mg. *ciṭṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 9,24;114,12)=*tiṣṭha tāvat*; Ś. Mg. D. *mā dāva*=*mā tāvat* (Mṛcch. 18,2;29,11;55,15; Mg. 117,14;151,25;170,24; D. 100,17); Ś. *uvaṇehi dāva*=*upanaya tāvat* (Mṛcch. 61,10); Mg. *yāṇāhi dāva*=*jānāhi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 80,21); Ś. *ciṭṭhadu dāva*, Mg. *ciṭṭhadu dāva*=*tiṣṭhatu tāvat* (Vikr. 34,5; Mṛcch. 167,21); Ś. *ajjuāe dāva*=*āryāyai tāvat* (Mṛcch. 94,7); *tumhe dāva*=*yusme tāvat* (16,20); Ś. Mg. Ā. *ido dāva*=*itastāvat* (Mṛcch. 3,3; Vikr. 45,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,20); Ś. *aṇāṇam dāva* (Ratn. 298,13); *daṭṭam dāva*=**dayisyāmi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 35,8); Ś. Mg. *ēvaṇam dāva*=*evam tāvat* (Mṛcch. 12,25;24,20;29,1; Mg. 123,4;126,8). The same transition is found also in M. (H.R.), but very seldom without the variant reading *tāva*, as in R. 3,26,29, so that for M., as for AMg. JM., *tāva* only will be correct, which in Ś. Mg. as well always stands at the beginning of a sentence.¹ On M. *dā* see §150.—*tu* (however) has become *du* in JŚ. after vowels (Pav. 381,18.20;384,58;385,64; Kattig. 404,388), after anusvāra it remains *tu* (Pav. 382,23), as also in M. (G. 947), AMg. (Sūy. g. 188.414.429.437.439.497), JM. (Āv.19,32;20,8) Ś. (Vikr.40,20), D. (Mṛcch. 325,19). Except in JŚ. *tu* is rare in all the dialects, it occurs more frequently in Ś. only in *kim tu* (Mṛcch. 53,20; Śak. 17,11;50,11;51,12;54,9; 73,8;78,7;98,7;119,2;126,8; Vikr. 33,11;40,6) for which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and the Dravidian recension of Vikr. wrongly write *kim du*². The *u*, that occurs in M. (G.964) JM. (Āv.7,38;8,1 [*yu*]; 19,30.34;20,1.3.7; Erz.; Kk.) and especially in AMg. (c. g. Sūy. g. 50.170. 204.297.312.316.330.403.406.410.415.416.465 etc.; Uitar. 43.219.295.312ff. 329f.353; Dasav. 622,11.27; Nirayāv. §2; throughout in the verse) is to be derived neither with Sh. P. PANDIT³ and JACOB⁴ from *tu*, nor with WARREN⁵ from *ca*, but it is=*u*, that occurs also in M. *kim u* (Karp. 78,9.13.14).—*te* of the pronoun of the second person, in Ś. Mg. Ā. D. after vowels or anusvāra becomes *de*. So Ś. *ṇa de*=*na te* (Śak. 65,10), *aṇubhava dāva de* (Śak. 67,12), *mā de* (Vikr. 6,17), *kā vi de* (Mṛcch. 5,2), *parihādi de*=*parihiyate te* (Śak. 91,5), *sutṭhu de*=*sutṭhu te* (Mṛcch. 29,14), *amadāṇi khu de*=*amṛtāṇi khalu te* (Vikr. 9,11), *eso de* (Mṛcch. 7,3), *kudo de* (Mṛcch. 36,7), *piduṇo de*=*pituste* (Mṛcch. 95,15; so to be read with the v.l. in GODABALE, p. 271), *sādaṇi de*=*sāgāṇi te* (Mṛcch. 3,6), *jaṇi de*=*yat te* (Mṛcch. 55,4; Vikr. 41,18), *mantidāṇi de*=*mantritāṇi te* (Vikr. 44,9); Ś. *matthaṇi de*, Mg. *mastaṇi de*=*mastakāṇi te* (Mṛcch. 18,5;21,22); Mg. *ede vi de*=*ete 'pi te* (= *tvām*; Mṛcch. 128,12) *tado de*=*tatas te* (Prab. 50,14), *paṇṇam de*=*praśṇam te* (Mṛcch. 80,18), *ēvaṇi de*=*evam te* (= *tvām*; Mṛcch. 128,14); Ā. *pidā vi de*=*pitāpi te*, *jadi de*=*yadi te* (Mṛcch. 104,17; 105,3); D. *ahinṇāṇam de*=*abhijñāṇam te* (Mṛcch. 105,9). This phonetic transition is seemingly to be assumed in M. also. Without a v.l. are found *vi de*=*api te* (H.737); *vva de*=*iva te* (R. 4,31); *pariāṇa de*=*pariāṇana te* (R. 4,33); *pi de* (R. 11,83), *a de*=*ca te* (R. 11,126). At all other places, with the exception of the Telugu recension of H., the v.l. has *te*, particularly even always after anusvāra (H. s.v. *de*; R. s.v. *tu*)

so that the correct reading remains doubtful.—After other pronominal forms *te* (these) also becomes *de* in Ś.Mg. (§425). So also M. *jālā de* = **yāt kālāt te* (Dhvanyāloka 62,4=H.989). On M. *dāvai=tāpayati* see §275.

1. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p.125; BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 369. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,262; BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p.122.—2. Cf. §275.—3. G. s. v.—4. Erz. s. v.—5. Nirayāv. s.v.

§186. In the middle of a word, in most of the dialects, intervocalic *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d* usually, *p*, *b*, *v* sometimes, and *y*, except in PG.VG. P. CP., are always dropped (Vr. 2,2; C. 3,34; Hc. 1,177; K1 2,1; Mk. fol. 14). So M. *uaa=udaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *loa=loka*; *saala=sakala* (H.R.); *sua=śuka* (H.R.); *anurāa=anurāga*; *juala=yugala*; *naara=nagara* (G.H.); *turaa=turaga* (G.R.); *nārāa=nārāca* (R.); *poiira=pracura* (H.); *vii=vici* (G.R.); *gaa=gaja*; *nia=nija*; *bhoāa=bhojana* (H.); *raaa=rajata* (R.); *kaanta=kṛtānta* (G.R.); *niamba=nitamba*; *rasāala=rasātala* (G.R.); *gaā=gadā* (R.); *pāa=pāda*; *maāa=madana* (H.R.); *hīaa=hṛdaya*; *niūa=nipuna* (H.R.); *riu=ripu*; *rūa=rūpa*; *alāu, lāi=alābū* (§141); *viūa=vibudha* (Hc.); *chāa=chāyā*; *pia=piya*, *vīa=viyoga* (H.R.); *jia=jiva*; *dīa=divasa*; *lāāa=lāvanya* (G.); *vaāa=vaḍavanala* (Hc.). Cf. §199.

1. These citations hold good for all the words for which no references have been given. Cf. also §184, note 1.

§187. In place of the consonants that have dropped off a weakly articulated *ya* (*laghuprayatnatara yakāra*, is uttered, that is indicated in this grammar by *ja* (§45; C. 3,35; Hc. 1,180; K1,3,2). Except in the MSS. written by Jainas this *ya* is not indicated. Hc. 1,180 teaches that it comes in between *a*, and *ā* only, but he recognises also *piyāi=piḍati* and 1,15 *sariyā=Pāli saritā=sarit*. Mk. fol. 14 adduces a quotation, according to which *jaśruti* occurs when one of the vowels is either an *a*- or an *i*-sound: *anādāv aditau varṇau paṭhitavyau yakāravat iti pāṭhaśikṣā*. In K1. *ja* is generally written only between *a*-sounds, as: 1 *sajalāṇa*, 9 *paṇḍā*, 10 *nāya*, *maṇḍyam pi* (sic), 11 *sajalam pi* (sic); on the other hand, it is mostly wanting after an *i*-sound. But the inscription is not uniform. Beside *ni'a* (9) stands *nia* (12); in 14 there is *iya* and in 13, *neya=naiva* also. The oldest M S. write *ja* after all vowels before *a*, *ā* in AMg. JM. JŚ., and for these dialects *ja* is a characteristic.¹ There are, therefore, the correct ways of writing, as *indiya=indriya*, *hiya=hṛdaya*; *giya=gita*; *dhiyā=dirghikā*; *roya=ruta*; *dūya=dūta*; *teya=tejas*; *loya=loka*. One says, however, only *ei=eti*; *loe=loke*; *dūo=dūtaḥ*, *uiya=ucita*, *uūim=*ṛtūni*. Numerous examples are found in the preceding and following paragraphs. The Jainas erroneously transfer this and other ways of writing from AMg. JM. JŚ. to other dialects too (§11.15).

1. HOFER, ZWS. 3,366; WEBER, Bhag. 1,397 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 4 f.; FISCHER, Hc. 1, p. x f.; on 1,180; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,447; JACOBI, ZDMG. 34,181; KZ. 23,295; STEINTHAL, Specimen p.3.

§188. Aspirates, except *ch*, *jh*, *th*, *dh*, generally become *h* between vowels (Vr. 2,27; Hc. 1,187; K1 2,14; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *muha=mukha* (G.H.R.)¹; *mehālā=mekhalā*; *sāhā=sākhā*; *jahāa=jaghana*; *meha=megha*; *rahunāha=raghunātha* (R.); *lahua=laghuka*; *aha=atha*; *jūha=yūtha*; *mahumaha=madhumathana*; *raha=ratha*; *ahara=adhara*; *ruhira=rudhira* (G.R.); *vahū=vaḍhū*; *sihu=sidhu* (G.H.); *sahara=śaphara* (G.); *sehālīa=śephalikā* (H.); *ahinava=abhinava*; *naha=nabhas* and *nakha*; *rahasa=rabhasa*; *sahā=sabhā* (R.); *seriha=sairibha* (G.H.). On *ph* see further especially §200.

In the initial syllable transition to *h* is just sporadic: *hammaī* (goes to) with the compounds *ñihammaī*, *ñihammaī*, *āhammaī*, *paḥammaī* (Hc. 4,162), *ñihammia* (gone out): (Deśin. 4,43), M. *paḥammanti* (G. 871 v.l.) = Pāli *ghammati*. The word has *h* already in Skt. and is attributed to the dialects of Surāṣṭra², by Haripāla on G. 871, to that of Kamboja. Dialectically initial *bh* has frequently become *h* in the root *bhū* and its compounds, which has probably resulted from the forms used enclitically. So AMg. JM. *havaī*, JS. *havadi*, M. JM. A. *hoi*, JS. *hodi* = *bhavati*, M. *huvanti* = *bhavanti*, PG. *hoja*, P. *huveyya* = *bhavet*, Mg. *huviadi* = **bhūyate*, Ś. *havissadi*, Mg. *haviṣṣadi* = *bhaviṣyati*, AMg. JM. *hojavva*, Ś. Mg. *hodavva*, Mg. *huvidavva* = *bhavitavya*, M. JM. *houm*, JS. *hodum* = *bhavitum* (§475.476.521,570). The Telugu recension of H. has pretty often *h* for *bh*: *haṭṭha* = *bhraṣṭa*; *hanida* = *bhaṇita*; *haniri* for *bhaṇiri*; *haṇḍaṇa* = *bhaṇḍaṇa*; *hamira* = *bhamira*; *hāā* = *bhrātā*; *huaga*, *huamga* = *bhujaga*, *bhujamga*; *humaā* for *bhumaā*; *hūsaṇā* = *bhūsaṇā*; *hea* = *bheda*; *hoṇa* = *bhojana*.³ On aspirates at the beginning of the second member of a compound see § 184.

1. Cf. §186, note 1.—Patanjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 9,26 ed. KIELHORN; Naighaṇṭuka 2,14 (p. 14,17 ed. Roth = 1,238 ed. SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMI); WEBER, IS. 13,363 f.; E. KUHN, Beiträge p.42.—3. WEBER, H. s.v.

§189. In PG. VG. all consonants, including the aspirates, with the exception of *bh* in *hoja* (§ 188), remain unchanged: PG. *ārakhādhikate gumike tūthike* = *ārakṣādhikṛtān gulmikān tīrthikān* (5,5); *udakādīm* (6,29); *jāmātukasa* = *jāmāṭṛkasya* (6,14); *nāganamdisa* = *nāganandinah* (6,25); *patibhāga* = *pratibhāga* (6,12); *mahārājādhirājo* (5,1); *appatihata* = *apratihata* (6,19); *varisasatasahasātireka* = *varṣasatasahasrātireka* (7,42); *āpiṭṭi* (6,8.37); *api* (6,37); *parihāpetavva* = *parihāpayitavya* (6,37); *paṃukhāṇaṃ* = *pramukhāṇam* (6,27.38); *uparilikhitaṃ* (7,44); *atha* (6,40); *tūthike* = *tīrthikān* (5,5); *assamedha* = *asvamedha* (5,1); *narādhamo* (7,47); *vasudhādhipataye* = *vasudhādhipatīn* (7,44); *°cchobham* = *kṣobham* (6,32); *vallabhamadena* (6,40). Exceptions are *kassava* = *kāśyapa* (6,18); *kāraveyyā* = Pāli *kārapēyya* (6,40); *anuvattāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati* (§184); *vi* = *api* (5,6;6,29); *bhaḍa* = *bhaṭa* (5,7;7,43); *koḍi* = *koṭi* (6,10); *kaḍa* = *kṛta* (7,51). Cf. BÜHLER, EI. 1,3 and §10.

§190. In P. most of the consonants are retained in the initial and medial syllables (Hc. 4,324; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12); *anekapa*; *makaraketu*; *sagaraputtavacana*; *vijayasenena lapitaṃ*; *pāṭaliputta*; *patākā*; *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307); *pāpa*; *āyudha*; *mukha*; *megha*; *sabhā*; *kamaṭha*; *maṭha*. In the initial and medial syllables *da* becomes *ta* (Hc. 4,307), according to Nāmisādhū, optionally: *tāmōtara* = *dāmōdara*; *tiṭṭha* = *ḍṛṣṭa* (Hc. 4,314, 321.323); *taṭṭhūna*, *taṭṭhūna* (Hc. 4,313.323); *tātisa* = *tāḍṛsa*, *yātisa* = *yāḍṛsa* (Hc. 4,317); *teti* = **dayati* (Hc. 4,318); *tevara* = *devara* (Hc. 4,324); *matana* = *madana*, *satana* = *sadana*, *patesa* = *pradeśa*, *vatanaka* = *vadanaka* (Hc. 4,307).—*tha* becomes *dh* according to Hc.: *adha* = *adha* (Hc. 4,323), *kadhītūna* = *kathitvāna* (Hc. 4,312); *pudhuma* = *prathama* (Hc. 4,316); *kadhām* = *katham* (Hc. 4,323); according to Nāmisādhū it is retained: *pathama* = *prathama*; *puṭhūvi* = *prthūvi*.

§191. In CP. remain, not only are the tenues retained as in P., but all medial, in the initial and medial syllables, are changed into tenues (Hc. 4,325; K1, 5,102)¹: *kakana* = *gagana*; *kiritaṭa* = *giritaṭa*; *khamma* = *gharma*; *khata* = *ghṛta* (§ 47); *cāta* = *jāta*; *cimūta* = *jimūta*; *chacchara* = *jharjhara*; *chamkālā* = *jhaṅkāra*; *ṭamaruka* = *ḍamaruka*; *ṭimba* = *ḍimba*; *ṭhakkā* = *ḍhakkā*; *tāmōtara* = *dāmōdara*; *thūli* = *dhūli*; *pālaka* = *bālaka*;

pisa=*bisa*; *phakavati*=*bhagavati*; *phūta*=*bhūta*; *nakara*=*nagara*; *mekha*=*megha*; *rāca*=*rājan*; *taṭāka*=*taḍāga*; *kāṭha*=*gāḍha*; *matana*=*madana*; *mathura*=*madhura*; *sāthu*+*sādhu*; *raphasa*=*rabhasa*. According to Hc. 4,325 and Kī. 5,103 the change takes place in secondary sounds too, as in *cacana*=Pkt. *jajana*=Skt. *yajana*; *paṭimā*=*paḍimā*=*pratimā*; *tāṭhā*=Pkt. *dāḍhā*=*daṁṣṭrā* (§76). According to Hc. and Kī. conjunct consonants too undergo the change: *tukkā*=*durgā*; *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *caccara*=*jarjara*; *nicchara*=*nirjhara*; *kaṇṭa*=*gaṇḍa*; *maṇṭala*=*maṇḍala*; *saṇṭha*=*ṣaṇḍha*; *kaṇṭappa*=*kandarpa*; *panthava*=*bandhava*; *ṭimpa*=*ḍimba*; *ramphā*=*rambhā*. Vr. 10,3 teaches that initial and conjunct consonants remain unaltered. Examples of this rule in Bh. are: *gakana*=*gagana*, against *kakana* in Kī.; *gamana*; *dasavatana*; *gopinta*=*govinda*; *saṅgāma*=*saṅgrāma*; *vaggha*=*vyāghra*, against *vakkha* in Hc. Of these *nt* in *gopinta* is against Vr., but it is in accord with Hc., Kī., as also the examples of Bh. for the inlaut *mekha*, *rāca*, *nicchara*, *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *saraphasa*, *salapha*=*śalabha*. Hc. 4,327 mentions that according to the opinion of other teachers the change does not take place in consonants in the initial syllable and in the root *yuj*: *gati*; *ghamma*, *ṣimūta*; *jhacchara*; *damaruka*; *dhakkā*; *dāmotara*; *bāḷaka*; *bhakavati*; *niyojita* against *niyocita* in 4,325. Doubtful is the treatment of *va*. Bh. has *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava*, but *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *dasavatana*=*daśa-vadana*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *vaggha*=*vyāghra*. In Hc. original *va* is consistently retained: *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *panthava*=*bāndhava*; *phakavati*=*bhagavati*; *vasuthā*=*vasudhā*. Kī. has 5,108 *pala*=*vana*, but 5,110 *vaṇṇa*=*varṇa*, and he retains it also in 5,107 *thvalati*=*dhvanati*, *thvalita*=*dhvanita*². Seemingly *pa* is to be written, unless, here too, different dialects have got mixed up promiscuously. Secondary *va*, that originated from *ya* (§254), has become *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya* (Sr. fol. 64), *hitapakā*=*hṛdayaka* (Vr. 10,14; Hc. 4,310; Kī. 5,112; Nāmisādhū on Rudrātā 2,12; Siṁha-devagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,3)³. Mk. has *pisesa*=*viśeṣa* (fol. 86), *kupa ci*=*kva cid*, *pisumaa*=*vismaya* (fol. 87) in the section on Kaikeyapaisācika. On *piva* see §336, on an analogous shifting in the Gipsy, Dardu and Kāfir languages see MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten (Wien 1874.1878 I.II.p.15ff.; IV. p. 51. Cf. §27 notes 7.8.

1. It has already been noted above, §27, that the grammarians do not sharply distinguish between P. and CP. In Vr. and Kī. by P. is clearly meant CP., while the rule for P. given in Hc. 4,304 on *rājan* is a characteristic of CP., since Hc. 4,304 has *rājā*, against *rācā*, *rācānaṁ* in Bh. 10,12 and 4,323 has *rājāṁ rājā*, against that 4,325 has *rācā* for CP. In Hc. 4,326 in CP. **aggalaggapātibimbam*, *luddam samuddā* are in accord with 4,327, on the other hand, **pātukkhevena* is to be corrected to **pena*.—2. So reads also the Paris manuscript according to LASSEN, Inst. p.441; cf., however, §243.—3. For the false reading *hitaakam* in Vr. (cf. v.l., where *va* has been wrongly read for *pa*) and in Kī. we have to read *hitapakam*.

§ 192. In A., according to Hc. 4,396, intervocalic *k,t,p* shift to *g,d,b* respectively instead of dropping off, and *kh,th,pha* become *gh,dh,bh* respectively instead of changing into *h* (§188). Examples of this rule are not very abundant: *khaagāli*=*kṣayakāle* (Hc.4,377); *nāagu*=*nāyakaḥ* (Hc. 4,427); *vicchahagaru*=*vikṣobhakaram* (Hc.4,396,1); *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc.4,396,2); *āgado*=*āgataḥ* (Hc.4,355.372); *karadi*, *ciṭṭhadi*=*karoti*, *tiṣṭhati* (Hc.4,360); *kīḷadi*=*kṛīḍati* (Hc.4,442,2); *kṛdantaho*=*kṛtāntasya* (Hc.4,370,4); *ghadadi*, *praḍvadi*, *ṭhido*=*ghaṭate*, *prajāpatiḥ*, *sṭhitaḥ* (Hc.4,404); *madi*=*matī* (Hc.4,372); *viṇimmavidu*, *kidu*, *radie*, *viḥidu*=*vinirmāpitam*, *kṛtam*, *ratyāḥ*, *viḥitam* (Hc.4,446); *gañjidu*, *maḷidu*, *harāvidu*, *bhāmīdu*, *himsīdu*=**gañjitam*(= *piḍitam*; Hc.4,409; cf. Ārya-saptaśatī 384.685; Gitagovinda 1,19), *marditam*, *hāritam* *bhrāmītam*, *him-*

ṣitam (Kk. 260,43ff.); *sabadhu*=*śapatham*, *kadhidu*=*kathitam*, *sabhalañ*=*saphalakam* (Hc. 4,396,3). By far in most cases A. follows the rules that are applicable to M.; A. of Piṅgala always does it except in the case of *madagala*=*madakala* (§ 202), so does Kālidāsa as well: hence this phonetic law can be considered to hold good just dialectically (§28).

§193. In lieu of dropping off of a consonant or of overstepping of some aspirates to *h*, there often occurs their reduplication. The aspirates are doubled by the corresponding non-aspirate sounds, so that when doubled they appear as *kkha*, *ggha*, *ccha*, *jjha*, *ṭṭha*, *ḍḍha*, *ṭṭha*, *ddha*, *ppha*, *bbha* (Vr. 3,51; C. 3,26; H. 2,90; Ki. 2,108; Mk. fol. 26). The preceding and the following paragraphs contain numerous examples. In PG. the doubled aspirates, in agreement with the method of writing of the other inscriptions, are partly written by means of the simple aspirates: *ārakhādhikate*¹ *ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5); *vadhanike*=*vardhanakān* (6,9); *dakhiṇa*=*dakṣiṇa* (6,28); *puṣpha*=*puṣpa* (6,34). The inscription, however, mostly follows the method of writing of manuscripts: *aggiṭṭhoma* [so to be read]=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1); *savattha*=*sarvatra* (5,3); *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5,4); *ēṭṭha*=*iṭṭhā* (5,7); *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6,8); *raṭṭhe*=*rāṣṭre* (6,27); *araṭṭha*=*arāṣṭra* (6,32); *veṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); *°cchobham*=*kṣobham* (6,32); *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34); *addhikā*=*ardhakāḥ* (6,39); *anuvaṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45); *vigghe*=*vighnān* (7,46); *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51). In *abhatthemi*=*abhyarthayāmi* we have both the methods of writing conjoined. In the manuscripts, that are in the Dravidian script from which the Nāgarī manuscripts have been transcribed, hence in the South Indian impressions too the aspirates like other consonants are either printed double or are mostly indicated as to be doubled by a small circle in the interval before the aspirate (a somewhat rare point): *aghgha*=or *aogha*=*aggha*=*arghya*; *abhbhatthāṇā* or *aobhaothaṇā*=*abhatthāṇā*=Skt. *abhyarthanā*; *vakhkhaththala* or *vaokhaothala*=*vakṣaṣṭhala*. *cha* and *dha* are most seldom written doubled; in relation to the other aspirates the manuscripts waver. In the Bengali manuscripts the doubling occurs very seldom; it is sometimes so also in older editions, as in that of Prabodhacandrodaya, Pūṇā śāke 1773 in some aspirates, such as *kha*, e.g. in *rakkkhaṣi*=*rākṣaṣi* (fol. 13^a); *gha*, e.g. in *ughghādiadi*=*udghātyate* (fol. 12^b); *ṭha*, e.g. in *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (fol. 19^b), *pha*, in *viphphuraṁta*=*viṣphurat* (fol. 16^b), *bha*, e.g. in *ṇibbhatsida* (sic!) for *ṇibbhacchida*=*nirbhartsita* (6^a). The edition writes in Sanskrit too *ujjhita* (fol. 13^a). Clearly it goes back to a South Indian text, since it often agrees with the Telugu edition of Madras. Sh. P. PANDIT has retained this orthography, strictly depending on his manuscripts, in his editions of Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaṣya in the case of all the aspirates, so that he too writes for example *puchchidum*, *diṭṭhim*, *ṇijjhānti*, *ṣiṇidhdham* (Mālav.5), *ubhbhinṇa*, *paththidā* (p.6) etc. also². Doubling also occurs in the manuscripts of Hālā and in isolated cases especially in *bha*, also in some Calcutta editions, of Jaina books, as in Paṇhāv. *khokkubhhamāṇa* (169.210); *pabbhatṭha* (216); *labbhā* (363.466); *vibbhama* (227.468); *abhbhunṇāya* (284); in Vivāgas. *tubbhim* (17); *tubbhama* (20.21); *ukkhatta* (214); *pāmo'kkham* (215), *pāmo'kkhānam*, *pāmo'kkhehim*, *abhbhūgae* (216); in Jiv. *sattakkhutto* (621), *dakkhiṇilla* (842), *savvabhhan-tarilla* (878f.), *°nakkhānam* (883.886.887), *majjhimiṇyā* (905ff.), *avaḍḍha* (1055f.) etc. This method of writing has merely orthographic, but not a phonetic meaning (§26).

1. So to be read; see LEUMANN, EI. 2.484.—2. Cf. PANDIT, Mālav. 2 (Bombay 1889) p. vf.—3. WEBER, Hālā 1 p. 26f.

§194. Instead of dropping off, or in the case of aspirates, becoming *h*, an intervocalic consonant is often doubled, if it originally stood before an accented vowel. Semivowels and nasals also undergo this doubling. So AMg. *ukkhā*=*ukhā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); AMg. *ujju*=*ṛjū* (§57); A. *ke'tthu*=*kathā* (§107); JM. *jitta*=*jīta* (Erz. 13,6); AMg. *nijjitta*=*nirjita* (Sūyag. 704); M. *nakka*, AMg. *nakka* beside *ṇaha*, *ṇaha*=*nakhā* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,212; Mk. fol. 27; Pāṇal. 109; H.R.; Uvās.); A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (§149); M. AMg. *ṇ'ḷlai*, *ṇallai*=*nuddāti* (§244); M. *phuṭṭai*=*sphuṭṭi* (Hc. 4,177,231; G.H.R.); A. *phuṭṭi*=*sphuṭṭeḥ* (Hc. 4,357,4), *phuṭṭisu*=*sphuṭṭi-syāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12); *phittai*=**sphittāti* (Hc. 4,177,370) beside *phuṭṭai*, *phidai*; *so'ḷlai*=*sūdayati* (§244); *hatta*=*hatā* in *ohatta*=*avahata* (bent downward; Deśin. 1,156), *pasuhatta*, *parasuhatta*=*parśuhata*, *paraśuhata* (tree; Deśin. 6,29); A. *duritta*=*duritā* (Piṅgala 2,17.35.43 [dūritā]). 186), *mālati*=*mālati'* (Piṅgala 2,113), *vratu*=*vratām* (Hc. 4,394). The same accent is to be assumed in the suffix *-ka* in M. *sisakka*=*śirśaka* (R. 15,30); *leḍukka*, *leḍhukka*=*leṣṭuka* (§304); M. JM. S. A. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (Hc. 2,138; R.; Erz.; Mālatim. 288,6; Bālar. 199,10; Priyad. 44,18 [so to be read with ed. Cal. 49,2]; Piṅgala 1,107.121.143^a.152^a [pā°; text *paika*]; 2,138)¹; Mg. *haḍakka*=**hrdaka* (§150; Vr.11,6; Ki.5,89 [text *hydakko*]; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *hladakko*); Mrcch. 79,11; 114,14.16.18; 115,23), in verses also *hajaka* (Mrcch. 9,25 [Sākāra] and *haḍaka* 30,21); Mg. *hagge*=**ahakah* (§142.417); *aakka* beside *aaga*=*ajaka* (demon; Deśin. 1,6)²; A. *kālikkā*=*kālikā* (Piṅgala 2,43); S. °*caccikka*=°*carika* (Mrcch. 73,15); A. *ṇāakka*=*nāyaka* (Piṅgala 1,34.57.116), *dīpakka*=*dīpaka* (Piṅgala 1,138), *rūakka*=*rūpaka* (Piṅgala 2,137), *sāraṅgikkā*=*sāraṅgikā* (Piṅgala 2,71 [sa°]. 187). Likewise in the suffix *-la* in AMg. *viuvitto*=*vikuroita* (Sūyag. 792.806), beside the usual *viuvīya*. According to the same rule is explained the duplication of °*la* in the suffixes *-alla*, *-illa*, *-ulla*=*alā*, *-ilā*, *-ulā* (§595). Against the rule, and according to analogy are formed A. *paṭmāvatti*=*pādmāvati* and *meṇakkā*=*meṇakā* (Piṅgala 1,116; 2,209). The doubling is frequent also after the long vowel, which is then shortened, as in *ēvvaṃ*=*evdm*; *kiddā*=*kriḍā*; *je'vva*=*evā*; *ne'dda*=*niddā*; *tuphikka*=*tūṣṇikā*; *te'llā*=*tailā*; *dugullā*=*ḍukūlā* etc. (§90).³ On the duplication of enclitics see §92ff. on *ṇihitta*, *vāhitta* §286.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT (Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1879,922), who is followed by WEBER (Hāla² p. xvii) and JACOBI [Erz. s.v.], wrongly derives the word from Persian, because of the large number of cases of duplication of the suffix *-ka* were not known to him. My derivation from *pādika* (GGA. 1881,1321) was also wrong, although linguistically that is unassailable — 2. Cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *ajaka*, and *perilladeva*=*asura* (Deśin. 6,55)=*daitya* (Triv. 1,4,121; cf. BB. 13,12). — 3. FISCHER, KZ. 35,140ff.; otherwise JACOBI, KZ. 35,575ff.

§195. If the conjunct consonants are separated by a separation vowel, they must be simplified or be treated according to § 186. 188. Sometimes, however, in this case one of them is doubled according to the rule holding good for conjunct consonants (§131): AMg. *sassiriya*, S. *sassiria*=*saśrika*; S. *sassiriadā*, *sassiriattana*=*saśrikatā*, **saśrikatvana* (§98.135)¹; *puruvva*=*pūva*; *murukkha*=*mūrka*; AMg. *riuvveya*=*ṛveda* (§139); S. *sakkānōmi*, *sakkuṇōmi*=*śaknōmi*; *sakkaṇōdi*, *sakkuṇōdi*=*śaknōti* (§140.505); AMg. *sakkiriya*=*sakriya* (Ovav. §30.II,4b; so to be read with the MSS.); AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla*, JM. *sukkiliya*=*śuklita* (§136). In JM. *namōkkāra*, M. A. *avarōppara*, M. AMg. JM. S. *parōppara*=*namaskāra*, *aparāspara*, *parāspara*, as has been changed into *o*, besides *ska* into *kka*, and *spa* into *ppa* (§306. 311.347). In M. AMg. *po'mma*=*pādma*, *po'mmā*=*pādmā*, M. S. *po'mmarā*=

padmarāga, *a* has become contracted with the udvṛtta vowel (§139.166), and yet in spite of this doubling has taken place.² On *-jja* for *-ya* see §91.

1. Kāvya prakāśa 72,11 is correct, *jaasirī*, like *jaasirī* (G. 243), since in line 10 *balāmoṭṭi* is to be read (§238.589). It is not, with WEBER, Hāla¹ A. 22; 2977, to be written as *jaasirī*.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 146f. On Pāli see FRANKE, GN. 1895.530.

§196. Consonant groups standing at the beginning of the second member of a compound may be treated as if they were initial and in that case they must be simplified (§268; Vr. 3,57; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,115; Mk. fol. 28); M. *vāraṇakhandha*=*vāraṇaskandha* (G.1200) beside *mahisakkhandha*=*mahiṣaskandha* (H. 561); M. *hatthaphaṇsa*=*hastasparsa* (H. 330) beside *hatthapphaṇsa* (H. 462); Ś. *añṇahida*=*anugrāha* (Mṛcch. 25,3) beside *pariggahida*=*parigrāha* (Mṛcch. 41,10); *ṇaigāma* beside *ṇaiggāma*=*naḍgrāma* (Bh.; Hc.); *kusumapaara* beside *kusumappaara*=*kusumaprakara* (Bh.; Hc.); *devathui* beside *devastuti* (Bh.; Hc.; Ki.); *āṇālakkhambha* beside *āṇālakkhambha*=*ālānastambha* (Bh.; Hc.); *harakkhandā* beside *harakkhandā*=*haraskandau* (Hc.). Doubling is, however, the rule, that is to say, the treatment, as if in the initial, and according to this analogy¹, not seldom, even a single consonant has been doubled at the beginning of a compound: Ś. *akkhāida*=*akkhāida* (Mṛcch. 55,15); *addamsaṇa*=*adarṣana* (Hc. 2,97); M. *addiṭṭha*=*adṛṣṭa* (G.H.R.); M. *addā*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya*=**āḍāpaka*² (mirror; Deśin. 1,14; Paṇḍ. 119; H.; Thān. 284; Paṇḍ. 435f.; Nandis. 471; Āv. 17,10. 14.15.16; Erz.); M. *pabbuddha*=*prabuddha* (R. 12,34); *abbuddhasirī*=*abuddhasirī* (Deśin. 1,42; Triv. 1,4,121); M. *akkhandia*=*akkhandita* (H. 689); M. *alliaī*, JM. *alliyāū*, AMg. *ualliyāi*, M. *samalliaī*, JM. *samalliyāi* (§474); M. JM. *allina* (G.H.R.); Āv. 14,23; 24,17; 26,28; Erz.). M. *aṇallina* (R.), *samallina* (H.) from *li* with *ā*, *upa*, *samā*³; *allivai*=*ālipāti*=*ālimpati* (Hc. 4,39); *avallāva*=*apālāpa* (Deśin. 1,38); A. *uddhabbhua*=*ūrdhvabhūja* (Hc. 4,444,3); *ōggāla* beside *oāla* for **ogāla* (rivulet; Deśin. 1,151)=**avagāla*, from *gal* with *ava*; AMg. *kāyaggirā*=*kāyagirā* (Dasav. 634,24); M. Ś. *teḷḷōḷka* (Bh. 1,35; 3,58; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27; R.; Dhūrtas. 4,20; Anarghar. 317,16; Karpas. 13,9,11; Mahāv. 118,3; Uttara. 64,8 [teḷḷoa]; Mallikām. 133,3), beside AMg. M. *teḷḷōḷka* (Grr.; G.; Paṇḍ. 2,178ff. [teḷḷō]; Dasav. N. 655,28; Uvās.; Kappas.)= *trailokya*, Mg. *pañcavyaṇa*=*pañcavyanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6); *paḍikkūla* (Hc. 2,97), beside the usual *paḍiūla*=*pratikūla*; M. *pabbala*=*prabala* (R.); *pammukka* (Hc. 2,97) beside the usual *pamukka*=*pramukta* (§566); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paravasa* (H.R.; Paṇḍ. 136; T. 6,14; Erz.; Lalitav. 554,5; Vikr. 29,12, v.l.; Nāgān. 50,13 v.l.), Mg. *palavasa* (Mallikām. 143,11; so to be read)=*paravasa*; AMg. *anuvasa*=*anuvasa* (Sūyag. 192); *pavvāai*=**pravayati*=*pravāti* (Hc. 4,18), M. *pavvāa*=*pravāta* (H.R.); M. *āṇāmeṭṭapphala*=*āṇāmātraphala* (R. 3,6); *ahinavadiṇṇapphala*=*abhinavaddattaphala* (R. 2,37); *pāvapphala*=*pādapaphala* (R. 9,4; cf. R. 12,12; 13,89; H. 576) *baddhapphala* beside *baddhaphala* (Hc. 2,97; Mk. fol. 29); JM. *bahupphala* (Ki. 2,116; Kk. 271,20), beside *bahuhala* (Ki. 2,116, cf. §200); AMg. *purisakkāra*=*puruṣakāra* (Vivāha. 67.68.125; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. Ovav.)⁴, as M. *sāhukkāra*=*sādhuakāra* (R.); AMg. *tahakkāra*=*tathākāra* (Thān. 566); JM. *bhattibbhara*=*bhaktibhara* (Kk. 269,14); M. *maṇikkhaia*=*maṇikkhacita* (Mṛcch. 41,2); M. *malaasiharakkhaṇḍa*=*malayaśikharakkhaṇḍa* (Hc. 2,97=R. 8,69); M. *vaṇṇagghaa*=*vaṇṇaggha* (H. 520); A. *vijjajjhara*=*vidyādharma* (Vikr. 59,5; see §216); A. *vipphakka*=*vipakṣa* (Piṅgala 1,138^a); AMg. *sakaḍabbhi*, *sagaḍabbhi*=*svakṛtābhid* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4); M. *sajjia*=*sajjiva* (R. 1,45), *sattaṇha*=*satṛṣṇa* (R. 1,46), *sappivāsa*=

sapipāsa (Hc. 2,97; R.3,21), *sesapphaṇa*=*sesaphaṇa* (R. 6,19; cf. 6,63.69.72; 7,59; 9,14.34.45), *paṇḍurappheṇa* (R.8,9; cf. 8,49; 13,24.53.66); AMg. JŚ. *saccitta*=*sacitra* (Dasav. 622,39; Kattig. 403,379). In °*kkāra*, the words beginning with *kkha* and °*pphala*, the doubling is to be ascribed perhaps to an original *s*, in many other cases the duplication is purely metrical, and certainly also in M. *tanullaā* (Karp. 27,12), beside the usual *tanulaā*=*tanulatā*, AMg. *rāga-ddosa* (Uttar. 707; Dasav. N.653,6), beside the usual *rāgadoṣa* (§129), JŚ. *kuddiṭṭhi*=*kudrṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,318; 400,323), beside and influenced by *saddiṭṭhi*=*sadrṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,317.320) and so on.

1. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,147ff.—2 So more correctly than BB. 3,247, as JM. *addāga* proves. On the contraction cf. §165, on *dāvai* §554. Incorrect WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; on Hāla² 4.204.—3 So more correctly than BB. 13,10f.; cf. KZ. 35,149.—4. Incorrectly explain HOERNLE (Uvās.; Transl. p. 111, note 254) and LEUMANN (WZKM. 3,345) these words as analogous formation according to *balakkāra*=*balātkāra*. It could, with equal justification, be explained as having been formed according to *sakkāra*=*satkāra*.

§197. In many cases the duplication of consonants may be explained from a word-formation or a flexion deviating from Skt. So in *katto*=*kutaḥ* from **kattah*=*kad*+*taḥ*; *jatto*=*jad*+*taḥ*; *tatto*=*tad*+*taḥ*; *aṇṇatto*=*anyad*+*taḥ*, on the analogy of which are formed *atto*=*dtah*; *eḥkatto*=*ekataḥ*; *savatto*=*sarvataḥ* and probably also *itto*=*itdh*, which, however, might have its duplication quite regular according to §194. *etto*=**etataḥ* is derived from *eta*=*etad*+*taḥ*, as *aṇṇo* from *anya*=*anyad*+*taḥ* according to §339 and with elision of *a* according to §148. On *to* see §142¹. The majority of the verbs of the fourth and sixth classes of Skt. has, according to the phonetic laws of Pkt., doubling as its consequence, as in *alliai* (§196); *phuṭṭai*, *phiṭṭai* (§194); *kukkaḥ*, *koḥkai*=**krukyati*; *callai*=**calyati*=*calati*; *ummillai*=**ummilyati*=*unmilati*; *Š. ruccadi*=**rucyate*=*rocate*; *laggai*=**lagyati*=*lagati*; *Š. vajjadi*=**vajjati*=*vrajati* (§487.488)². From the derivation of nouns from the present stems are explained the cases, like *oalla* (shivering, departure; Deśin. 1,165; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,8)=**apacalya*; cf. *oallanti*, *oallanta-* (R.); *ujjalla* (Hc. 2,174 [so to be read; see translation p. 89]; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,7), *oḥjalla* (Deśin. 1,154) "strong", *ujjallā* (violence; Deśin. 1,97) from **ujjvalya*; *koḥppa* (agitation; Deśin. 2,45; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 6,104) from *kupya-*; *sivvi* (needle; Deśin. 8,29; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,260), *sivviṇi* (Deśin. 8,29) from *siṇya*³.

1. Examples in §425ff. Cf. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,149. Somewhat deviating S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35,578; wrong is also LEUMANN, *Aup. S.* s.v. *tatto*, who considers the duplication as purely metrical.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 13,8ff.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 6,86.

§198. Transition of *tenues* into *mediae* is the rule with *cerebrals*, when they stand unconnected within a word and between vowels; *t* becomes *ḍ* and *th* becomes *dh* (Vr. 2,20.24; Hc. 1,195.199; Ki. 2,10.18; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *kaḍaa*=*kaṭaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *kuḍumba*=*kuṭumba* (G.H.); *ghaḍia*=*ghaṭita*; *caḍula*=*caṭula*; *taḍa*=*taṭa*; *paḍala*=*paṭala*; *viḍava*=*viṭapa*.—*kaḍhina*=*kathina* (G.H.); *kaḍhinattana*=**kathinatvana* (R.); *kamaḍha*=*kamaṭha* (G.H.); *paḍhai*=*paṭhati* (H.); *piḍha*=*piṭha* (G.); *haḍha*=*haṭha* (G.). This change occurs exceptionally also in PG. in *bhaḍa*=*bhaṭa* and *koḍi*=*koṭi* (§189). According to Hc. 1.195 sometimes *t* remains, as in *aṭai*=*aṭati*, which must be a false reading.

1. Cf. §184, note 1; §186, note 1.

§199. Instead of dropping off (§186), *p* mostly becomes *v*¹, not *b*, except dialectically in A. (§192), as was generally assumed formerly (Vr. 2,15;

Hc. 1,231; Kī 2,8; Mk. fol. 16. M. āva=ātapa (G.H.R.)², uvala=upala (G.); kova=kopa; cāva=cāpa; niva=ṇpa (R.); diva=dīpa; pāva=pratāpa; vivina=vipina (G.); savaha=śapatha (H.); sāva=śvāpada (G.R.). Exceptionally in PG. too in *añuwaṭṭhāveti*, *kassava*, *kāraṇeṭṭhā*, *vi* (§189). On *va* for initial and secondary *pa* see §184. According to Hc. 1,231 euphony determines the elision or the transition to *v*. According to Bh. on Vr.2,2 and Mk.fol.14 this is the determinative, especially for the dropping off of all the sounds mentioned in §186.³ Usually *p* becomes *v* before *a*, *ā*, but on the other hand, drops off before *u*, *ū*; before other vowels the usage wavers. Jaina MSS. often wrongly write *b* for *v*.

1. COWELL, Vararuci² p. xiv; FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 52; Academy 1873, p.398; Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p.317; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,512 note ***.—2. Cf. §184, note 1 and §186, note 1.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 2,231.

§200. According to Vr. 2,26 in the medial syllable, between vowels, *ph* always becomes *bh*. Bh. gives as examples : *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*=*śapharī*; *sabhalaṃ*=*saphalam*. Mk. fol. 16 limits this transition to the gaṇa *śiphādi*, in which he reckons : *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhā*=*śepha*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; he cites also *sabharī*=*śapharī* as used by somebody.¹ Kī. 2,16 teaches *bh* for *śiphā* and *śaphara*. Hc. 1,236 allows *bh* and *h*; he teaches *bh* for *rebha*=*repha* and *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *h* for *muttāhala*=*muktāphala*; *bh* and *h* beside one another for *sabhala*, *sahala*=*saphala*; *sebhāliā*, *sehāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*, *saharī*=*śapharī*; *gubhāi*, *guhāi*=*guphāi*. So far as our documents on the whole allow us to the present day to determine the words, we have throughout *h*, or at the beginning of the second member of a compound also *ph*. Thus M. JM. *Ś. muttāhala*=*muktāphala* (G.; Karp.73,9;72,3;73,2;Erz.); M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp.2,5;100,5); M. *sahara*, *saharī* (G.); M. *Ś. sehāliā* (H.; Mṛch. 73,9 [so with v.l. to be read]; Priyad. 11,1;12,3;13,16); *Ś. cittaphalaa*=*citrāphalaka* (e.g. Mṛch. 57,3; 59,7;69,19; Śak. 125,7;133,8;134,4;142,11; Vikr. 24,18; Ratn. 298,4;303,19; Mālatim. 127,11); *bahuhala* (Kī. 2,116); *Ś. bahuphala* (Vikr. 45,13), *saphala* (Mālav. 44,1;46,11), *saggaphala*=*svargaphala* (Prab. 42,5); Mg. *paṇasaphala* (Mṛch. 115,20) etc. On A. see §192, on °*pphala*, §196. In what relation *phumai* and *bhumai*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4,161) stand to one another cannot be said. Dravidian MSS. write *bhaṇ* (to speak) in Skt. and Pkt. very frequently *phaṇ* (cf. e.g. Vikr. ed. FISCHER 622,10 v.l., 17.18 v.l.; 639,8 v.l.; Mallikām. 83,4). Cf. §208.

1. The MS. reads *saparir yāsaur* (or *yāsaur*) *ityādyaṇi kaścit*.

§201. *b* in the inlaut, between vowels, becomes (Hc.1,237): M.AMg. JM. *Ā. Ś. D. A. kalevara*=*kalebara* (G.R.; Vivāhap. 1303 [°*de*°]. 1390 [°*de*°]; Rāyap. 142 [°*de*°]; Erz.; Mṛch. 148,22.23; Piṅgala 1,86^a; Hc. 4,365,3), Mg. *kalevala* (Mṛch.168,20); M. AMg. *Ś. Mg. A. kavala*=*kabala* (G.H.; Śak. 85,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Mṛch. 69,7; Hc. 4,289.387,1); M. JM. *A. kavandha*=*kabandha* (R.; Erz. [text °*ba*°]; Piṅgala 2,230); AMg. *kiliva*=*kliba* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *chāva*=*śāba* (§211); M. *thavaa*=*stabaka* (R.), AMg. *thavaīya*=*stabakita* (Vivāhap.41; Ovav.); M. *dāva*=*Marāṭhī*, *dābṇem* (Śak.55,16)¹; M. JM. *sava*=*śāba* (G.; Āv.36,34); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. savara*=*śābara* (G. [text °*ba*°]; Vivāhap. 246 [text °*vva*°]; Panhāv. 41 [text °*ba*°]; Pannav. 58; Erz.; Pras. 134,6.7 [text °*ba*°]), M.AMg. *savari* (G. [text °*ba*°]; Vivāhap. 792 [text °*ba*°]; Nāyādh. §117 [text °*ba*°]; Ovav. §55 [text °*ba*°]; M. *savala*=*śābala* (H.); AMg. JM. *siviṇā*=*śibikā* (§165); JM. *sivira* (Erz. [text °*bi*°]), Mg. *śivila* (Lalitav. 565,6.8)=*śibira*². More rarely *b* drops out as in AMg. *alāu*, *alāuya*, *lāu*, *lāu*, *lāuya* beside *Ś. alāvū*=*alābū*, *alābu* (§141); *ṇiandhana*=*nibandhana* (dress; Deśin. 4,38; Triv. 1,4,121)³;

viuha (Hc.1,177), beside JM. *vibuha* (Erz.) = *vibudha*. — *v* very often is retained, especially between *a*-sounds. As in the case of *p* (§199), in its case as well the euphony determines the question.

1. Accordingly the remark on Śak. 55,16, p. 184 has to be amended. — 2. As the examples show, the Jaina manuscripts especially very often write *b* for *v*, which is not, as JACOBI (Erz. §20, 2d., p. xxviii) assumes supported phonetically, but is simply an error of transcription. Likewise they sometimes write *b* instead of *v* in the initial syllable. (E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 29). In the Lalitav., as in the MSS., with the exception of those in the Dravidian script, only *v* is written, even in places, where *b* should stand. Cf. also §45, note 3.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13,8.

§202. Except in the cases mentioned in §192. 198-200, the transition of tenues to mediae and vice-versa (§190.191) is just isolated and dialectical. Instead of dropping off, *k* in AMg. JŚ. JM., very frequently between vowels, becomes *g*, especially in the case of the suffix *-ka* (Hc.1,177): AMg. JM. *asoga* = *asoka* (e.g. Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; [read *asoga* in the Glossary]; Erz.); JM. *asoga* (Āv. 8,2,32); AMg. JM. *āgāsa* = *ākāsa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 21,15); AMg. *egamega* = *ekaika* (§353); AMg. JM. *kulagara* = *kulakara* (Kappas.; Āv. 46,20,22); AMg. JM. *jamagasamaga* = *yamakasamaka* (Uvās. §148.153; Kappas. §102; Ovav. §52; Āv. 17,15); AMg. JM. JŚ. *loga* = *loka* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,1,3,2; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; 387,25), JŚ. *logālogam* (Pav. 382,23) beside *lojālojam* (Kattig. 398,302); AMg. *sāgapāgāe śākapākāya* (Sūyag. 247.249), *silogagāmi* = *ślokakāmin* (Sūyag. 497); AMg. JŚ. *appaga* = *ātmaka* (Sūyag. 188; Pav. 385,66.68); JŚ. *maṇsuga* = *śmaśruka* (Pav. 386,4); AMg. *phalaga* = *phalaka* (Sūyag. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.); JM. *tilagacoḍḍasaga* = *tilakacaturdaśaka* (Āv. 17,1; 37,29; 38,24). For these dialects even the frequent retention of *g*, instead of dropping off, is a characteristic. Transition of *ka* into *ga* occurs in an isolated manner in other dialects too. Thus Mg. throughout *hage*, *hagge* = **ahakak* (§142.194.417); further *śāpaga* = *śrāvaka* (Mudrār. 175,1,3; 177,2; 178,2; 183,5; 185,1; 190,10; 193,1 [so to be read]), as also at Prab. 46,13; 47,7 *śāvagā*, 58,15 *śāvagī*, for *śāvakā*, *śāvakā*, *śāvakī*, *śāvakī* of the text, have to read, corresponding to AMg. JM. *sāvaga* (e.g. Uvās.; Erz.). Cf. §17. Further *ka* has become *ga* in M. A. *maragaa*, AMg. JM. *maragāya*, Ś. *maragada* = *marakata* (Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,8; 69,8; Sūyag. 834; Paṇnav. 26; Uttar. 1042; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 13,43; Mṛcch. 71,1 [read **gada*]; Karp. 53,2; 59,1; 61,7,8; 62,11; Mallikām. 201,13; [read **gada*]; Hc. 4,349), wrongly *maraa* (Acyutaś. 43) and *marāada* (Kī. 2,28). According to Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14 *ka* becomes *ga* in *mada-kala* also; a mention should be made here of A. *madagala* (Piṅgala 1,64; Hc. 4,406,1), where it can be explained according to §192. In M. occurs also *pāgasāsana* = *pākaśāsana* (G.380). On *geṇdua* see §107. *-kha* has become *gh* in AMg. *āghāvei* = *ākhyāpaya*, *āghavaṇā* = *ākhyāpanā* (§88.551), and in *nighasa* = *niḥsa* (§206). In *ahilaṅkhaī*, *ahilaṅghaī* (wishes; Hc. 4,192) we cannot decide with certainty whether *kh* or *gh* is original. Dialectically *ca* has become *ja* in *piśāji* = *piśācī* (Hc. 1,177). Reversely *ca* appears for *ja* in M. Ś. *cakkhā* (eats; Vr. Appendix A. p. 99, Sūtra 20)¹, M. *cakkhia* (tasted; Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; A. 605), *acakkhia* (H. 917), *cakkhanta* (H. 171), Ś. *cakkhia* (absol.; Nāgān. 49,5), *cakkhijanta* (correctly *cakkhianta*; Candak. 16,16)² from *jakṣa*; *maccā* beside *majjā* = *mādyati* from *mad* (Hc. 4,225); A. *raccasi* = *vajjase* from *raj* (Hc. 4,422,23); M. JM. *vaccā* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; Kī. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), Ā. *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 99,17 [so to be read]; 100,19; 101,7; 148,8; D. *vaccā* (Mṛcch. 100,15 [so to be read]), *vacca*, *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 105,4,9), beside Dh. *vajjadi*, Ś. *vajjamha*, Mg. *vayyeṇti* (§488)³. To *vaccā* belongs also AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* (§163.

590), which strictly corresponds to Skt. *pratītya*, by which the scholiasts mostly explain it,⁴ and A. *vicca* (road; Hc. 4,421).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,387; ZDMG. 28,391.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,258, where I refer to the New Indian dialects.—3. *vacca* is perhaps a denominative from *vṛātya*=**vṛātyati* and *vajjai*, from *vrajyā*=**vrajyati*. In that case *cca* would be phonetically quite regular.—4. Wrongly WEBER, Bhag. 1,381; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 21.

§203. The assumption that in AMg. and JM. every *ta* may¹ either remain or drop off, or that between two vowels, of which the second one is *i*, *t* may be introduced² is erroneous. As already suspected by WEBER³ all these cases are to be credited to the account of the scribes, who have very often adopted Skt. forms in the text, just as the Jainas, from an orthographical point of view, generally commit the clumsiest blunders against the dialects.⁴—*ta* becomes *da* and *tha* becomes *dha* in JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh., dialectically also in A. (§192). So JŚ. *vandida*, *dhoda*=*vandita*, *dhauta* (Pav. 379,1); *sam̐pajjadi*=*sam̐padyate*, *bhamadi*=*bhramati*, *pe'echadi*=*prekṣate* (Pav. 380,6; 380,12; 384,48); *bhūdo*, *jādi*=*bhūtaḥ*, *yāti* (Pav. 381,15); *ajadhāgahidatthā ede*=*ayathā-grhītārthā ete* (Pav. 389,1); *devadajadi*=*daivatayati* (Pav. 383,69); *tasaghāda*, *karadi*, *kārayadi*, *icchadi*, *jāyade*=*trasaghāta*, *karoti*, *kārayati*, *icchatī*, *jāyate* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *adidhi*=*atithi* (Śak. 18,1,8; 20,5; 23,9; 71,12); Ś. *kadhehi*, *kadhesu*=*kathaya*, *kathedu*=*kathayatu*, Mg. *kadhedī*=*kathayati* (§ 490); Ś. *cūdaladiam*=*cūtalatikām* (Śak. 119,9); JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. *jadhā*, Mg. *yadhā*=*yathā*, JŚ. *tadha*; Ś. Mg. *tadhā*=*tathā* (§113); *pāridosia*, Mg. *pāidosia*=*pāritosiḥa* (Śak. 117,1,5); JŚ. *havadi*, *hodi*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodi*=*bhavati* (§475.476); Ś. *sāadam* (Mṛcch. 3,6; 59,19; 80,7; 86,25; 94,22; Śak. 56,4; 80,3), Mg. *sāadam* (Mṛcch. 113,7; 129,18)=*svāgatam*; Dh. *jūdiala*=*dyūtakara* (§25), *jūda*=*dyūta* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 34,25 [so with v.l. to be read]; 35,5 [similarly]; 39,17), *palivevida*=*parivapita* (Mṛcch. 30,7), *vajjadi*, *dhāledi*, *bhaṇādi*, *jiṇādi*=*vrajati*, *dhārayati*, *bhaṇati*, *jayati* (Mṛcch. 30,10; 34,9.12.22); Ś. Dh. *sam̐padam*=*sam̐pratam* (Mṛcch. 6,22; 17,19; 18,23; Śak. 25,2; 30,4; 67,12. etc.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9; 32,8), Mg. *sam̐padam* (Mṛcch. 16,20; 32,2.4.5, 38,19; 99,11 etc.). On Dh. *māthuru*=*māthuraḥ* see §25.—Vr. 12,3 and Mk. fol. 66f. require for Ś. (and with it for Mg.) the transition into *da*, *dha*; Hc. 4,260.267 and the grammarians following him desire *da*; they, however, wrongly allow *ha* as well beside *dha*.⁵ In JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. original *da* and *dha* very often remain instead of dropping off, or of being changed into *ha* [Ki.5,71; Mk. fol. 66]. *kada tti*=*kr̥teti* in PG. 7,51 is a printer's error in the transcription for *kāda tti*. On *pidham*, *pudham* beside *piham*, *puham*=*pr̥thak* see §78. On Ā.D. see §26.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 20,1, note 2.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, 5; cf. STEINTHAL, Specimen p. 2.—3. Bhag. 1,400; cf. IS. 16,234f.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. p. xviii. The handwriting shows that in cases like *tavaṇijjamatiu kapagamatiu pulakāmatiū riṣṭhāmatiū vairāmatiū* (Jiv. 563), *t* is absurd. Likewise it is unthinkable that in one and the same dialect beside one another have been used *bhavati* and *bhaṇati*, *bhagavatā* and *bhagavayā*, *mātarāṇi* and *piyarāṇi* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and so on, especially when nowhere have all the MSS. *t*. When in the future *ehi* is used, it presupposes *ehi* and not *ehiti*, as occurs in Āyār. 2,4,1,2 (§529). Not quite correctly, therefore, LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,340. With the exception of Uvās. all the texts in AMg. JM. are full of numberless errors. Cf. §349.—5. On Ś. see FISCHER, KB. 8,129 ff.—The following and preceding paragraphs give numerous examples. Cf. also §22-25.

204. Vr. 2,7; Ki. 2,28; Mk. fol. 15 teach that in M. also in a number of cases *ta* becomes *da*. They have collected these in the *gaṇa r̥tōdi*. Bh. reckons in it : *udu*=*r̥tu*; *raada*=*rajata*; *āada*=*āgata*; *ṇivvudi*=*niroṇṇi*; *āudi*=*āvṇi*; *saṇvudi*=*saṇṇi*; *suidi*=*sukṇi*; *āidi*=*ākṇi*;

hada=*hata*=*sañjada*=*sañyata*; *viuda*=*viorta*; *sañjāda*=*sañyāta*; *sampadi*=*samprati*; *paḍivaddi*=*pratipatti*. In Ki. and Mk. the gaṇa is ākṛtigāṇa. Ki. reckons under it *ṛtu*, *rajata*, *āgata*, *nirvṛta*, *surata*, *marakata*, *sukṛta*, *sañyata*, *viṛti*, *pravṛti*, *āvṛti*, *ākṛti*, *vidhṛti*, *sañhṛti*, *niṣṛti*, *niṣṛti*, *sānpatti*, *sānpatti*, *pratipatti*, *śruta*, *khyāti*, *tāta*, *sānpṛatam*. Mk. adduces:—*ṛtu*, *rajata*, *tāta*, *sañyata*, *kirāta* (as *cilāda*), *sañhṛti*, *susañgata*, *kratu*, *samprati*, *sānpṛatam*; *kṛti* and *vṛti*, when provided with a prefix, as *ākṛti*, *vikṛti*, *prakṛti*, *upakṛti*, *apavṛti*, *āvṛti*, *parivṛti*, *nirvṛti*, *sañvṛti*, *viṛti*; *āvṛta*, *parivṛta*, *sañvṛta*, *viṛta*, *prabhṛti* [MS. *padudī*]; *vṛata*. Mk. permits the transition, as optional, in the following sūtra in *surata*, *hata*, *āgata*, etc. (*ityādi*). Hc. 1,209 indulges in a polemic against this view. The phonetic change suits Ś. Mg., but not M.; though it occurs once in M. it is a case of dialectical confusion.³ In R. *udu* occurs without a variant (1,18;3,29;6,11;9,85), never *uu*. False reading is *udu* for *uu* in AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,2,6; Thāp. 527). Furthur R. has *maḷadā*, beside *paḍiā* (3,31); *vivaṇṇadā*, *rāmādo* in the same strophe with *araṭ*, *seummi* (8,87); similarly *mandodari* in the compound *mandodarisuadūmiavāṇaraparīso*^o, that is with a retained *d* and three elided *ts*. The same occurs otherwise too, especially in the gāthās of the dramas, as *māladi* instead of *mālāi*=*mālāti* (Lalitav. 563,2); *odaṃsanti*=*avataṃśayanti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 4,10); *ladāo*=*latāḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 53,7; without v.l.; cf. v.l. 85,3 ed. PISCHEL and 84,15 of the Kashmir recension, ed. BURKHARD); *uvaṇāidavvo*=*upanetavyaḥ* (Mālav. 23,3; without v.l.); *uvaṇide*=*upanite* (H. 827); *hodu* beside *hoi* (H. 878); *kādum*=*kartum* (Hc. 924); *haṇidā*=*bhaṇitā* (H. 963) etc. All the examples from H. occur in the Telugu recension. When Hc. declares such forms to be false in M., there is no reason for seeing in them, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT², “puristic prohibitions”. Rather, we have here cases of errors against the dialect, as conversely in the MSS. forms of M. are given times without number in Ś. The information in Vr. Ki. Mk. in no way relate to M. Especially striking are *paḍivaddi* (Bh.), for which perhaps we have, with AC, to read *paḍivatti*, in spite of the remarkable *d* for *ḍ*, and *nivaddi* (sic), *nippadi* (sic), *sānpaddi*, *paḍipaddi* (Ki.), which perhaps rest only on a misunderstanding. On AMg. *adu*, *adu vā*, see §155, note 5.

1. PISCHEL, Vikr. p. 614f.—2. Rāvaṇavaho, p. xvii; cf. also R. 13,97. p. 309, note 4.

§205. In the initial and medial syllables, Pkt., deviating from Skt., has often aspirates, which according to §188 mostly become *h*. The cause of aspiration is not the same everywhere. In no case is the mere proximity of an unconnected *r* or *s* or of a connected *r* the reason, as has generally been assumed.¹ In *tenuēs*, *nasals*, and *la*, the aspiration generally goes back to a sibilant, that originally stood before them and has disappeared from Skt.² The original sound groups *ska*, *sta*, *spa*, *sna*, *sma*, give in the initial syllable, according to §306—313, *kha*, *tha*, *pha*, *ṇha*, *mha*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 197f. 251; JACOBI, Erz. §21,2 p. xxviii Cf. PISCHEL, BB. 3,253.—

2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §320.231.

§206. In the initial syllable Skr. *ka* appears as *kha*, often in the beginning of the second member of a compound, as *ha*, as in the medial syllable. JM. *khaṇḍharā*=*kaṇḍharā* (Mk. fol. 17; Erz. 1,17), but M. Ś. *kaṇḍharā* (G.; Mallikām. 192,22;201,7;220,20); *khappara*=*karpara* (Hc. 1,181); AMg. *khasiṇya*=*kasita* (Hc. 1,181), *khāsiṇya*=*kāsita* (Hc. 1,181; Nandis. 380); AMg. JM. *khiṇkhiṇi*=*kiṇkiṇi* (Panhāv. 514; Rāyap. 109.129. 142; Jiv. 349 [text *khaṇ*]. 443; Nāyādh. 948 [text *khaṇ*]; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); *sakhiṇkhiṇi* (Jiv. 468; Āv. 35,25), *khiṇkhiṇi* ‘a’=*kiṇkiṇika* (Uvās.), *sakhiṇkhiṇiya* (Nāyādh. §93; p. 769.861 [text *kha*],

but M. Ś. *kiṅkiṇī* (Pāṇyā. 273; G.; Viddhaś. 56,1; Karp. 55,7; 56,4; 102,1; Veṇṣ. 63,10; Bālar. 202,14; Ś. Karp. 17,6; Mālatim. 201,6), Ś. *kiṅkiṇīā=kiṅkiṇikā* (Viddhaś. 117,3); AMg. *khīla=kīla* in *indakhīla=indrakīla* (Jiv. 493; Ovav. §1), beside JM. *indakīla* (Dvār.); *khīlaa=kīlaka* (Hc. 1,181); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja=kubja* "hump-back" (Vr. 2,34; Hc. 1,181; Ki. 2,40; Mk. fol. 17; Pāṇyā. 155; H.; Antag. 22; Aṇuog. 250; Jiv. 87; Nāyādh. §117; p. 832.837; Paṇṇav. 428; Paṇhāv. 78.523; [text *kujja*]; Vivāgas. 226; Vivāhap. 791.964; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 21,5,13; Erz.; Śak. 31,16; Mālav. 70,8; Pras. 44,1ff.), AMg. *ambakhujja* = *ām-rakubjaka* (Vivāhap. 116), *khujjatta=kubjatva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), *khujjiya=kubjita* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); but in the meaning "achyranthes aspera" *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; Mk. fol. 17), AMg. *kōjja* (Kappas. §37), *kujjaya* (Paṇṇav. 32); *khuddā* (co-habitation; Deśin. 2,75); *samkhuddā* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168) from *kurd, kūrđ*; cf. *khurd, khūrd* (Dhātupāṭha 2,21)¹; AMg. JM. *khēḍḍa*; A. *khēḍḍaa* (§90); *khedḍā* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168); *khēḷlanti* (they play; Hc. 4,382), JM. *khēḷḷāveṇṇa* (Erz.), *khēḷḷa* (Erz.), AMg. *khēḷḷāvaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,13); Ś. *kheladi* (Mudrār. 71,4; Viddhaś. 27,5), *khelidum* (Mudrār. 71,3; 81,2), *khelana* (Viddhaś. 58,6; Mallikām. 135,5), A. *khelanta* (Piṅgala 1,123^a), *khēḷḷia* (laughter; Deśin. 2,76) from the root *krid*²; AMg. *khutto*, M. *huttam=kr̥tvaḥ* (§451); *khuluha=kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāṇyā. 250; cf. §139); M. *nihasa=nikāṣa* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186.260; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.R.), AMg., with transition in the media according to §202, *nighasa* (Vivāhap. 10; Rāyap. 54; Uvās.; Ovav.), M. *nihasaṇa=nikāṣaṇa* (G.H.R.)³; cf. *khaṣ* beside *kaṣ* (Dhātupāṭha 17,35); A. *vihasanti=vikasanti* (Hc. 4,365,1). Corresponding to the Skt. suffix *-bha*, (WHITNEY¹ §1199) Pkt. has a suffix *-kha*, which occurs in A. *ṇavakhī=navakī* (Hc. 4,420,5). Mk. fol. 37 teaches that without change of meaning *ha* may appear (*svārthe ca haś ca*); *puttaha=putraka*; *ekaha=ekaka*. To this again may be added *kaḥ svārthe: puttahaa*. This *-kha, -ha* occurs in AMg. *khahayara, khahacara=*khakacara=khacara* (bird; Āyār. 2,3,3,3; Sūyag. 825; Aṇuog. 265.408.449; Jiv. 71,83.86.117ff. 317.319.323; Nāyādh. 1179; Paṇṇav. 47.54.55.302.593ff.; Samav. 132; Thāp. 121f.; Vivāhap. 472.479.522f.526.1285.1535; Vivāgas. 50.108.187.204f.; Uttar. 1072.1078f.; Ovav. §118), *khahacari* (female bird; Thāp. 121f.)⁴; Mg. *vacāhaganthī sugudāha-sunthī=vacākāgranthīh sugudakaśunthī* (Mṛcch. 116,25; cf. §70); M. *chāhā, chāhi=*chāyākā* (§255); AMg. *phalaha=phalaka* (Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.), and with doubled suffix *phalahaga* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Ovav.), which has gone into Skt. as *phalahaka*; beside AMg. *phalaga* (Āyār. 2,2,1,6; 2,3,1,2) Uvās.; Ovav.) and *phalaya* (Āyār. 2,7,1,4); M. AMg. Ś. *phaḷiḥa=sphaṭika* (Vr. 2,4,22; Hc. 1,186.197; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 253; Rāyap. 33; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 68,18; 69,1; Vikr. 39,2; 66,13; Mālav. 63,1; Nāgān. 54,12; Karp. 54,1; Viddhaś. 25,9; 28,5; 74,7), JM. *phaliḥamaya* (Erz.), beside AMg. *phāliya* (Nāyādh. §102; Ovav. [§38]; Kappas. §40), *phāliyamaya* (Paṇṇav. 115; Samav. 97; Ovav. §16, p. 31,19), Ś. *phadīa* (Ratn. 318,30; Pras. 10,20; probably to be read *°liā* §238); *phaḷihagiri=sphaṭikagiri*=Kailāsa (Pāṇyā. 97); AMg. *bhamuhā*=Pāli *bhamuka=*bhruvukā* for **bhruvukā* (§124)⁵; JM. *sirihā=srikā* (Erz. 86,19); M. AMg. JM. D. *suṇaha*=Pāli *sunakha*=Skt. *śunaka* (H.; Paṇhāv. 20; Nāyādh. 345; Paṇṇav. 136; Āv. 34,20.24; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), beside M. *suṇaa* (Hc. 1,52; H.; Sarasvatik. 8,13), AMg. JM. *suṇaga* (Jiv. 356 [cf. 255, where text *suṇamade*]; Nāyādh. 450; Paṇṇav. 49; Uttar. 985; Āv. 35,6.10), *suṇaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4,6; Paṇhāv. 201; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Āv. 35,9; 36,28ff.; Dvār. 497,18), *kolasuṇaya* (Sūyag. 591; Paṇṇav. 367), *femin. suṇiyā* (Paṇṇav. 368). To *suṇaha* has again *ka* been added

in Mg. *ṣuṇahaka* (Mṛcch. 113,20) and A. *ṣuṇahāḥ* (Hc.4,443). Perhaps it was imagined that *ṣuṇaha* was=*ṣunakha*=*su*+*nakha*⁶; Dh. *tuhāṁ*, A. *tuhū*=*tvakām* (§421) with *u* according to §152 and *ū* according to §352; A. *sahū*=*sākam* (Hc. 4,356,419) with *a* according to §81 and *ū* according to §352. Cf. also AMg. *phaṇiḥa* (sic; comb; Sūyag. 250) with *phaṇaga* (sic; Uttar. 672). M. *cihura* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; Pāṇyāl. 109; G.H.; Pracandap. 43,15; Karp. 48,10; Acyutaś. 35); Mg. *cihula* (Mṛcch. 171,2 [so to be read with v.l.]), wrongly M. *ciura* (Sāhityad. 73,4; Viddhaś. 25,1), questionable whether correct in Ś. (Prab. 45,1), will not be=*cikura*, which in the meaning of "colouring material" becomes AMg. *ciura* (Nāyādh. §51), but is=*cikṣura*, a form derived with reduplication from *√kṣur* (to shave) which would have to become in Pkt. **cikkhura* or **cikhura*, *cihura*. *cihura* bears the same relation to *cikura* as *√*skur* to *√*kur*. We have a reduplication of *ci* in AMg. *cikkhalla* (mud; loam; swamp; Hc. 3,142; Deśin. 3,11; Paṇhāv. 47 [la]; Anuog. 367; the explanation of *cikkhalla* is uncertain; the word probably belongs to modern Indian *cikila cikkana* to which my attention has been drawn by E. KUHN; AMg. M. *cikkhilla* (H.R.; Paṇnav. 89ff. [91 'kkha°]); Vivāhap. 658f. [commentary 'kkha°] Paṇhāv. 164,212 [commentary 'kkha°]; AMg. *cikkhilla* (Ovav. §32; text 'kha°; see v.l.)=**cikṣālya* from *kṣāl* "that which is to be washed off," "that which is to be purified"⁷. M. *niḥāa* (multitude, crowd; Deśin. 4,49; Pāṇyāl. 19; G.H.R.) is not=*nikāya*⁸, but=*nighāta*⁹ *nihelana* (homestead; Hc. 2,174; Ki. 2,120. Deśin. 4,51;5,37; Pāṇyāl. 49 [ni°]; Triv. 1,3,105) is not=*niketana*¹⁰, but=*nibhelana* (Kappas. §41) and belongs to *√bhil bhedane* (Dhātupāṭha 32,66), which occurs in AMg. *bhelaūtā* (Thāp. 421)¹¹; cf. *bil*, *bila*.—*viḥala* is not=*vikala*, but=*viḥala* (§332).—M. *sihara* (Pāṇyāl. 259; R.) is not=*śikara* (Hc. 1,184)¹², but comes from M. *siḥhara* (R.), which the grammarians (Vr. 2,5; Hc. 1,184; Ki. 2,26; Mk. fol. 14) likewise derive from *śikara*, which, however, belongs to Vedic *śibham*¹³.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,254.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 3,254f. *kheḷadi*, *kheḷlaḥ* have gone also into Skt. as *vkheḷ*. Deviating from BB. 6,92, I could now assume dropping off of *s* in most of the other words.—3. The scholiasts mostly equate *niḥasa* as=*nigharṣa* and *niḥasana* as=*nigharṣana*, a thing that is not possible linguistically, since these words would become *niḥaṇsa*, *niḥaṇsana*.—4. Abhayadeva on Thāp. 121 remarks *khahāṇ ti*, *prākṛtatoena kham ākāṣam iti*.—5. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. does not rightly consider *ha* as preventer of the hiatus.—6. That the aspiration rests chiefly on this false analogy, as TRECKNER assumes in the case of Pāli (Pāli Miscellany p. 58, note 6), is wrong. On the doubled suffix cf. AMg. *phalahaga*, *thābhiyāgā* (§208) and Mk. fol. 37.—7. Anuog. 367 offers a beautiful etymology of *cikkhalla* as a sample, as one may etymologize: *cicca karoti khallam ca bhavati cikkhallam*. A. *cikkhili* (feminine; [sic]; Prabandhac. 56,6) is an adjective. Both the words, *cihura* (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,186) and *cikkhalla* (ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 56) have been taken also into Skt.—8. BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl. p. 12 and s.v.—9. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91.—10. BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl. p. 12 and s.v.—11. PISCHEL, BB. 3,252; 6,91; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—12. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 470.—13. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91.

§207. *ta* has become *dha* through *tha* in AMg. *cimidha*=*cipiṭa* (§248); *vaḍha*=*vaṭa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105¹); *saadha*=*śakaṭa* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but AMg. *sagada* (Āyār. 2,3,2,16; 2,11,17; Sūyag. 350), Ś. *saadā*=*śakaṭikā* (Mṛcch. 94,15ff.), Mg. *saala* (Mṛcch. 122,10; §238; *sadhā*=*saṭā* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but M. *saḍā* (R.). Cf. also A. *khallihadaḍā* (§110).—*ta* appears as *tha* in *thimpai*=*tr̥mpati* (Vr. 8,22), *thippai* (Hc. 4,138; Ki. 4,46), *thēppai* (Ki. 4,46)=*tr̥pyate*=**tr̥mpati*, **tr̥pyate*. Not identical with it is *thippai* (drops down; Hc. 4,175), which with *theva* (a drop; §130) belongs to *√stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3,4). The suffix *-tha*, instead of Skt. *-ta* occurs in M. AMg. JM. *bharaha*=*bharata*

(Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; G.R.; Antag. 3; Uttar. 515.517; Ovav.; Sagara 2,6; Dvār.; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *dāhināddha bharāhe* = *daḥṣiṇārdhabharate*¹ (Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyādh. §13.93); M. AMg. JM. A. *bhāraha* = *bhārata* (G.; Āyār. 2,25,2; Thāp. 70,73; Vivāhap. 427.479; Uttar. 515.517.532.541; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,399); M. *bhārahī* (G.). The form *bharatha*, to which *bharaha* goes back, as *bhāraha* to **bhāratha*², is attested by Uṇādis. 3,115 and Ś. *bharadha* (Mk.; Bālar. 155,3; 310,9 [falsely *bharada* 55,17; 150,21]; Anarghar. 316,15 [text °da]; but ed. Calc. Śak. 1782, p. 237,4 correctly °dha; Pras. 91,12 [text °da], Mg. *bhālādha* (Mṛcch. 128,13 [STENZLER °li,° see v. l. in GODABOLE, 353,12]; 129,3 [text °de])³. Corresponding to the suffix -*tha* in Skt. *avasatha* = AMg. *avasaha* (e.g. Āyār. 1,7,2,1ff; Ovav.), Skt. *upavasatha*, *nivasatha*, *pravasatha* etc., M. AMg. JM. have *vasahi* = **vasathi* = *vasati* (Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl. 49; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136. 178.215; Vivāhap. 152.1123.1193; Nāyādh. 581; Uttar. 449.918 [beside *avasaha*]; Dasav. N. 647,49; Ovav.; Āv. 27,25; Kk.); AMg. *kuvasahi* = *kuvasati* (Paṇhāv.)⁴. -*ha*, Ś. Mg. -*dha* in the second person plural imperative likewise go back to -*tha*, since the second person plural indicative is used as the imperative (§471). — *kāhala* (cowardly; fearful; G. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; cowardly scoundrel; Deśin. 2,58), that is equated by Grr. and P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵ as = *kātara* cannot be separated from *kāhala* (tender; weak; Deśin. 2,58), and *kāhali* (a tender young woman; Deśin. 2,26). *kāhala*, *kāhali* are used in Skt. also; perhaps they forced their way into it first from Pkt. and presumably belong to M. *tharatharei*, Ś. *tharatharedi* (throbs violently [from the heart]; trembles); §558), are, therefore, = *kā* + *thara*, *kā*, in Skt. *kāpuruṣa*, *kābhart* etc. *kātara* becomes M. A. *kāara* (G.R.; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. *kājara* (Nāyā h.), Ś. *kādara* (Śak. 17,12; 84,16; Vikr. 27,6; Mālav. 40,13), Mg. *kādala* (Mṛcch. 120,9). *kātara* and **kāthara* probably go back to the basic form **kāstara*. — According to Hc. 1,214 *mātuliṅga* becomes *māhuliṅga*, on the other hand *mātuliṅga* becomes *māluṅga*, as AMg. Ś. have (Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Paṇnav. 482; Adbhutad 68,6 [read *mādu*]). *māhuliṅga* (also C. 3,12 p. 49) belongs to the same category as *madhukar-katikā*, *madhukukkuṭikā*, *madhujambira*, *madhujambha*, *madhubijapūra*, *madhuraiambira*, *madhurabijapūra*, *madhuravallī*, *madhuvalī*, *madhūla*, *maṇḍalaka*, all of which mean special kinds of citron. *māhuliṅga* is, therefore, = **mādhuliṅga*. In Paṇnav. 531 AMg. *māuliṅga* is emended. AMg. *vihatthi* (Sūyag. 280; Vivāhap. 425; Nandis. 168; Aṇuog. 384.413) is not = *vitasti* (C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214⁶), but in the root *tas* *s* will have dropped off, *vihatthi*, therefore, will stand for **vihatthi* = **vistasti*⁷.

1. The edition in the Granthapradarīnī at p. 93, for which reads *poḍo* / *doḍaḥ* / *āṇo* / *dolā* / ?; see BB. 6.88ff. — 2. WARREN, Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 106, note. — 3. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473. — 4. FISCHEL, BB. 6.92f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473. — 5. GN. 1874, p. 473. — 6. More probably it is an adaptation of one **vihasti* (BB. 6.93).

§208. *pa* appears as *ph* in AMg. Ś. *phaṇasa* = *paṇasa* (Vr. 2,37; Hc. 1,232; Jiv. 46; Paṇnav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 1530; Ovav.; Bālar. 209,78 [°pa^o]; Viddhaś. 63,2), beside M. *paṇasa* (Karp. 115,2), Mg. *paṇaśa* (Mṛcch. 115,20); M. AMg. JM. *pharusa* = *paraṣa* (Vr. 2,36; C. 3,11; Hc. 1,232; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H. [so 344 to be read; see Index and the v.l. IS. 16,104]. R.; Āyār. 1,6,4,1,2,8,1,8; 1,8,3,5,13; 2,1,6,3; 2,4,1,1,6; Sūyag. 122 [text *pa*]. 172.485.517.527.729; Jiv. 273; Nāyādh. §135; p. 757; Paṇhāv. 393.394.396.516; Vivāhap. 254.481; Uttar. 92; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *āpharusa* = *atiparaṣa* (Kk.); M. *pharusattaṇa* = **paraṣatvana* (R.); AMg. *pharusīja* = *paraṣita* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,6,4,1 [see v.l.]); M. AM JM.

phaliha=*parigha* (Vr. 2,30.36; Hc. 1,232.254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāṇ. 267; R.; Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,3,2,14; 2,4,2,11; 2,11,5; Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 416; Dasav. 628,22; Dvār. 500,30); M. *phaliḥā*=*parikhā* (Vr. 2,30.36; Hc. 1,232.254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāṇ. 240; R.), AMg. *phariḥā* (Nāyādh. 994.1001ff. 1006.1008.1012.1014.1023; Probably to be read as *phaliḥā*); *phāliḥadda*=*pāribhadra* (Hc. 1,232.254); AMg. *pharasu*=Pāli *pharasu*=Skt. *paraśu* (Vivāgas. 239); but M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. parasu* (G.; Nāyādh. §135; p. 438 [text °ri°]. 1438; Paṇhāv. 198 [text °ri°]; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 29,19), Mg. *palaśu* (Mṛcch. 157,13), *Ṣ. parasurāma* (Mahāv. 55,12; 64,20; Bālar. 36,5,6); AMg. *phusiya*=Pāli *phusita*=*prṣata* (§101; AMg. JM. *phāsiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,4.6; 2,1,2,1ff.; Paṇhāv. 497; Uvās.; ZDMG. 34,291,44; Kk.)=Pāli *phāsuka* is phonetically *prāsuka*, which however, is certainly a false Sanskritism of the Pk. word¹; *aphāsiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1.3.6.11ff.); *bahuphāsiya* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24ff.). *phāsiya* might belong to *Ṣ. prāsuka* (§62). *phādei*, which Hc. 1,198 equates as *pāṭayati*=*sphāṭayati*.—Mk. fol. 18 has, moreover, *phaliḥ*=*paridhi* and *phalama*=*palama*, which probably ought to be *phaṇasa*=*paṇasa*. The first word may even be corrupt. In *rampaṭ*, *ramphaṭ* (hews; Hc. 4,194) whether *pa* or *pha* is original cannot be said; cf. *rampa* "section" (H. 119.120 with v.l. *rumpa*, *rumpha*).—In AMg., more rarely in JM., medial *pa* in some words has become *bh* through *ph* (§200). So AMg. *kacchabha*=*kacchapa* (Jiv. 71.290.478; Nāyādh. 510; Paṇhāv. 18.119.170; Paṇnav. 47; Vivāgas. 49.186; Vivāhap. 248.483.1033.1285; Uttar. 1072), *kacchabhi*=*kacchapī* (lute, Paṇhāv. 512; Nāyādh. 1275.1378; Rāyap. 88); AMg. *kabhalla*=*kapāla* (§91; Uvās. §94; Antag. 27; Aṇuttar. 10 [text °va°, commentary *bha°*], beside *kavalla* (Sūyag. 275; Vivāhap. 270.383), *kavalli* (Vivāgas. 141). *kavāla* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4); to these add *kaphāḍa* (hollow; Deśin. 2,7); AMg. *thūbha*=*stūpa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,1; Sūyag. 26; Paṇhāv. 31.234.286; Aṇuog. 387; Jiv. 546ff.; Paṇnav. 369; Rāyap. 153f. 195f.; Vivāhap. 560.659.1249; Thāṇ. 266), also JM. (Sagara 2,7; T. 5,11.13.16; 6,13.15; 7,8; ZDMG. 34,291.47.49); AMg. *thūbhiyā*=*stūpikā* (Āyār. 2,10,17; Jiv. 492.495.506; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), and with doubled suffixes *thūbhiyāgā*=**stūpikākā* (S. mav. 213; Paṇnav. 116; Rāyap. 116; Nāyādh. §122); AMg. *gothūbha*=*gostūpa* (Thāṇ. 262.268; Jiv. 715f. 718ff.; Samav. 106.108.113.116f. 127.143ff. 233 [on account of metre also *gothubha*]; Vivāhap. 198). The more modern form occurs in *thūha* [battlements of a palace; ant-hill; Deśin. 5,32]. Cf. Leṇa-dialect *thuba* (Arch. Survey of W. India 5,78,10).—AMg. *vibhāsā*=*vipāśā* (Thāṇ. 5.44).

1. JACOBI, Kk. s.v. *phāsiya* analyses it into *pra*+*asu*+*ka*. Skt. *prāsuka*, so far as I can see, is used by the Jains only.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. s. v. Not rightly CHILDERS s.v. *phāsu*, who will equate it as **spārha*.—3. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,378.

§209. More rarely occurs the aspiration of the medials. For *ga* occurs *gha* in *ghāṇa*=*gāyana* (singer; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,108; Triv. 1,3, 105=BB. 3,255); AMg. *siṅghāḍaga*=*siṅgātaka* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). *ghisai* is not=*grasati*, but=**ghasāti* (§103.482).—*ja* appears as *jha* in *jhaḍila* beside *jaḍila*=*jaṭila* (Hc. 1,194); *jhattha* (annihilated; gone; Deśin. 3,61) from *ṽjas*; cf., however, also *ṽjhaṣ*. AMg. *jhūsittā* (absol.; Vivāgas. 270f.; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Nāyādh. 383.388; Uvās.; Ovav.), *jhūsiya* [Thāṇ. 56 [Commentary]. 187.274; Nāyādh. 382; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Jiv. 289 [jhu°], Vivāhap. 169.173; 321; Uvās.; Ovav.), mostly explained with *kṣiṇa* or *kṣapita*¹, *jhūsaṇā* (Nāyādh. 376, Vivāhap. 169.173; Thāṇ. 56.187. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.), *parijhūsiya* (Thāṇ. 202) belong to *ṽjhūṣ*, that is mentioned beside *jūṣ*, *yūṣ*. (Dhātupāṭha 17,29)².—*da* becomes *dha* in *dhippāi*

beside *dīppai*=*dīpyate* (Hc. 1,223); *kaiha* (Hc. 1,225), dialectically *kakudha* (Triv. 1,3,105)=Pāli *kakudha*, a form parallel to *kakhubha*³.—*ba* appears as *bha* in AMg. *bhimbhisāra*=*bimbisāra* (Thāp. 523; Ovav. [so to be read for *bhambha*^o; cf. v.l.]); M. *bhisinī*=*bisinī* (Vr. 2,38; Hc. 1,238; Ki. 2,44; Pāiyāl. 149; H.; Sāhityad. 79,1). Ś. has *bisinī* (Vṛṣabh. 39,3; Mālav. 75,8). According to Bh. on Vr. 2,38 and Hc. 1,238 the aspiration does not occur in *bisa* and so M. *bisa* (Pāiyāl. 256; G.H.; Karp. 95,12). Mk. fol. 18 teaches *bhisā*=*bisa* but quotes H.8, where stands *bhisinisaṇḍam*. AMg., like Pāli, has *bhisā* (Āyār. 2,1,8,10; Sūyag. 813; Jiv. 290,353; Paṇṇav. 35,40; Rāyap. 55). For *brī* Bh. 1,28 and Hc. 1,28 teach *bisī*, the Pāiyāl. 215 *bhisī*. *brīkā* has aspiration: *bhisīā* (Deśin. 6,105), AMg. *bhisigā* (Sūyag. (726), *bhisijā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Nāyādh. 1279,1283; Ovav.). *bhukkai* barks; Hc. 4,186), *bhukkiya* (barking; Pāiyāl. 182), *bhukkana* (dog; Deśin. 6,110), beside *bukkai*=*garjati* (Hc. 4,98), *ubbukkai* (speaks; Hc. 4,2), *bukkana* (a crow; Deśin. 6,94; Pāiyāl. 44). On *bhaassai*, *bhaappaī*, *bhaappai* etc. see §212.—*bhibbhala*, *bhimbhala* (Hc. 2,58 with translation), M. Ś. *bhēmbhala* (R. 6,37; Cait. 38,9 [text. *bhemhaṇo*]), Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* (Cait. (44,9), *bhēmbhalida* (Cait. 55,13 [text. *bhēmbha*^o]) cannot, with Hc., be derived from *vibbhala*, *vebbhala*=*vihvala* (§332), since the aspiration of *v* would have given *ha* in the initial syllable as is shown by *vihala*. The words belong, with *bhambhala* (block-head; later stubbornness, Deśin. 6,110) to *Vbharbh himsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,71). It is, therefore, to be written with anusvāra, as the glosse on Hc. 2,58 tells us, and this is to be explained according to §74.

1. On the meaning see LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. jhūsiya*; HOERNLE, *Uvās.*, Translation, note 160.—2. HOERNLE, *Uvās. l.c.* Overlooked by LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. jhūs*, Incorrect is its association with AMg. *jhusira* (LEUMANN, *WZKM.* 3,343). Cf. §211.—3. *kaiha* can naturally be derived from *kakubha* too. Cf. FISCHER, *BB.* 3,257; v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40,660; WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* §15,6, b. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, *GN.* 1874 p. 473.

§210. Aspiration of nasals and semivowels takes place in *ṇhāvīa*=*nāpita* (Hc. 1,230; Pāiyāl. 61), really=**snāpita*¹, as AMg. *ṇhāvīyā*=*snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964) and other derivatives of *snā* (§313). Ś. Mg. have *ṇāvidi*=*nāpita* (Hasy. 28,19; Mṛcch. 113,10)².—M. *paṃhusai*=**pramṣyati*³=*pramṣyati* (Hc. 4,75,184; G.), M. *paṃhasijjāsu*=*pramṣyehi* (H. 348), M. *paṃhusia* (G.), Ś. *paṃhasida* (Mahāv. 65,1; ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 161,8^o *ppamūsida*), M. JM. *paṃhuṭṭha* (Hc. 3,105=R. 6,12; Hc. 4,258; Āv. 7,31), A. *paṃhuṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,396,3; so to be read), M. *paṃhaṭṭha* (R.); according to Hc. 4,158 *paṃhusai* is also=*pramuṣṇāti*, according to 4,258 *paṃhuṭṭha* also is=*pramuṣita*; A. *bhumhaḍi*=*bhūmi* (Hc. 4,395,6) with the suffix -*aḍa*, femin. -*aḍi* (Hc. 4,429,431).—AMg. *lasuṇa*=*laṣuṇa* (Āyār. 2,7,2,6; Vivāhap. 609; Paṇṇav. 40; Jiyāk. 54), beside AMg. JM. *lasuṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,13; Sūyag. 337 [text. *lasana*]; Āv. 40,18); *liikkai* beside *likkai* (hides oneself; Hc. 4,55), a denominative from M. *liikka*=**ślikna* (Hc. 4,258; G.), cf. *śliku* “dependant” and §566.

1. WEBER, *KB.* 1,505.—2. Wrongly permits S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 7, note 3, Skt. *nāpita* to be derived from Pkt. *ṇāvia*. The dropping off of the initial *s* depends upon the accent=**nāpita*¹, like Vedic *paḍbhī* from *spas* (FISCHER, *Ved. Stud.* 1,239).—3. WEBER on *Hāla*¹ 358;² 348; *ZDMG.* 28,425.

§211. A simple initial sibilant of Skt. is sometimes aspirated in Pkt. *sha*, *ṣha*, *ṣha*, then all become uniformly *cha*. The derivation of this *cha* from an original sound-group *kṣa* or *śka* is in not at all certain. *chamī*=*śamī* (Hc. 1,265); AMg. *chāva*=Pāli *chāpa*=*śāba* (Hc. 1,265; Ki. 2,46; Sūyag. 511)¹, *chāva*=*śābaka* (Vr. 2,41; Mk. fol. 18), but Mg. *śāvaka* (Mṛcch. 10,6); AMg. *chivāḍi*=*śivāḍi* (2,1,1,3,4);

M. AMg. *chēppa*, *chippa*=*śepa* (Deśin. 3,36; Pāiyāl. 128; G. H.; Vivāgas. 69)²; in addition to *chippālūa* (tail; Deśin. 3,29); but Ś. *suṇasseha*=*śuṇhśepa* (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); *chippīra* (straw; Deśin. 3,28; Pāiyāl. 142) beside *sippīra* (straw; H. 330), *sippa* (straw; Deśin. 8,28); in addition to this probably also *chippīndī* (flour; Deśin. 3,37) and *chippāla* (a bullock accustomed to corn; Deśin. 3,28); *chūi* (a female crane; Deśin. 3,30=*śuciḥ*; *cha*=*śaṭ*, *chattha*=*śaṣṭha*, and *cha*^o, *cha*^o in numerous compounds (§240.441)³; AMg. *chuhā*=*sudhā* (Hc. 1,265; Deśin. 2,42; Vivāhap. 658f.), in addition to *chuhia* (plastered; Deśin. 3,30); AMg. *chirā*=*sirā* (Hc. 1,266; Thāp. 55; Jiv. 271; Samav. 227; Vivāhap. 89,810), *chiratta* (Anug. 12), beside *sirā* (Hc. 1,266). On M. AMg. *piuccā*, M. *māuccā*, Ś. *māduccā*, *māduccā*=*pitṛsvasā*, *māṛṣvasā*, *māṛṣva-sṛka*, *māṛṣvasṛkā* see §148; on *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa*, presumably=*sapta-paṇṇa* see §103. An initial sonant sibilant is presupposed by AMg. *jhusira* (full of holes; hole; Aṅg. 2,11,4; 2,15,22 [p. 129,1], Paṇhāv. 137; Nāyādh. 752; Dasav. 620,30; Uvās.), *ajhusira* (Jiyak. 55), *antojjhusira* (Nāyādh. 397)=**zusiṛa*=*suṣira* or **z'usiṛa*=*suṣira*⁴. Perhaps *jhalā* (mirage; Deśin. 3,53; Pāiyāl. 232) also belongs to *śal* (to prop up)=**z'alā*, and *jharua* (midge; cricket; Deśin. 3,54), *jhāruā* (cricket; Deśin. 3,57), from *Vśaru himśāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,76), *śaru* (an arrow).⁵

1. POTT, Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien 2,181ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1875, p.627; on Hc. 1,265. Wrongly MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I.II (Wien 1874) p. 26.—2. JOHANSSON (IF.3,213), with whom WACKERNAGEL (Altind. Gr. §230b, p.266) concurs, compares Latin cippus, Greek *σχοῖπος*.—3. Hypotheses on the original form of *śaṣ* in HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 27,106; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29,576.—4. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343. Whether *suṣira* or *suṣira* is the more correct form of writing still remains to be probed into. Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakosa 150 teaches *suṣi* and *suṣi*. ZACHARIAE writes *Sāsvata* 185, against the best MSS. *suṣira*, but Hemacandra, Anekārthasamgraha 3,607 *suṣira*, as is given by the derivative forms from *suṣ* (Upādiganasūtra 416). Connection with AMg. *jhūs* (§203) is out of consideration. Its derivation from *suṣ* is quite uncertain. Wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 172.—Jiv. 273 has *suṣira*.—5. The word can be connected to *kṣāraka* also.

§212. Aspiration appears in some cases in Pkt. in a syllable of the word different from that in Skt. In isolated cases this may be explained by the fact that originally the initial and the final syllables of the word were aspirated, and dialectically the aspiration of a sound vanished in different ways. In most cases, however, there remains for us scarcely any assumption other than "turning-round of the breath." M. *ihorā* from **itharatā*, **iharaā*=*itarathā* (§354); *uvaha*, M. *avaha* from **ubatha* for **ubhata*, deduced from M. *avahovāsam*, *avahoāsam*=AMg. *ubhaopāsam*=**ubhatahpārśvam* (§123); *kedhava* from **kaiṣhaba* for *kaiṣabha* (Vr. 2,21,29; Hc. 1,196,240; Ki. 2,11,27; Mk. fol. 16,17); *gadhai* from **gaṭhati*=*ghaṭate* (Hc. 4,112), beside the usual *ghadaī*; M. AMg. JM. A. *ghēppai* from **ghrpyati*=*grhyate* (§548), inf. M. *ghēltum*=**ghrptum*=*grahitum* (§574), absol. *ghēltuānam*, *ghēltuāna* (§584), M. AMg. JM. *ghēltūna*=**ghrptvānam*=*grhītvā* (§586), particip. nec. *ghēltava*=**ghrptavya*=*grahitavya* (§570), fut. JM. *ghēcchāmo* (§534) belong to a root **ghrp*, that is a root parallel to *grbh* (§107)¹; *dhankuṇa*, *dheṅkuṇa*, AMg. *dhimkuṇa* (bug) for **dāmkhuṇa* belong to Marāṭhī *dāmkhṇem* (to bite, to sting), *dāmkh* (bite, sting of a poisonous animal)=*dāms* (§107,267); M. *dhajjai* (Jivān. 97,9), Ś. *dhajjadi* (Mālav. 28,8; Mallikām. 90,23 [text *ai*]), *dhajjadu* (Venis. 23,18; so to be read; see v.l.p.135), Mg. *dhayyadi* (Mr̥ch. 9,25) for **dajjhadi*, M. AMg. JM. *dajjhai* (§222)=*dahyate*, Ś. *viḍhajjia*=*vidahya* (Mahāv. 96,11), *dhajjanta* (Mālatīm. 79,2; so to be read with the v.l. and ed. Madras. 67,6; Rukminīp. 20,7;35,9; Mallikām. 57,7;133,13); cf. v.l. *dhajjai* on H. 373; M. *dihī* from **dṛthi*=*dṛti* (Hc.2,131; Sāhityad. 219,14);

M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūjā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā*=**dhuktā*=**duhitā* (§ 65; 392); JŚ. Ś. Mg. A. *bahinī* for **baghinī*=**bhaginī* (Hc. 2,126; Pāiyāl. 252; Kattig. 401,338; Mālatīm. 31,5; Mg. Mrcch. 11,9; 113,19; 138,25; 140,1,7; A Hc. 4,351), mostly with *kaḥ svārthe*, Ś. *bahinā*=**bhaginikā* (Mrcch. 94,4; 328,5; Śak. 15,4; 85,4,6; Mālatīm. 130,3; Mahāv. 118,18; 119,3; Ratn. 324,23; 327, 7,9,13; 328,20; Prab. 68,7; Cait. 88,12,92,15; Karp. 33,4,7; 34,3; 35,2 etc.), A. *bahinū* (Hc. 4,422,14). From *bṛhaspati* are found AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai*, Ś. *bahappadi*, *bahappaī*, *bihappadi* (§53). The grammarians mention these and numerous other forms: *bahassai*, *bihassai*, *buhassai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69, 137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahappaī*, *bihappaī*, *buhappaī* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,53,137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 1,138; 2,53,69,137); Mg. *buhaspadi* (Hc. 4,289), *bihaśpadi* (Nāmisādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra 2,12); moreover with aspirated initial: *bhaassai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69,137; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiassai*, *bhuassai* (C. 2,5 p. 43); *bhaappaī* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,137; Mk. fol. 38; Prākṛtamañjarī in FISCHER, De. Gr. Prācr. p. 15; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiappaī*, *bhuappaī* (C. 2,5 p. 43); *bhaapphai* (Vr. 4,30; C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69,137; Ki. 2,117; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiapphai*, *bhuapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43)².

1. FISCHER, KB. 8,148f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512; WEBER, IS. 14,73, note 2; JACOBI, KZ. 28,253f.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,447. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,493; WEBER on Hāla 286.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1,138. The forms with initial *h* in lieu of *bh* in Triv., Sr. and in the Prākṛtamañjarī are orthographical errors of the Dravidian manuscripts. The edition of Triv. has *hh*.

§213. Loss of aspiration occurs in AMg. JM. Ś. *saṅkalā*=**śrīṅkalā* (Paṇhāv. 183; Jiv. 503; Ṛṣabh. 33; Lāṭakam. 18,4). AMg. *saṅkala*=**śrīṅkala* (according to; Hc. 1,189; Paṇhāv. 536), AMg. JM. *saṅkaliyā*=**śrīṅkalikā* (Sūyag. 296; Āv. 14,17), JM. *saṅkaliya*=**śrīṅkalita* (Āv. 13,28). So also the modern Indian languages¹. But M. Ś. *saṅkalā* (G.; Mrcch. 41,10); Ś. *ussaṅkalā* (Mrcch. 151,17); M. Ś. *visaṅkala* (R.; Mālatīm. 291,2); Mg. *saṅkalā* (Mrcch. 167,6); M. Ś. *saṅkalā* (R.; Acyutaś. 41; Mālatīm. 129,1; Priyad. 4,5; Mallikām. 141,7; Anarghar. 265,2; 308,9; Vṛṣabh. 38,10; Viddhaś. 84,9 [text 'sa'] ; 85,3,8)².—AMg. *ḍhaṅka*=Pāli *ḍhaṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅka*³, for **ḍhaṅka* (crow; crane; vulture; Deśin. 4,13; Pāiyāl. 44; Sūyag. 437,508; Uttar. 593), *ḍhiṅka*, (Paṇhāv. 24), which as well as *ḍheṅki* for **ḍhiṅki* (female crane; Deśin. 4,15), presupposes an accentuation **dhvāṅkaś*. In the sense of a kind of plant, of which the bees are fond (cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *dhvāṅka*), occurs in M. *ḍhaṅka* (H. 755)³.—AMg. *bīhaṇa*=**bhīṣaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 78), *bīhanaga*=**bhīṣaṇaka* (Paṇhāv. 48,49,167,177), but M. Ś. *bhīṣaṇa* (G.R.; Vikr. 28,8; Mahāv. 12,1; Bālar. 54,7; Anarghar. 58,5; Mallikām. 82,18; 141,9), Ś. *adibhīṣaṇa* (Mallikām. 183,3). To *bhīṣ* belong also *bīhā*, *bīhei* (§501). Cf. §263. *paṅguraṇa* (cloak; wrap; Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105) against Marāṭhī *pāṅgharūṇ*, *pāṅgharṇem*, *pāṅghurṇem*⁴.—AMg. *saṇḍeya*=**śaṇḍheya* (capon; Ovav. §1) is a false reading for *saṇḍheya*, as in Skt. too *ṣaṇḍa* and *ṣaṇḍha* are interchanged in the manuscripts. On secondary *kka*, *cca*, *tta*, *ppa* for *kkha*, *cccha*, *tttha*, *ppha* see §301ff.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 1,189.—2. Cf. §54.—3. In the stanza that was not intelligible to WEBER, there occurs *ḍhaṅkaraseso*=**dhvāṅkarasaisaḥ*, and the comma after *mukko* is to be erased.—4. FISCHER, BB. 3,247ff.

§214. WEBER¹ has assumed that in Pkt. "secondary aspiration, respective *h* direct" occurs through the influence of the preceding aspirates. The examples quoted by him *bhārāha*, *khīla* in *dharaṇikhīla*, *phalaha* have found their correct explanation in §206,207. On the other hand, WACKERNAGEL² has attributed to Pkt. a "disinclination to the succession of two aspirates." His only example is *majjhaṇṇa*, which he wrongly

equates as=*madhyāhna*, while it is=*madhyam̐dina* (§148). In any case, the example would prove nothing, as *majjhaṇḥa* is quite common (§330). The reference to E. KUHN, *Beiträge* p. 41 proves nothing. For Pāli *majjhatta*=*madhyastha*, Pkt. says, in all the dialects, from which we can get examples, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhattha* (H.R.; Āyār. 1,7,8,5; Sūyag. 97; Nāyādh. 1274; T. 5,16; Rṣabh. 49; Kk. 275,45; Pav. 389,3; Mrcch. 68,21; Bālar. 238,8; Karnas. 31,10; Mallikām. 250,2,3), for Pāli *majjhataṭṭā*, Ś. *majjhatthadā* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 39,9; Adbhutad. 4,10). That even in Pāli the reason for the loss of aspiration is not the disinclination, presupposed by WACKERNAGEL, is shown by Pāli *indapatta*=*indraprastha*, *maṭṭa* beside *maṭṭha*=*mṛṣṭa*, *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṣṭa*, *atta*=*asta*, *bhaddamutta*=*bhadramusta* etc. (E. KUHN, *Beiträge* p. 41.53), Pkt. *samatta* beside *samattha*=*samasta* (§307). From cases, like M. *takkhaṇḥukkhaaharihatthukkhiṭṭabhāḥmbhālā* (R. 6,37), *khandhukheva* (G. 1049), AMg. *majjhabhāgattha* (Nāyādh. §92), JM. *hatthikkhandha* (Āv. 25,39), JŚ. *mohakkhohavihūṇo* (Pav. 380,7), Ś. *phaliḥhatthambha* (Mālav. 63, 1), words, like *khambha*, *kuhā*, *jhajjhara*, *jhamkhāi* *jhujiḥāi*, *bhippha*, *bhūbbhala*, and the numberless examples, like *ghaṭṭha*, *bhaṭṭha*, *hattha*³, *hiṭṭha*, *ḍajjhihi*, *duhihi*, *bujjhihi* etc. it results that Pkt. does not have the disinclination attributed to it, and cannot have it according to its phonetic law. On the other hand, some of the dialects, particularly AMg., are proud of the succession of two aspirates, as in *khinkhiṇi*, *khahacāra*, *thūbha*, *kacchabha* (§206.208). That the examples adduced by JACOBI⁵ cannot be brought forward in defence of a disinclination of two successive aspirates is shown by §312ff.

1. Bhag. 1,411.—2. KZ. 33,575f.; Altind. Gr. § 105, note.—3. With WACKERNAGEL, I include here, among the aspirates, *ha* also, for the sake of brevity.—4. Erz. XXXII, note 3; XXXIII, note 2.

§215. Dialectically gutturals interchange with labials (§230.231. 266.286). In place of palatals, dialectically, occur dentals as well *ta* for *ca*, *da* for *ja*. AMg. *teicchā*=**cekitsā*=*cikitsā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,8,4,1; 2,13,22; Kappas. S. §49), *tigicchā* (Thāṇ. 313; Paṇhāv. 356; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 106), *tigicchaya*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (Thāṇ. 313; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 620), *tigicchāi*, *tigicchiya* (§ 555), *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā* (Thāṇ. 191; Āyār. 2,1,3,5; Sūyag. 189.401.445.514.533; Uttar. 468ff.), *vitigimchā*, *vitigimchāi*, *vitigimchiya* (§ 74.555), *vitigicchāmi* (Thāṇ. 245.), *nivvitigiccha* (Sūyag. 771; Uttar. 811; Vivāhap. 183; Ovav. §124).—AMg. *digicchanta*, *digimchā*=*jighatsat*, *jighatsā*, AMg. JM. *dugamchā*, *dugumchā*, AMg. *dugumchana*, *dugamchanijja*, *dogamchi*, *dogumchi*, *paḍidugamchi*, *dugumchāi*, *dugumchamāṇa*, *dugamchamāṇa*, *adugucchiya* (§ 74.555), beside the usual *jugucchā* (Bh. 3,40), *juucchāi*, *jugucchāi* etc. (§ 555).—AMg. *dosinā*=*jyotsnā* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3,250; Thāṇ. 95; Paṇhāv. 533; Sūriyap. in Verzeichniss. 5,2,574.577), *dosinābhā* (Nāyādh. 1523); *dosinī*=*jyautsnī* (Deśin. 5,50), Ś. *vaṇadosinī*=*vanajyautsnī* (Śak. 12,13); *dosāṇia* (right; clear; Deśin. 5,51).—In secondary *ja*, originating from *ya* according to §252, the change could have occurred in *ḍogga* (pair; Deśin. 5,49; Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3,241), when it is to be equated as=*yugma*. It can, however, be referred also to AMg. JM. *duga*, *dvika* (§451)¹.

1. AMg. *pādinam*=*prācinam* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1) is either a false reading or a printing mistake for *pāṇam*, as it rightly stands in Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3; 2,2,2,8. The ed. Calc. has *pādinam*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,413; IS. 14,255f.; E. MÜLLER; *Beiträge* p. 25; FISCHER; BB. 3,241.250; 6,100f.

§216. Like dentals for palatals (§215), palatals have conversely taken the place of dentals in a number of cases. So *cacchāi* from **tyakṣāi*

beside *tacchāi=takṣati* (Hc. 4,194). M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhāi*, Ś. A. *ciṭṭhadi*, Mg. *ciṭṭhadi=tiṣṭhadi* from *sthā* (§483).—*cuccha* beside *tuccha* (Hc. 1,204), according to Hc. also with an aspirated initial sound *chuccha*.—A. *viṣṣajjhara=vidyādhara* (Vikr. 59,5). On AMg. *ciyatta=tyakta*, *ciccā, cēccā=tyaktvā* see §280.

§217. According to Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22 (p.240) ed. STENZLER=26,8 (p.500), ed. GODABOLE, in the dialect of Śākāra, there was pronounced a weak *ya* before *ca*, which did not make position : *yciṣṭha=tiṣṭha*. According to Mk. fol. 75.85 this *ya* appeared in Mg. and in Vṛācaḍa A. also before *ja*: M. *ycilaṃ=ciram*; *yjāā=jāyā*; *ycalaā=caraka*; A. *ycalaī=calati*, *yjalaī=jvalati* (§24.28). Perhaps the rules given for Mg., Vr. 11,5 and Ki. 5,88, refer to this. On account of bad transmission of the text, the meaning cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. COWELL, Vr. p.179, note 1; LASSEN, Inst. p.393.396 §146.1.

§218. Dentals of Skt. are represented often by cerebrals in Pkt. The reverse transformation in some dialects (§225) proves that it was a matter of dialectically differing pronunciation and that the assumption of some other influence is erroneous. Initially *ṭa* appears for *ta* in *ṭagara=tagara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭūvara=tūhara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭimbaru=tumburu* (Deśin. 4,3), *ṭimbaru'a=tumburuka* (Pāiyāl. 258) to which should belong also *ṭimburiṇi* (Śukasaptati 122,15). Cf. §124. Medially *ṭa* appears for *ta* in CP. *paṭimā=pratimā* (Hc. 4,325), for which the other dialects, according to §198, say *paḍimā*. The words, in which *ḍa* appears for *ta*, have been collected in the *gaṇa pratyādi* by Hc. 1,206; Ki. 2,29 and Mk. fol. 15. In Hc. it is an ākrtigaṇa. Ki. mentions only *pratibaddha*, *prābhṛta*, *vetasa*, *patākā* and *garta*; Mk. collects seven words in a verse : *prati*, *vetasa*, *patākā*, *haritakī*, *vyāpṛta*, *mṛtaka*, *prākṛta* for which *prābhṛta* is to be read. Transition from *ta* to *ḍa* in *prati* is especially frequent in all the dialects, except P. CP. So M. AMg. JM. Dh. *paḍimā=pratimā* (C.3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 217; G.H.R.; Thāp. 266; Āyār. 2,2,3,18ff.; 2,6 1,4ff.; 2,7,2,8ff.; 2,8,2ff.; 2,8,2ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,11. 16,17); AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍipunṇa=pratipūṇa* (Nāyādh. 449.500; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 387,13); M. Ś. Mg. *paḍivaṇa=prativacana* (H. R.; Mṛcch. 37,8; Vikr. 18,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. Ś. *paḍivakkha=pratipakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 35; G.H.R.; Erz.; Vikr. 23,7; Prab. 7,9;12,5); M. AMg. Ś. *paḍibaddha=pratibaddha* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,3;68.20.25; Uvās.); JŚ. *appaḍibaddha* (Pav. 387,25). Ś. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12), AMg. *paḍibandhana* (Dasav. 643,16); M. A. *paḍihāi*, Ś. *paḍihādi*, *paḍihādi=pratibhāti* (§487), and so very many others. Cf. §163.220. In P.C.P., according to Hc.4,307; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa. Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12, the transition does not find place : *patibimba* (Hc. 4,326); an exception is *paṭimā* (Hc.4,325). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. A. *paḍai=patati* (Vr. 8 51; Hc. 4,219; G.H.R.; Nirayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagaṇa 3,10; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. *paḍadi* (Mṛcch. 31,10;158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. *paḍaū=patatu* (H.; Āyār. 2,4,1,12), JM. *paḍāmo=patāmaḥ* (Āv. 8,50), Mg. *paḍemi* (Mṛcch. 127,12), M. A. *paḍia=patita* (G.H.R.; Hc. 4,337). JM. *paḍiṇa* (Erz.), Ś. Mg. *paḍida* (Mṛcch. 54,3;81,9;95,13;120,7; Mudrār. 104,8; Ratn. 314,27; Mṛcch. 10,1;133,10;169,5;170,16), Ś. *nivaḍida=nipatita* (Śak. 35, 10;77,11), AMg. *pavaḍējja=prapatet*, *pavaḍemāna=prapatamāna* (Āyār. 2,2, 1,7;2,2,3,2,23;2,3,2,15), and so throughout in the root *pat* and derivatives from it, like M. JM. Mg. *paḍaṇa=patana* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,23), but CP. *nipatonti* (Hc. 4,326).—M. Ś. *paḍāā=patākā* (Gr.; G.R.; Mṛcch. 68,17), AMg. JM. *paḍāgā* (Thāp.284; Jiv.483; Nāyādh. §122; p. 1318; Panhāv. 160; Rāyap.59.68.70; Vivāhap. 276.833; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); JM. *paḍāyā* (Pāiyāl. 68; Erz.); AMg. *sapaḍāga*

(Rāyap. 128), but P. *patākā* (Hc. 4,307). *-pahudi*=*prabhrti* (Hc. 1.206), but Ś. Mg. *pahudi* (Mṛcch. 23,15.23;73,10; Śak. 52,5; 85,7; Vikr. 15.8.9;45,20; Mudrār. 253,8; Prab. 9,5;28,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 13,25;21,11;133,21; Venis. 35.5), Ś. *pahudia*=*prabhrtika* (Mṛcch. 71,1).—AMg. JM. *pāhuda*=*prābhṛta* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 236; Āyār. 2,2,2,10ff.; Vivāgas. 128.132; Nāyādh. 439.539.540.774ff.1375f.1431, Rāyap. 226, Anuog. 558; Erz.), *pāhudi* yā=*prābhṛtikā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1; Anuog. 558).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. D. *vāvūda*=*vyāpṛta* (Hc.; Mk.; H.R.; Uttar. 496; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,24;29,21;104,8), JM. also *vāuḥa* (Kk.), AMg. *vāu* ya (Ovav.), Ś. *vāvūda* (Mālav.72,7), *vāvūdadā*=*vyāpṛtatā* (Mṛcch. 325,19).—M. *veḍisa*, but P. *vetasa*, Ś. *vedasa*=*vetasa* (§101).—*haraḍai*=*haritaki* (§120).

§219. Cerebralization has a wider range in AMg., partly in JM. too (Hc. 1,206), than in the other dialects. It appears especially in these dialects in the past passive participles of certain roots in *r*. So: AMg. *kaḍa*=*kṛta*, *akaḍa*=*akṛta*, *dukkḍa*=*duṣkṛta*, *sukaḍa*=*sukṛta*, *vigaḍa*, *viyaḍa*=*vikṛta*, *paḍa*=*prakṛta*, *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta*, *āhakaḍa*=*yathākṛta*, beside M.A. *kaa*, AMg. JM. *kaya*, PG.P. *kata*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *kada*, Ś. Mg. A. *kida*, A. *akia* (§49; cf. §306).—AMg. *paṭṭhaḍa*=*prastṛta* (Thāṇ. 197), *vitṭhaḍa*=*vistṛta* (Jiv. 253; Ovav. §56), *saṁṭhaḍa*=*saṁstṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,3,9;2,1,6,1), *asaṁṭhaḍa* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14), *ahāsaṁṭhaḍa*=*yathāsaṁstṛta* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14).—AMg. *maḍa*=*mṛta* (Vivāhap. 13; Uttar. 985; Jiv. 255; Kappas.), AMg. JM. *maḍaya*=*mṛtaka* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,10,17; Āv. 24,4), beside AMg. JM. *maja* Vivāhap. 16.1041.1042; Dvār. 503,5,7;504,4,17), JM. *mu'a* (Āv. 28,8), (G.), M. *maa* (G.), *mua* (H.R.), JŚ. *mada* (Pav. 387,18), Ś. *muda* (Mṛcch. 72,20; Karp. 22,9).—*vūda*=*vrta* in AMg. *abhinivvūda*=*abhinivṛta* (Sūyag. 110.117 [°nī°] 371), *nivvūda*=*nivṛta* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3; Sūyag. 550), *pāūda*=*prāvṛta* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 134.170), *parinivvūda*=*parinivṛta* (Kappas.) beside °ya (Ovav.; Kappas.), *parivvūda*=*parivṛta* (Ovav.), *saṁparivvūda*=*saṁparivṛta* (Vivāhap. 186.830; Nāyādh. §4.130; p. 431.574.724.784. 1068.1074.1273.1290.1327; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *saṁvūda*=*saṁvṛta* (Āyār. 1,8,3,13;2,1,9,1; Sūyag. 81.117.144; Vivāhap. 942; Kappas.), *asaṁvūda* (Sūyag. 108.115), *susaṁvūda* (Sūyag. 141), beside *nivvua*, JM. *nivvuya*, Ś. *nivvūda* (§51), M. *pāua* (H.), Dh. Ś. *pāvūda* (Mṛcch. 34,12; 72,2,9), Ś. *avāvūda*=*apāvṛta* (Mṛcch. 16,3.5.9), Ś. D. *parivvūda*=*parivṛta* (Mṛcch. 6,6;106,1), Ś. *saṁvūda* (Mṛcch.15,7), AMg. *saṁvuyya* (Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *haḍa*=*hṛta* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *avahaḍa*=*apahṛta* (Hc. 1,206), *abhihaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1.2;2,1,11;2,2,1,2), *āhaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,4;2,1,9,2; Sūyag. 382), *asamaḥaḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,5), *nīhaḍa*=*nirhṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11;2,1,9,7;2,10,2.4), beside M. *hia*=*hṛta* (H.R.), Ś. *avahada*=*apahṛta* (Mṛcch. 52,13.21;53,2.21;55,16;74,12;78,2;89,9;147,17;154,13; Vikr. 41,12). According to Vr. 11,15 the cerebralization occurs also in Mg. in *kada*=*kṛta*, *maḍa*=*mṛta*, *gaḍa*=*gata*. So are found Mg. *kaḍa* (Mṛcch. 17,8;32,5;127,23.24;132,10.11.12;149,24;154,20;164,10), *maḍa* (Mṛcch.119,15), *maḍaa* (Caṇḍak. 63,11), *gaḍa* (Mṛcch. 10,6;13,8;20,16;36,13), beside *kada*, *kida* (§49), *gada* (Mṛcch. 39,20;116,7;128,2;171,11; Prab. 50,6; Caṇḍak. 70,14; Venis. 34,9 etc.). *kaḍa* occurs also in PG. 7,51 (cf. EI, 2,485) beside *adhikate*=*adhikṛtān* (5.5). *maḍa* is treated as provincial in Deśin. 6,141. On *kaḍa*, *maḍa* see §244. Other examples of cerebralization from AMg. are : *dukkḍi*=*duṣkṛtin* (Sūyag. 295); *uvakkhaḍei*=**upaskṛtayati*, *uvakkhaḍāvei* (§559); *purēkkhaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (Paṇṇav. 796ff.); *niyaḍi*=*nikṛtin* (Dasav. 635,7), *niyaḍilla*=*nikṛtimat* (Uttar.990), *niyaḍillayā*=*nikṛtimattā* (Thāṇ. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.); *saṁkhaḍi*=*saṁskṛti* (Āyār.

1,8,1,18), *paṇḍi*=*prakṛti* (Thāṇ. 216; Vivāhap. 74), JŚ. *paṇḍi* (Kattig. 399,308), beside *paṇḍi* (Ovav.; Kappas.), M. *paṇḍi* (H.R.), Ś. *paṇḍi* (Śak. 35,8;66,8;117,11;153,14; Vikr.73,12;75,4); *vaḍiṃsa*, *vaḍiṃsaga*, *vaḍiṃsaya*=*avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka* (§ 103); *veyāvaḍi* beside *veyāvacca*=*vaiyāpṛtya* (LEUMANN, Ovav. s.v. *veyāvacca*). Doubtful is the meaning of Mg. *viḍatta*, *ppaḍavadi* (Mṛcch.165,11). Lalitadīkṣita's explanation by *vitapta*, *pratopati* in GODABOLE p. 448 is forced. Presumably we should read: *viḍhatte cede kiṃ na pṇalavadi*=*vidagdhāśeṭaḥ kiṃ na pralapati*. On *viḍhatta* cf. M. *dhajjā*, Ś. *dhajjādi*, *viḍhajjia*, Mg. *dhajjyadi* (§212), on *pṇalavadi*, the v.l. *ppatabadi* in GODABOLE.

§220. In some cases the cerebralization does not take place as a rule: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paṇḍā*=*pratiṇā* (Hc.1,206; G.R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mālav. 66,18;69,5), beside AMg. *apaḍinna*=*apratijñā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19.22; 1,8,2,5.11.16;1,8,3,9.12.14;1,8,4,6.7.14); AMg. JM. *paṇḍhāna*=*pratiṣṭhāna* (Thāṇ. 513; Nāyādh. 623; Vivāhap. 418.447; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also in the proper name of the town JM. Ś. *paṇḍhāna* (Āv. 21,1; Kk. 269,44 [so to be read in place of *paṇḍā*]; Vikr. 23,14;73,11 [so to be read with all the MSS. (p.255), the Indian editions and the Dravidian recensions]), as also in the Leṇa-dialect *paṇḍhāna* beside *pratiṣṭhāna* (Arch. Survey of Western India 5,76,8); AMg. *paṇḍhā*=*pratiṣṭhā* (Hc. 1,206); AMg. JM. *paṇḍhiya*=*pratiṣṭhita* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), beside M. *paṇḍhiya* (G.R.), AMg. *paṇḍhiya* (Ovav.); AMg. *paṇḍhāvaya*=**pratiṣṭhāpaka* (Ovav.), JM. *paṇḍhāvaya*=*pratiṣṭhāpita* (T.7,2; Erz.), beside M. *paṇḍhāvaya* (R.), Ś. *paṇḍhāvehi*=*pratiṣṭhāpaya* (Ratn. 295,26); JM. *paṇḍinam*=*pratidinam* (Erz.; Kk.), *paṇḍi yahan*=*pratidivasam* (Kk.), *paṇḍamayam*=*pratisamayam* (Hc. 1,206), *paṇḍarisan*=*prativarṣam* (7,1); also in independently standing *prati*, JM. *paṇḍi* (Kk.), Ś. *paṇḍi* (Cait.88,12;90,4.5); *paṇḍi*=*pratiṣṭhā* (Hc.1,206; Pāyāl.154), beside Mg. *vipṇaḍi*=*vipratipā* (Mṛcch. 29,23), Dh. *vipṇaḍi* (Mṛcch. 30,11.12; cf. GODABOLE p. 86,1.2); M. JM. *samṇaṇḍi*=*samprati* (Hc. 1,206; Pāyāl. 67; G.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), JM. *samṇaṇḍam*=*sampratam* (Pāyāl. 67; Erz.; Kk.), beside Ś. Dh. *samṇaṇḍam* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; 36,9;42,9; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12; Vikr.26,12;27,21;46,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *samṇaṇḍam* (e.g. Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2.4.5;38,19;99,11;119,11; 153,22; Prab. 58,17).

§221. *tha*, through *ṭha*, becomes *dha* initially in M. *dhakkai*, *dhakkei* (covers; disguises; closes; Hc.4,21; H.), JM. *dhakkemi* (T.7,9), *dhakkēṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 499,8), Ś. *dhakkehi* (Mṛcch. 36,3); Mg. *dhakkida*, *dhakkedha* (Mṛcch. 79,17;164,14), also with infixed nasal *dhāṃkissam* (Prab. 58,10; so to be read; BROCKHAUS *ṭhāṃkissam*, ed. Bomb. P. *dhāṃkissam*, (ed. M. *thagaissam*=Pāli *thaketi*, *dhāṃkani* (cover; Deśin. 4,14); *dhakke* (covetous; Erz.); cf. §309. Medially in M. *kaḍhā*=*koṭhati* (Vr. 8,39; Hc. 4,119.220; Ki. 4,46), *kaḍhamāna* (G.), *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* (H. 401; so to be read), *kaḍhā* (Karp. 40,2), Ś. *kaḍhāmāna* (Anarghar. 270,1; text °*iija*), *kaḍhida* (Karp. 82,7), AMg. *sukaḍhiya* (Jiv. 823.860f.); AMg. *gaḍhiya*=*grathita* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5.4.2,5,4 [text °*ddh*]; 1,4,4,2;1,6,5,5;1,8,1,9;2,1,8,2; Sūyag. 84,601.699.751; Thāṇ. 156; Vivāhap. 450.1128; Nāyādh. 433.606; Vivāgas.87 [text °*ddh*].92), *agaḍhiya* (Āyār.2,1,5,5; Paṇhāv.359.370); *niṣidha* beside *niṣiṭha*=*niṣiṭha* (Hc. 1,216). In Ś. occurs *niṣidha* (Mallikām. 201,6; 209,18) as well as *niṣiṭha* (Kāleyak. 26,2) falsely for *niṣidha*. AMg. *nijjūḍha*=*niryūṭha* (expelled; singled out; Nāyādh. 323; Vivāhap. 134; Dasav. 631,11;644,12.19.21.22.24), *anijjūḍha* (Vivāhap. 134), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*=*yūṭha* (G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 42,7; Erz.; Vikr. 56,21), Ś. *jūḍha* (Caṇḍak. 17,12), M. *jūhiā*=*yūthikā* (G.), AMg.

jūhiyā (Kappas.), *Ś. jūdhīā* (Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 16,2; 17,2; 21,14 [text everywhere °hi²]), AMg. *nijjūhūhaga* = **niryūthaka*, *nijjūhiyā* = **niryūthita* (Dasav. 644, 16, 17), JM. *nijjūhijjāi* (Āv. 42, 15); *paḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *puḍhuma* beside P. *puḍhuma* = *prathama* (§104); *puḍhavi* beside *puhavi*, *puhāi* = *prthvi* (§51)²; AMg. *puḍho* = *prthak*, beside *puhutta*, *puhatta* = *prthaktva* (§78); AMg. *medhi* = *methi* (Hc. 1,215; Nāyādh. 630; Uvās.); *sadhila*, *pasadhila*, *siḍhila*, *pasidhila* = *sithila*, *prasithila* (§115).

1. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 2f. The word presupposes one Skt. **sthak*, Cf. § 309. Not quite correct FISCHER, BB. 15, 125.—Artificial and false BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 164f.

§222. Initially *da* has become *ḍa* in M. AMg. JM. in the roots *daś* and *dah* and their derivatives (Hc. 1,217,218; Mk. fol. 17). Vr. 2,35 mentions *daśana* only, Kī. 2,42 besides also *dahana*, for which they, like Mk., require the change compulsorily, whilst Hc. 1,217 permits it optionally in *daśana*, *daṣṭa*, *dagdha*, *dāha*, but for the roots themselves he always prescribes it. We find JM. *daśai*, but AMg. *dasamāṇa* (cf. v.l.), *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); M. *daṭṭha* (H.) and M. JM. *daṭṭha* (R.; Kk.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍakka* (§566); AMg. *saṁdāsa* = *saṁdamśa* (Uttar. 593); *uddasa* (bug; Deśin. 1,96); *uddāsa* (pain; Deśin. 1,99); but AMg. JŚ. *damśa* = *damśa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28; Ovav.; Kattig. 401,353); Dh. *daṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 39,8); M. *daśaṇa* (G.), and so always in Ś. according to Vr. 12,31, which retains the dental initially even in the root: *daśaṇādaśaṇi* (Laṭakam. 7,6), *damśaḍi* (Śak. 160,1), *daṭṭha*, *damśida* (Mālav. 53,17; 54,6). So also *dādhā* = *damśtrā* (§76).—*dah* forms *dahai* (H.), JM. *dahe* (Erz. 38,18), AMg. *ḍahaha* (Sūyag. 596), *ḍahējjā* (Dasav. 634,5), *ḍahijjā* (Sūyag. 783); M. *ḍahiṭṭa* (H.R.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhai* (Hc. 4,246; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2; 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 273; Uttar. 282,284), M. *ḍajjhasi*, *ḍajjhasu* (H.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhanti* (G.; Paṇhāv. 381; Dvār. 498,26), M. *ḍajjhisi* (H.); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,35); JM. *ḍajjhae* (Dvār. 498,22); AMg. *ḍajjhantu* (Paṇhāv. 127; M. AMg. *ḍajjhanta*—(G.R.); Karp. 87,9; Jiv. 591; Paṇhāv. 63; Paṇnav. 99; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), JM. *ḍajjhinti* (Dvār. 499,23); AMg. JM. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270,286; Paṇhāv. 59,217; Uttar. 446; Dvār. 498,25), °*ṇi* (Uttar. 284; Dvār. 498,28; 499,7); AMg. *viḍajjhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. *ḍajjha* (Ṭhāp. 146); M. *ḍaddha* (H.R.), but only R. 3,48 in *ḍaddhaa* without a v.l., everywhere else with v.l. *dadḍha*, as also AMg. JM. have (C. 3,16; Sūyag. 288,783; Paṇhāv. 176; Paṇnav. 848; Vivāhap. 13,16,617; Āv. 9,16,20; 19,13,15; Dvār. 499,21,22,500,16; 501,34), M. without v.l. only R. 7,52. Cf. Kī. 2,17. In M. the cerebralization is so preponderant, that certainly also at R. 15,58 with v.l. should be read *ḍahiṭṭh*¹, in spite of JM. *dahiṭṭh* [Erz. 24,25]. In compounds the dental seems to prevail: *viḍaddha* (Kī. 2,17); M. *viḍaddha* = *vidagdha* (G.H.; Anarghar. 20,3); JM. *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17), AMg. *niddahējjā* (Uttar. 363), JM. *niddaddha* (Dvār. 504,9,10); AMg. *saṁdadhamaṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); otherwise, except in *dadḍha*, it is testified to with outright uncertainty, as *ḍahijjāi* (Hc. 4,246), AMg. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 13,16,617), probably under the influence of the adjacent *dadḍha*, as JM. *dahai* (Erz. 3,18), through the preceding parallel *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17). In Ś. the dental remains, except in the cases of transimposition of breath (§212), throughout: *dohidum* (Śak. 72,12); *dadḍha* = *dagdha* (Anarghar. 150,4; text *dadḍha*; cf. also ed. Calc. 89,2); *viḍaddha* = *vidagdha* (Mālatim. 76,6; 250,3; Hāsy. 25,8; 22,31,17). In derivatives the cerebralization is found e.g. in M. AMg. *dāha* (Pāiyāl. 46; H.; Āyār. 2,10,17), M. JM. *ḍahana* (Pāiyāl. 6; G.; Erz.) beside JM. *dahana* (Erz.; Kk.). So also *ḍaddhāḍi* (way of the forest fire; Deśin. 4,8) from *dagdha* + *vāfi* (way) with contraction according

to §167. For *da* appears *ḍa*, further in the anlaut in JM. *daṇḍa*=*daṇḍa* (Vr. 2,35; C.3,16; Hc. 1,217 Ki. 2,42; Mk. fol. 18; Āv. 47,26ff.), beside the common *daṇḍa* of all the dialects (e.g. M. G.H.R.; AMg. Āyār. 1,8,1,7 [v.1 *da°*]. 8; 1,8,3,7,10; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; JM. Erz.; Kk.; JŚ. Kattig. 401,345ff.; Ś. Vr. 12,31; Mṛcch. 41,6; 155,5; Śak. 125,1; 130,4; Mālav. 71,6,78,7; Prab. 4,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 154,10; 155,5); *ḍabbha*=*darbha* (Hc. 1,217), beside M. AMg. *dabbha* (G.; Śak. 85,2; Uvās.); *ḍambha*, beside *dambha*=*dambha* (Hc. 1,217), to which *ḍambhia*=*dāmbhika* (gamester; Deśin. 4,8) also belongs; AMg. JM. *ḍahara*=*dahara* (young; Deśin. 4,8; Pāiyāl. 58; Āyār. 2,11,18; Sūyag. 100.113.472.515; Antag. 55; Dasav. 623,20; 633,28.32.35; 636,14; 637,7; Āv. 42,16); *ḍolā*=*dolā* (Grr.; Deśin. 4,11; Pāiyāl. 232), beside M. Ś. *dolā* (Vr. 12,31; Hc.; Mk.; G.; Karp. 23,5; 54,10; 55,4; 57,2 5,7; Mālav. 32,12; 34,12; 39,7,15; 40,5; Karp. 54,5; 58,1; Viddhaś. 117,1), M. *ḍolāia*=*dolāyita* (under H. 966), beside Ś. *dolāamāna* (Mṛcch. 68,14); in addition also *ḍola* (eye; Deśin. 4,9; Triv. 1,3,105), *ḍolia* (antelope; Deśin. 412)²; AMg. JM. *ḍohaḷa*=*dohada* (Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; Nāyādh.; Erz.), beside the common M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḷa* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; H.R.; Vivāgas. 116; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Mālav. 30,13; 34,13; 36,2; 40,6; 48,14; Karp. 20,2,6; 64,9; 66,1; Ratn. 297,32), M. Ś. *dohaḷaa*=*doholaka* (H.; Karp. 62,9; Viddhaś. 121,5; Ratn. 300,17). Cf. §244.436. In AMg. the anlaut of reduplication is cerebralized in *āḍahaī*=*ādadhāti* (Ovav. § 44), *āḍahanti*=*ādadhanti* (Sūyag. 286)³. Cf. §223.500. *dara* becomes *ḍara* in the meaning "fear", (Hc. 1,217), as *darati* in the meaning "fears", "trembles", *ḍaraī* (Hc. 4,198)⁴; on the other hand, the dental remains in the meaning "something", "a little", "half": M. JM. Ś. (Hc. 1,217; 2,215; Deśin. 5,33; Pāiyāl. 212; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,14; 56,7; 66,11; Erz. Mālaūm. 118,5; Uttarar. 125,4; Caṇḍak. 16,16; Viddhaś. 117,4; 126,3). *dara* "fear" with a dental in R. 6,56 stands for the sake of rhyme with *kandara*. In the anlaut *ḍa* appears for *da* in *kaḍaṇa* beside *kaṇa* (Hc. 1,217); M. *khudā*, Ś. *khudida*=**kṣudita*=*kṣuṇṇa*, M. *ukkhudā*=**utkṣudita* (§ 568); AMg. *tuḍiya*=**tudita* (§ 258); Mg. *haḍakka*=**hṛdaka* (§ 194). *saḍai* belongs according to Hc. 4,219, to *sad*, according Vr. 8,51 and Ki. 4,46, to *śad*. Probably it is to be rightly connected with *śaṭ*, in favour of which are AMg. *paḍisāḍenti*, *paḍisāḍittā* (Āyār. 2,15,18), JM. *paḍisaḍaṇa* (Kk. 268,22)⁵.

1. FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 327. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho p. 322, note 5, who completely overlooks the dialectal distinction.—2. FISCHER, BB 6,89.—3. JACOBI (SBE. 45,45,283), with the commentary, falsely derives the form from *dah* "to burn".—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1,217; 4,198.—5. So probably more correctly than Hc. 4,219.

§223. In the anlaut *dha* has become *ḍha* in M. *ḍhaṅkha*, AMg. *ḍhaṅka*, *ḍhinka*=Pāli *dhanka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*, *ḍhēṅki*=*dhvāṅkṣi* (§213); in the anlaut in AMg. *niṣaḍha*, *niṣaḍha*=*niṣadha* (Hc. 1,226; Mk. fol. 17; Thān. 72.75.176; Samav. 19.161.162; Jiv. 583; Nāyādh. 668; Nirayāv. 79ff.; Paṇhāv. 243; Rāyap. 177), but *niṣaha* (Sūyag. 313); *osaḍha* (Hc. 1,227; Ki. 2,1; Mk. fol. 17), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha* (C. 2,8; Hc. 1,227; H.; Vivāhap. 516; Uttar. 602. 918; Sūyag. 771; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,362; Mālav. 26,15) and Ś. *osaḍha* in *laddhosadha* (Śak. 56,16)=*auṣadha*¹. To it belongs also AMg. JM. *āḍhāi*=**ādhāti*=*āda-dhāti* (§ 500)¹, causative *āḍhavaī*, *viḍhavaī*, passive causative *āḍhappāi*, *āḍhaviāi*, *viḍhappāi*, *viḍhavijjāi* (§ 286), participles M. AMg. JM. *āḍhatta*, M. *saṃāḍhatta*, M. JM. Ś. *viḍhattaū*, A. *viḍhatta* (§ 565). The derivation, going back to Hc. 2,138, of *āḍhatta*, from *ārabdha*², is linguistically impos-

sible. To *dhā*, not to *ḍṛ*, belongs also *āḍhia* (desired; fit to be set; attractive; stable; Hc. 1,143; Deśin. 1,74), JM. *āḍhiya* (Āv. 43,25) = **ādhita* = *āhita*. For cerebralization one may compare *saḍḍhā* = *śraddhā*, *saḍḍha* = *śraddha*, *saḍḍhi* = *śraddhin* (§ 333) and AMg. *āḍahai*, *āḍahanti* (§ 222).

1. Wrongly connects E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57, *āḍhāi* to *ārādhati*, and HOERNLE, Uvās., Transl. note 306, to *ardhayati* or to *ārdayati*.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57; WEBER, Hāla s.v. *āḍhatta*; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512, note**; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *rabh*; ZDMG. 29,494. Falsely also JACOBI, KZ. 28,253.

§224. In all the dialects, except PG. VG. AMg. JM. JŚ. P.CP., in the anlaut, as in the inlaut, *na* is always changed into *ṇa* (Vr. 2,42; Hc. 1,228; Ki. 2,106; Mk. fol. 18); M. *ṇa* = *na*; *ṇaṇa* = *nayana* (G.H.R.)¹; *ṇalīṇi* = *nalīṇi*; *ṇāsaṇa* = *nāsana* (R.); *ṇihaṇa* = *nidhana* (G.R.); *ṇihāṇa* = *nidhāna*; *ṇihuṇa* = *nidhuvana* (H.); *ṇūṇam* (H.), *ṇūṇa* (G.R.) = *nūnam*. Likewise Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā.D.A. In AMg. JM. JŚ. single *n* in the beginning of words and doubled *n* within words may be retained. Ki. 2,107 generally permits dental *n* in the anlaut: *ṇai* or *nai* = *nadī*. In the palm-leaf MSS. even in AMg. and JM. generally, and in Ki. throughout, *ṇa* is written, while the paper manuscripts, in the anlaut, and often also in the doublings, retain *n*². In the particle *ṇam* = *nūnam*, always *ṇ* is written, which is explained by the fact that *n* originally stood in the inlaut and that *ṇam* is enclitic (§150). The Jainas transfer this orthographical device also to other dialects, so that it, sometimes wrongly also in M., e.g. in Gaṇḍavaho, has been retained by the editors according to the MSS. The statement, that in AMg. even a medial simple *na* is sometime retained as in *āraṇāla*, *anila*, *anala* in Hc. 1,228, probably is based purely upon false readings. Epigraphically *na* is written falsely in Ś. *nomālie* = *navamālike* (Lalitav. 560,9.17 beside *ṇomālie*) and Mg. *nijjhala* = *nirjhara* 566,9 whilst *niraṃtara* (561,2) and *nia* (567,1) are printing mistakes³. In PG., with the exception of *madena* (6,40), *na* in the inflectional endings undergoes cerebralization throughout: *pallavāṇa* (5,2), *vatthavāṇa* = *vāstavyāṇām* (6,8) *bamhaṇāṇam* = *brāhmaṇāṇām* (6,8.27.30.38), *kātūṇam* = **kr̥tvāṇam* (6,10.29), *nātūṇam* = **jñātūṇam* (6,39), *likhiteṇa* (7,51), otherwise the simple *na* in the inlaut is partly retained, as *senāpati* (5,3), *vadhanike* = **vardhanikān* (6,9), *aneka* (6,10), **ppadāyino* = **pradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *sātāhani* (6,27), *vinesi* (7,31), partly it becomes *ṇa*, as in *maṇuṣāṇa* = *maṇuṣyāṇām* (5,7), *dāṇi* = *idāṇim* (5,7), *appaṇo* = *ātmanaḥ* (6,8), *sāsaṇassa* = *śāsanasya* (6,10), *nivataṇam* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *aṇu* = *anu* (7,45). In the anlaut, on the other hand, as well the doubled one in the inlaut, the dental *na* always remains: *neyike* = *naiyikān* (5,7), *kumāraṇandi* (6,17), *naṇḍijasa* = *nandijasya* (6,21), *nāgaṇaṇḍisa* = *nāgaṇandinaḥ* (6,25), *nivataṇam* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *saṃvinayika* (6,32), *nigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41), *narādhamo* (7,47), *anne* = *anyān* (5,6; 7,43). So the inscription distinguishes also in the case of the secondary simplified nasal, derived from *jña*: *āṇataṃ* = *ājñaptani* (7,49), where *jña* is taken as in the inlaut, beside *nātūṇam* = **jñātūṇam* (6,39). The inscription thus agrees on the last two points generally with the more modern Jaina manuscripts⁴. So also in VG.: *pallavāṇam* (101,2); *nārāyaṇassa* (101,8), *vaddhaniyam* (101,8), *kātūṇa* (101,9), *nātūṇa* (101,10; cf. EI. 1,2 note 2). In P. CP. *na* remains throughout: P. *dhana*, *matana* = *madana*, *satana* = *sadana*, *vatanaka* = *vadanaka*, *cintayamāni* = *cintayamānā*, *gantūna* = **gantvāna*, *natthūna* = **naṣṭvāna* etc., also *sināna* = *snāna*, *sināta* = *snāta*, *sunuṣā* = *snuṣā*: CP. *matana* = *madana*, *tanu*, *nakara* = *nagara* etc. (Vr. 4,7.13; Hc. 4,304.307.310.312.313.314.325.328; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kavyālaṃkāra 2,12.

1: Cf. §186, note 1.—2. LEUMANN, *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* p. 6, note 4. On the flexibility of the manuscripts see WEBER, *Bhag.* 1,402f.; E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge* p. 29f.; JACOBI, *ZDMG.* 34,181, according to whom even in the oldest manuscripts *ṇa* appears not rarely; STEINTHAL, *Specimen* p. 3.—3. KONOW, *GN.* 1894,480.—4. Not quite correctly BÜHLER, *El.* 1,3.

§225. Very rarely and that only dialectically the cerebrals of Skt. become dentals. In P. *ṣu* can become *tu* (Hc. 4,311); *kutumbaka* beside *kuṣumbaka*. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na*: P. *gunaganayutta*=*guṇagaṇayukta*; *gunena*=*guṇena*; *talunī*=*taruṇī*; *viśāna*=*viṣāṇa*; *gahana*=*grahaṇa* (Vr. 10,5; C. 3,38; Hc. 4,306.309.323; Nāmisādhu on Rudrāṭa, *Kāvyaśālikā* 2,12); CP.: *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *paṇaya*=*praṇaya*, *nakhatappanesuṇ*=*nakhadarpaṇeṣu*, *pātukkhepeṇa*=*pādotkṣepeṇa* (Hc. 4,325.326). According to Śiṃhadevagaṇin on *Vāgbhaṭāśālikā* 2,12 *ṇa* should become *na* also in Mg.: *taluna*=*taruṇa*. S. has confused Mg. with P. In AMg. JM. JŚ., the manuscripts write *nna* for *ṇa* of the other dialects, except that of P. CP., just as for the dental *nna* (§ 224). *nisanna*=*niṣaṇṇa*; *paḍipunna*=*pratipūrṇa*; *vanna*=*varṇa*; also in the case of the secondary *ṇa*, as *anna*=M. Ś. *aṇṇa*=Skt. *anya* etc.

§226. Dentals could have occurred for cerebrals to a greater extent if the grammarians, with whom the North Indian manuscripts agree, were correct, in saying that *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ṇa* could become *la* (Vr. 2,22.23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,197.198.202.203, Ki. 2,12.13; Mk. fol. 16). In lieu of *la*, however, *ṭa* should always be written, as in similar cases in Pāli¹. The North Indian manuscripts know *la* as little as the *anunāsika* (§ 179), even not in the cases, as Hc. 4,308, where for P. transition of *la* into *ṭa* is required². Trivikrama's *grantha*-manuscripts write in this place 3,2,48 (MS. B. 39) throughout *ṭa*, in the rules corresponding to Hc. 1,197.202, in the *sūtras*, it is true, they write *la*, and in the examples, with a some exceptions, that are scribe's errors, as is shown by the variation of the manuscript³, only *ṭa*. The edition in the *Granthapradarśanī* has only *la*. It is so in the *sūtra* 1,3,24, peculiar to Trivikrama: *ṭor baḍiśāḍau laḥ*. The manuscripts of the texts and the impressions fluctuate; e.g. in Hc. 1,202 stands *kīṭaḥ*=*kṛīḍati*; in Triv. 1,3,30 the manuscript has A. *kīṭaḥ*, B. *kīṭaḥ*; Śak. 155,1, the Bengali and Nāgarī MSS. have *kīṭaṇaṃ*=*kṛīḍanakaṃ*, 155,12 *kīṭiśaṃ* or wrongly *kīṭiśaṃ*=*kṛīḍiṣyāmi*. Of the South Indian manuscripts the *Grantha*-manuscript L⁴ reads *kīṭaṇijam*=*kṛīḍaniyam*, but *kīṭiśaṃ*, the Telugu-manuscript F *kīṭaṇijam* and *kīṭiśaṃ*, P. *kīṭaṇam*, but *kīṭiśaṃ*, the Malayālam-manuscript V *kīṭaṇiyam*, but *kīṭiśaṃ*, the Telugu edition, Madras 1874 p. 304 *kīṭaṇaṃ* and p. 305 *kīṭaṇaṃ*; Vikr. 41,7;52,9 has for *kīḍiśaṃ* *kīṭaṇāḍa*, in the South-Indian recension 643,1;650,17 *kīṭiśaṃ*, *kīṭaṇāḍa*, 31,17 for *kīṭāpavvadaperante*=*kṛīḍāparvataparyante*, 636,17 *kīṭāpavvade*=*kṛīḍāparvate*; Mālav. 60,11 even the Telugu manuscript of the India Office has *kīṭiśaṃ*; in Mālatīm. 142,1 the Telugu edition 123,8 reads *kīṭaṇāḍo* for *kīṭaṇāḍo* etc. Similar is the case with other words. The South-Indian texts mostly have *ṭa*, which they employ in Skt. too in the same cases in which they use *ṇa*, so that they, e.g. write *ṭaraṭa*, *maṭṭa*, *saraṭa*, etc. The Bhaṭṭiprolu- Inscription I, A⁵, writes *phāṭiga*=*sphāṭika*, while PG. has *pīṭa*=*pīḍa* (6,40), for which *pīṭa* was expected⁶. In agreement with Pāli *ṭa* is to be assumed for Pkt. when it stands for *ṭa*, *ḍa*. Therefore, there has not occurred a transition from one class to another. When *ḍa* and *ṭa* are mentioned to be of a similar sound by Hemacandra on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇī* 258 (p. 322 ed. BÖHTLINGK), *Sarasvatik.* p. 98, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Alaṃkāratilaka* p. 14, *Sāhityadar-*

pana 261,11, and Kālidāsa, Raghuv. 9,46 permits *bhujalatām* to alliterate with *jaḍatām* (*ḍalayarabhedah* says Mallināth on it), this is explained by the fact that in Classical Skt. of the North *ḷa* had vanished in writing and speaking, but it proves nothing for Pkt.⁷ in relation the modern Indian languages. Cf. §238.240.

1. E. KUHN p. 36f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 27.—2. See the critical note to this rule.—3. So writes, e.g. in 1,3,30 A. *valahāmuham*, B. *valāmuham*; A. *galulo*, B. *garulo*=*garuḍah*; A. *talām*, B. *talām*=*taḍākam*; in 1,3,24 A. *valisam*, B. *balisam*=*baḍisam* etc.—4. On the notation of the manuscripts see GN. 1873,190f.—5. EI. 2,324.—6. On the inscriptional occurrences of *ḷa* see BÜHLER, EI. 2,368; FLEET, CII. 3,4,269.—7. FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 50; on Hc. 1,202; 4,326.

§227. Except in Dh. and Mg. *śa* and *ṣa* have become *sa* in Pkt., so that most of the dialects have the dental sibilant only (Vr. 2,43; Hc. 1,260; Kī. 2,103; Mk. fol. 18). PG. *sivakhaṇḍavamo*=*śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *visae*=*viṣaye* (5,3), *pesaṇa*=*prisaṇa* (5,6), *yaso*=*yaśah* (6,9), *sāṣaṇṣa*=*śāsanasya* (6,10), *sata*=*śata* (6,11), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6,16), *sāka*=*śāka* (6,34), *visaya*=*viṣaya* (6,35) and others; M. *asesa*=*aśeṣa* (G.H.), *āsivisa*=*āśviṣa* (R.), *kesa*=*keśa* (G.H.R.), *ghosa*=*ghoṣa* (G.H.), *pasu*=*paśu* (G.), *masi*=*maśi* (H.R.), *mahisa*=*mahiṣa* (G.H.R.), *rosa*=*roṣa* (G.H.R.), *sisira*=*śisira* (G.H.R.), *sisu*=*śisu* (G.); Ś. *kidavisesaā*, *sohadi*=*kṛtaviseṣakā*... *sobhate* (Mṛcch. 2,21), *parisilidāsesadesamtaravavahāro*=*pariśilitāśeṣadesāntaravavahārah* (Lalitav. 560,19), *sasiseharavallahā*=*śaśisekharavallabhā* (Lalitav. 561,9), *sussūsidadapuruvvo* *sussūsidadvvo*=*śuśrūṣitapūrvah* *śuśrūṣitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23). Likewise AMg. JM. JŚ. P. CP. Ā.D.A.

§228. In Dh. *ṣa* has become *sa*, but *śa* has been retained: *esa*, *esu*, *eso*=*eśah* (Mṛcch. 30,10; 31,8; 34,17; 35,15; 36,23); *puliso*=*puṛuṣah* (34,12); *mūsido*=*mūṣitah* (38,18; 39,1); *samavisamam*, *sakalusaam* (so to be read!)=*samaviśamam*, *sakaluśakam* (v. l. *aikasanaṁ*=*atikṛṣṇam*; 30,8,9); however, *ādamaśāmi* (so to be read!)=*ādarśayāmi* (34,25); *jaśam* [so to be read]=*yaśah* (30,9); *daśasuvanna*=*daśasuvārṇa* (29,15; 30,1; 31,4 etc.); *śalaṇam* (to be read so!)=*śaraṇam* (30,4); *ṣuṇṇu*=*śūnyah* (30,11); *śela*=*śaila* (30,17). See § 25.

§229. In Mg., according to Mk. fol. 85 also in Vṛcāḍa Apabhraṁśa, and as it appears, in Kaikeyapāśācika too, *ṣa* and *śa*, when not conjoined, become *śa* in the inlaut and in the anlaut; *śa* itself is retained (Vr. 11,3; C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Kī. 5,86; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmiśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12). The rule is valid also when the sounds are combined with *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* or when they are in a consonant group split up by a separation vowel or are otherwise resolved through the phonetic laws of Pkt.: *īdiśāśa* *akavyaśāśa*=*īdṛśayāśakāryasya* (Śak. 113,5); *avaśalovaśappañña*=*avasaropasarpaṇiṇya* (Śak. 115,10); *keśeśu*=*keśeṣu* (Mṛcch. 122,22; Venis. 35,19); *duśśāśaśāśa*=*duḥśāsanasya* (Mṛcch. 12,15; Venis. 35,12), *pulīśa*=*puṛuṣa* (§ 124); *bhūśaśaśadda*=*bhūṣaṇaśabda* (Mṛcch. 14,23); *mahiśamahāśula*=*mahiṣamahāśura* (Caṇḍak. 68,16); *māṇuśamanīśa*=*mānuṣamānīśa* (Venis. 33,3); *māśalāśi*=*māṣarāśi* (Mṛcch. 14,10); *lāeśi*=*rājārjī* (Venis. 34,1); *lośaggi*=*rośāgni* (Mṛcch. 123,2); *lośamaliśa-palaovaśa*=*rośāmarṣaparavaśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); *valīśaśada*=*varṣaśata* (Venis. 33,4); *viśakaṇṇaā*=*viśakanyakā* (Mudrār. 193,3; 194,6); *viśeśa*=*viṣeṣa* (Mṛcch. 38,13); *viśśāvaśuśā*=**viśvāvasuśya*=*viśvāvasoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9); *śalīla*=*śalila* (Mṛcch. 136,11; 158,13); *śatīla*=*śarīra* (Mṛcch. 124,21; 127,5; 140,10; 154,10; Venis. 34,1); *śahaśā*=*sahasra* (§ 448); *śamaśśaśadu*=*samāśvaśitu* (Mṛcch. 130,17); *śamaśśāśadi*=*samāśvāśyate* (Venis. 34,13);

śilasi=*śirasi* (Mṛcch. 116,15); *śiliśomeśalaeva*=*śrīśomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); *śivilaṇiveśa*=*śibirāniveśa* (Lalitav. 565,6); *soṇidavaśāśamuddaduś-saṁcala*=*soṇiṭavaśāśamudraduśsaṁcara* (Venīś 34,5); *sośāveduṁ*=*soṣayitum* (Mṛcch. 140,9).

2. RELATING TO PARTICULAR CONSONANTS.

§230. *ka* becomes *ca* in *kirāta*: M. *cilā* (Vr. 2,33 [Bh. here and under 2,30 *cilāda*]; Hc. 1,183.254; Ki. 2,35.41; Mk. fol. 17 [*cilāda*]; R.), AMg. *cilāya* (Paṇhāv. 42; Paṇnav. 58), femin. *cilāi* (Ovav.), *cilāiyā* (Vivāhap. 791; Rāyap. 288; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); cf. *cilātīputra* (commentary upon Rṣabhap. 38). In the meaning “Śiva” *ka* remains according to Hc. Mk. So M. *kirā* (G. 35). In Ś., according to Mk., *ka* remains in tribal names: *kirāda* (Bālar. 168,2; Karp. 90,8). *kirāya* occurs in Pāiyāl. 273.—*ka* is represented by *va* in *ovāsa*=*avakāśa* (Pāiyāl. 261; G.H.R.), beside *oāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.H.R.), M. Ś. *avaāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.; Mṛcch. 44,19; Vikr. 41,8; Prab. 46,2), JM. *avagāsa* (Erz.), AMg. *avagāsiya*=**avakāśika* (Uvās.); *ovāsa*=*avakāśate* (Vr. 8,35; Hc. 4,179); M. *antovāsa*=*antaravakāśa* (G. 848; § 383)¹. Further in AMg. *jūva*=*yūka* (Jiv. 356), beside *jūā*, *ūā*, AMg. *jūyā* (§ 335); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. *thova*=*stoka* (Hc. 2,125; G.; Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 950; Thān. 238; Jiv. 798; Vivāhap. 26,423; Uttar. 311.959; Dasav. 621,13; Jiyak. 92; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 41,9; 43,3,5; Dvār. 504,8; Erz.; Kattig. 400,335 [text *thū*]; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. JM. *thovaya*=*stokaka* (Nāyādh.; Erz.), AMg. *thovayaram* (Jiyak. 92), JM. *thovāthovam* (Āv. 43,7), beside M. Ś. Mg. *thoa* (Hc. 2,45.115; G.H.R.; Karp. 10,6; 37,5; Ś. Karp. 45,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 157,6), *thōkka* (§ 90)²; AMg. *divaḍḍha*=*dvikārdha* (§ 450). *va* will have, according to § 199, originated from *pa*, therefore, it may be a case of interchange between gutturals and labials. Cf. § 231.266.286. On *pavatttha*, supposed to be=*prakoṣṭha* see § 129; on *candimā*, supposed to be=*candrikā* § 103; on AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. A. *ga* for *ka*, § 192.202; on *kha*, *ha* for *ka*, see § 206.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. It is difficult to explain *v*, here, as in other cases, with FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1322, from the velar *k*. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 112, note 1, wrongly thinks that it was brought in to prevent hiatus, that is avoided in none of the dialects.

§ 231. *ga* appears as *va* in *ovāhāi* beside *ogāhāi*=*avagāhate* (Hc. 4,205)¹; AMg. *juvala*=*yugala* (Vivāhap. 962), *juvalaya*=*yugalaka* (Vivāhap. 82), *juvaliya*=*yugalita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); cf. § 286 *juppa*; AMg. *talāva*=*taḍāga* (Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). beside AMg. JM. *talāga* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; Paṇhāv. 31.246.437.520; Paṇnav. 84; Uttar. 884; Ovav.; Āv. 11,44.45; Erz.), AMg. *talāya* (Ovav.), *taḍāga* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3); M. *talāa* (Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21 p. 50; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16; G.H. v.1.); Ś. *taḍāga* (Mṛcch. 37 23; 151,15); M. *dūhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115.192; Karp. 86,2), and according to its analogy with a lengthened vowel *sūhava*=*subhaga* (Hc. 1,113.192), according to Mk. fol. 39 also *duhavi*, *suhavi*=*durbhagā*, *subhagā*. Reversely *ga* occurs for *va* in AMg. JM. *agaḍa*=*avaṭa* (2,1,2,3; Ovav.; Erz.), beside *ayaḍa* (Deśin. 1,18; Pāiyāl. 130) and common *avaḍa*; AMg. *niṇhaga*=**naiṇhava*² (heretic; Ovav. § 122), beside AMg. *niṇhavi* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *niṇhavi* (Dasav. 631,31), *anīṇhavi* (Nāyādh. § 83); cf. § 473; AMg. *aṇhaga*=*āsrava* (Paṇhāv. 324), beside *aṇhaya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6; Paṇhāv. 7; Ovav.)³, *paṇhaya*=*prāsava* (Vivāhap. 794), AMg. *mahānubhāga*=*mahānubhāva* (Bhag.; Ovav.)⁴. Cf. also AMg. *pariyāga*, *niyāga* (§ 254).—M. *puṇṇāma*=*puṇṇāga* (Hc. 1,190; R.), beside AMg. *puṇṇāga* (Āyār. 2,10,21; Nāyādh. 699. [°ṇṇā]), Ś. *puṇṇāa* (Mallikām. 116,9), and *bhāmiṇi*=*bhāginī* (Hc. 1,190), beside M. Ś. *maṇḍa-bhāni* (H.; Mṛcch. 22,25; 120,6; 170,3.25; Vikr. 84,21 and often) presuppose

the process of development *puṇṇāga*, **puṇṇāva*, *puṇṇāma* (§ 261)⁵. Skt. *puṇṇāman* is a borrowing from Pkt. —*chāla* supposed to be=*chāga*, and *chālī*=*chāgi* (Hc. 1,191) have, according to § 165, arisen from *chāgala*, *chāgali*. For Mg. *cheliā* (Laṭakam. 12,14) we have to read *chālīā*. Ś. has *chāgala* (Mṛcch. 17,15). On *gha* for *ga* see § 209. Cf. § 230.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. So the word is not to be equated as=*nihnava* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.). *i* stands for *ai* according to § 84.—Not correctly, LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.).—4. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *anubhāga*. WEBER, Bhag. 2,290 thinks of Skt. *anubhāga*. To me the equation of AMg. *pūsamānaga* =Skt. *pūyamānava*, given by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., is not clear. The word *vaddhamānaga*, in Ovav. § 55, mentioned earlier, makes it probable that the word is to be equated as *pūyamāna* + *ka*. In no case, with LEUMANN, we can assume dropping off of *v*.—5. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 15; Rāvanavaho. Index p. 172^a, note 1, who, rather wrongly, explains *sa* as having been brought in to stop the hiatus. Cf. § 230, note 2.

§232. AMg. *āunṭaṇa* is not, with Hc. 1,177, to be equated as=*ākūṇcana*, but as=**ākunṭana* from *Vkuṣa kauṭilye* (Dhātupāṭha 28,73), that is identical with *Vkuṣi vaikalye* (Dhātupāṭha 9,37). Hence it is derived from the present stem *ākunṭa-*, which occurs in AMg. *āunṭiya*, *āunṭējjā* (Vivāhap. 1151.1152)¹. To the same root belong Skt. *kuṭila*, Pkt. *kuḍilla kuḍilla* (crooked; Deśin. 2,40; Pāyāl. 155), *koḍilla* (bad; Deśin. 2,40) and *kuṇṭi* (bundle; Deśin. 2,34). — *khasia*, according to Hc. 1,193 = *khacita*, is rather=*kasita*, in conformity with Hc. 1,181; cf. § 206.—AMg. *pisalla* (Paṇhāv. 79 v.1.), *sapisallaga* (Paṇhāv. 525), that Hc. equates as=*piśāca*, will be=*piśācālaya*, according to § 150.165.194. *piśāca* becomes regularly M. Ś. *piśā* (H.; Prab. 46,2; Mudrār. 186,4 [°ca]; 191,5 [°ca]), AMg. JM. *piśāya* (Thāp. 90.138.229; Paṇhāv. 172.230.312; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.).

1. *āunṭāvēmi* (sic; Nāyādh. 603; commentary *āunṭāvēmi*), *āunṭeṭha*, *āunṭehi* (sic; Nāyādh. 605) is a false reading for *āunṭāvēmi*, *āunṭeṭha*, *āunṭe'nti*, as e. g. *āunṭai* (Thāp. 152; Sūyag. 403), *āunṭāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2), *āunṭittas* (Kappas. S. § 49), *viunṭāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *viunṭaṇa* (Sūyag. 476) are found. The forms belong to *Vrt*.

§233. *cha* remains unchanged in the anlaut. In the inlaut it becomes *ccha* after vowels, as in Skt., and after nasal vowels and nasals it remains *cha*, whether it be original or secondary. Thus M. *chala* (G.H.); *chavi* (G.R.); *chāā*=*chāyā* (G.H.R.); *chea*=*cheda* (G.H.R.); *icchaī*=*icchati* (H.R.); *ucchaṅga*=*utsaṅga* (G.H.R.); *gacchāi*=*gacchati* (H.); *pucchāi*=*pucchati* (R.); *mucchā*=*murchā* (R.); *piṇcha*=*piecha*, *puṇcha*=*puccha* (§ 74); *puñchāi*=*proñchati* (Hc. 4,105). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. — AMg. *milakkhu* beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*, AMg. *miecha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105.136) are explained from the common basic form **mlaska*¹. In Mg. original as well as secondary *ccha* becomes *śca* (Hc. 4,295; Nāmi-sādh. on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12); *iścādi*=**icchyate*=*isyate* (Śak. 118,6); *gaśca*=*gaccha* (Hc.; Lalitav. 566,18; Śak. 115,4), *gaścamha*=*gacchāma* (Śak. 118,7); *puścarāde*=*prechan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *maśca* from the usual Pkt. *maccha*=*matsya* (Mṛcch. 11,11.12 [so to be read]; Śak. 114,2,9), *maścali* (fish; Śak. 118,2)=Gujarāṭi *māchalī*, Hindī *machalī*, Sindhī *machadī*²; *āvannavaścala*=*āpannavatsala*, *piścala*=*piechila* (Hc.; Namis.); *uścaladi*=*ucchalati*, *tiliści pēśkadi*=M. *tiricchi pēcchāi*=*tiryak prekṣate*, *puścadi*=*prechati* (Hc. 4,295); *yivantavaśca*=*jivadvatsā* (Hc. 4,302). The texts mostly have *ccha*: nevertheless there are distinct vestiges of this rule found in the MSS. So some MSS. have *gaścasi*, *gaśchasi*, *gaśca* for *gacchasi*, *gaccha* (Mṛcch. 20,14); Pṛthvidhara in STENZLER p. 241 has *maścāśikā* for *macchāśikā* (Mṛcch. 10,23); for *gaccha* (Mṛcch. 132,16) there occur *gaśca*, *gaśśa*; for *āacchāmi* (Mṛcch. 132,17), *āaścāmi*, *āaśvāmi*; for *āgacchadi* (Mṛcch. 133,8), *āgaścadi*.

āgaśchadi etc.³ In the anlaut *cha* remains: *chāla* (Hc. 4,295), *chāā*=*chāyā* (Mudrār. 267,2). The *cha* of *chedaa* in *ganthichedaa*=*granthichedaka* (Śak. 115,4.12) may also be regarded as in the anlaut. The v. l. *°chedaā* in R, however, makes here the reading **ścedaa* more probable. See also §327.

1. E. KUHN, KZ. 25,327.—2. FISCHER on Śakuntalā p. 199, note 1.—3. FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1319.

§234. In place of Skt. *ja* an old *ga* has been retained dialectically in the root *añj* and its derivatives in conjunction with certain prefixes: AMg. *abbhañgei* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8;2,15,20), *abbhañgējja*=*abhyañjyāt*, commentary=*abhyañgyāt* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *abbhañgēttā*=**abhyañjitoā* (Āyār. 2,6,1,9; Thān. 126), *abbhañgāvei*=*abhyañjayati* (Vivāgas. 235; text *°bbhi°*); JM. *abbhañgijjaha*=*abhyajyadhve* (Erz. 59,30), *abbhañgiuñ* (Erz. 57,10); AMg. JM. *abbhañgiya* (Ovav. [*°bbhi°*]; Kappas.; Nāyādh. [*°bbhi°*]; Erz.); AMg. JM. *abbhañgaṇa*=*abhyañjana* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *abbhañgida*=*abhyakta* (Mrcch. 69,7); AMg. *nirañgaṇa* (Ovav.) against M. *nirañjana* (G.H.). The guttural is found also in Skt. *abhyāṅga*=AMg. *abbhaṅga* (Ovav.). Sūyag. 248 has edited *muḥabhiñjāe*. In the simple root and its derivatives, in all the dialects, there occurs only *ja*.—AMg. *omugganimuggiya*, explained by the commentator with *majjanonmajjana*, is=**avamagnanimagnita*, as *ummaggā*, *ummuggā*=**unnagnā* (§ 104).

§ 235. Hc. 4,229 teaches that *j* in the root *śj* becomes *r*. His examples *nisirai*, *vosirai*, *vosirāmi*=*vyavasrjati*, *vyavasrjāmi* occur very frequently in AMg. JM. So AMg. *nisirāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), *nisirai* (Paṇṇav. 384f.; Vivāhap. 120f.212.254.1217.1271 Nāyādh.), *nisirāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2,2,10); *nisirinti* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,5,2,3;2,6,1,11; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 590 [*°ri°*]), *nisirāhi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1), *nisira* (Dasav. 632,28), *nisirinta* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirittā* (absolute: Vivāhap. 1251), *nisirijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirāveñti* (Sūyag. 680), substantive *nisiraṇa* (Dasav. N. 658,33); AMg. *vosirāmi* (Āyār. p. 132,2;133,6;134,3;136,5; Nāyādh. 1165; Vivāhap. 173; Dasav. 614,19;616,20; Ovav.); JM. *vosirai* (Erz. 50,37); AMg. *vosirējjā* (Āyār. 2,10,1ff), *vosire* (Āyār. 1,7,8,22; Sūyag. 214; Uttar. 737,923; Dasav. 619,14); JM. *vosirasu* (Erz. 42,33); AMg. *vosirittā* (absol.; Āyār. 2,10,22); JM. *vosirija* (Āv. 11,19; Erz. 50,36); AMg. *vosire* (Āyār. 2,16,1). The reference of these forms to *śj*¹ is impossible. Rather the AMg. JM. participle, *samosariya*=*samavasrta* (Vivāgas. 151; Uvās. § 2.9.75.189; Nirayāv. §3; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 565) beside the more frequent *samosaḍha*=*samavasrṣṭa* (§ 67), further AMg. *samosarējjā*, *samosariukāma* (Ovav.), *samosaraṇa* (Bhag.; Ovav.), shows that in AMg. JM. the roots *śj* and *sr* have coincided. *śj* forms *sarai*=*sdrati*, in the meaning "to go", "to run", but *sirai*=**sarāti* in the meaning "to cause to go", "to cause to run", "to let go" and so on. The coincidence of both the roots is proved, for example, also by AMg. *nisirijjamāṇa* beside *nisirṭṭha* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirai* (Vivāhap. 254) beside *nisirṭṭha* (Vivāhap. 257).

1. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 65; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vosir* and *vosagga*; JACOBI Erz. s.v. *vosirai*.

§236. In Mg. *ja* becomes *ya* (Vr. 11,4; Hc. 4,292; Ki. 5,90; Nāmiśādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12); *yānidavvañ*=*jñātavyam*, *yāniśamha*=*jñāsyāmah*, *yā[ne]*=*jāne*, *yāniyyadi*=*jñāyate*, *yānidam*=*jñātam*, *yampideṇa*=*jālpitena* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.13;566,1.8.12); *yāñadi*=*jāñāti* (Hc.; Namis.); *yaṇavada*=*janapada* (Hc.; Namis.); *yalahala*=*jaladhara* (Hc. 4,296); *yāyade*=*jāyate*, *yāā*=*jāyā* (Hc.). The MSS. of the dramas, with quite rare exceptions, write in Mg. too only *ja*, since in the North-Indian dialects *ya* and *ja* have in many cases coalesced together.¹ That is,

simply a contribution of the scribe², and for *ja*, according to the grammarians, we have to substitute *ya* throughout, as has been done in this grammar. Therefore, e.g. one has to write for *jāla* (Śak. 114,2) *yāla*, with the MS. R; for *jamadaggi* (Mṛcch. 12,12), *yamadaggi*; for *jiadi* (Mṛcch. 12,20), *yīadi*; for *jāñāsi* (Vepīs. 34,18), *yāñāsi*; for *joisa* (Mudrār. 177,4), *yoiśa*=*iyotiśa*; for *jiṇa* (Prab. 46,12), *yīṇa*; for *janehiṃ jammantala*^o (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *yañehiṃ yammantala*^o=*jñānairjanmāntara*^o etc. In the interior of the word simple *ja* drops out between vowels according to §186. Corresponding to *ya* for *ja*, *yha* will have to be written in cases like *yhañṇayyañṇanta-* for *jhañṇajjhañṇanta-* (Mṛcch. 11,6), *yhatti* for *jhatti*=*jhaṭṭi* (Mṛcch. 29,21; 114,21; 168,19) and in conjunct consonants, as in *niyyhala* for *nijjhala*=*nirjhara* (Lalitav. 566,9), *uyyha* for *ujjha*=*ujjhita* (Mudrār. 178,6); *jjh* also in Hc. 4,302). Cf. § 217.280. In PG. VG., where *ja* otherwise remains (§ 189), it has become *ya* in PG.; *bhāradāyo*, *bhāradāya*^o, *bhāradāyasa*=*bhāradāvājā*, *bhāradāvājā*^o, *bhāradāvājasya* (5,2; 6,16,19); VG. *bhāradāyassa* (101,2; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). Cf. § 253.—*uvviva*, according to Vr. 8,43; Hc. 4,227; Ki 5,46=*udvijate* is rather=**udvipate*=*udvepate*, as *uvvea* is not=*udvega* (Hc. 4,227), but=**udvepa*, from *vvip*, *vepate*. On AMg. *murava*=*muraja* see §254.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. § 23; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 17.—2. So² correctly already LASSEN, Inst. § 154,3. Cf. above § 23.

§237. Independent *ñā* occurs in CP. in the declension of the word *rājan*, when the sound-group *jñ* is separated by a separation-vowel according to § 133 and becomes *ciñ* according to § 191 (cf. note 1): *rāciñā*, *rāciño*=*rājñā*, *rājñāḥ* (Hc. 4,304; § 399). In Bh. 10,12 *rācinā*, *rācino*, *rācini* are read with dental *n*. Further *ñ* stands in A. *vuñā*=**vrajñāti*=*vrajati*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppipu* (Hc. 4,392)=Mg. *vaññadi* (§ 488).

§238. As a rule *t* becomes *ḍ* in the inlaut between two vowels (§ 198). *ta* becomes *ḷa* in lieu of *ḍa*, in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *phaḷiḥa*=*sphaṭika*, AMg. *phaḷiḥa*=*sphaṭika* (§ 206). In M. *phaḍiḥa* (R. s.v.; the better recension C has °li^o), certainly, and in Ś. *phaḍiḥa* (§206) probably are false.—*phalei* (causes to burst; splits) is not to be traced back to *Vpaṭ* with Hc. 1,198, but to *Vphal*, *sphal*.—*capetā* forms also M. AMg. *caviḍā*, *caviḷā* (Hc. 1,146.198) besides *caveḍā* (Hc. 1,146; H.; Uttar. 596). Cf. §80. Dialectically *ta* becomes *ḷa* also, for which the North Indian MSS. write *la* (§ 226). So M. AMg. *kakkoḷa*=*karkoḷa* (G.; Pañhāv. 527); AMg. *kaḷitta*=*kaṭṭita* (Ovav. §10); AMg. *kheḷa* (*saḷiḥa*)=*kheḷa* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,2,1,7; Thāp. 483; Pañhāv. 343.505; Antag. 23; Vivāhap. 164; Uttar. 734; Kappas.). *kheḷi*=*kheḷayati* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *piḷāga*=*piṭaka* (Sūyag. 208); Mg. *yūḷaka*=*jūtaka* (Mṛcch. 136,15); Mg. *saḷa*=*śakaṭa* (Mṛcch. 122,10), beside Ś. *saḍḍiā*=*śakaṭikā*, AMg. *sagaḍa*, dialectical *saḍḍha* (§ 207). This sort of sound-change is especially frequent in the A. of Pīṅgala: *niḷa*=*niḷaṭa* (1,127^a.129^a; 2,84); *paḷa*=*praḷaṭa* (1,72; 2,97.272); *paḷiḥa*=*praḷaṭita* (2,264); *phuḷa*=*sphuḷa* (2,48); *phuḷe*=*sphuḷati*, in the sense of *sphuḷanti* (2,230); *makkāḷa*=*markaṭa* (1,91.99); *vahuḷiā*=*vadhūṭikā* (2,84). Beside *balamoḷiā*=*balamoṭita* (1,140^a), for *moḷiā*=*moṭitaḥ* (2,112) we have to read *moḍiā*, or for *choḍiā*, that stands in rhyme with it, (so S. GOLDSCHMIDT for *loḍiā*) we have to read perhaps *choḷiā*=*choṭitaḥ*. In M. stands *balāmoḷi*^o (R. 10,64; but the v.l. has °ḍi^o), and so we have to read, since *Vmuṭ* has *ḍa* constantly. So M. *balamoḍi*^o (H.); M. JM. Ś. *balāmoḍi* (Deśin. 6,92; Pāyāl. 174; Triv. 2,1,30; Kāvyaaprakāśa 72,10 (cf. § 589); Kk. 260,35; Mallikām. 122,8); Ś. *balāmoḍiā* past passive participle; Mālatim. 76,4; 128,8; 253,7; absol.

Mālatim. 235,3; Rukmiṇīp. 15,13;21,6)¹, *pacchāmodia* (absol.; Śak.144,11); M. *āmodaṇa* (G.); Mg. *modāśśam*, *modāśśāmi* (Mṛcch. 113,1;128,14), *modemi*, *modia* (Mṛcch. 128,2;137,1). To it belong also *āmoda*, *moda* (braid of hair; Deśin. 1,62;6,117) and Ś. *mōṭṭima* (Anarghar. 152,9; Rucipati: *mōṭṭimam balātkāre deśi*), probably also *mōṭṭāi*=*ramate* (Hc. 4,168).—For *kaḍaśi* (cemetery; Deśin. 2,6)=**kaḷaśi* from *kaḷa* (corpse; e.g. Viṣṇupurāṇa 3,13,10)=Pkt. *kaḍa* (vanished; dead; Deśin. 2,51)+*śi* (to lie), the MSS. in Hc. 2,174 have *karasī*, hence a change of *ṭa* to *ra* through *ḍa*. The same transition of *ṭa* into *ra* takes place in AMg. *purabheyaṇi* (city; Uttar. 618)=Pāli *putabhedana*². On *ḍha* for *ṭa* see § 207.

1. In *balā* we should not, with FISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 331f.; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 210; BÜHLER, Pāṭiyāl. s.v. *balāmodi*, look for the ablative *balāt*. Rather the prefix *ā* has to be assumed, as *āmoda*, *āmodana* indicate.—Very false JACOB, SBE. 45,102, note 2. *puṣa* is wrongly Sanskritized into *putra* (cf. Vr. 12,5) in *pāṭaliputra*. Cf. §292.

§239. In the inlaut *ṭh* becomes *ḍh* between vowels (§ 198). Dialectically very rarely it becomes *h*: AMg. JM. *kuhāḍa*=*kuṭhāra* (Sūyag. 274; Uttar. 596; T. 6,16.17.18), JM. *kuhāḍaya* (T. 7,1); *pihaḍa*=*piṭhara* (Hc. 1,201), AMg. *pihaḍaga* (Jiv. 251), *pihaḍaya* (Uvās. §184), beside *piḍhara* (Hc. 1,201; Pāṭiyāl. 172), AMg. *piḍharaga* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5). On the interchange between *ḍa* and *ra* see 241.258.

§240. As a rule *ḍ* becomes *l*, when it stands in the inlaut between vowels not joined together. The North Indian MSS. and presses write *l* (§ 226; Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16). Vr. C. Mk. prescribe *ṭa* for *ḍa* as necessary; Bh. makes the rule optional and permits *ḍa* in *dāḍima*, *baḍiṣa*, *nibiḍa*; Hc. requires *ṭa* for *vaḍavāmukha*, *garuḍa*, *taḍāga*, *kriḍati*, allows optionally *ṭa* and *ḍa* for *baḍiṣa*, *dāḍima*, *guḍa*, *nāḍi*, *naḍa*, *āpiḍa*, and teaches *ḍa* as necessary for *nibiḍa*, *gaḍa*, *piḍita*, *nīḍa*, *uḍa* and *taḍita*. With him agrees Triv., who splits the rule into two 1,3,24 (*baḍiṣāḍau*) and 1,3,30. Ki. has, like Triv., the gaṇa *baḍiṣāḍi*, but he limits it to *baḍiṣa*, *nibiḍa* and *jaḍa*, which must have *ḍa* according to him. The dialects do not make any strict distinction. One says, for example: AMg. *āmeliya*=*āmreḍita* (Anuog. 37); AMg. *gaveḷaga*=*gaveḍaka* (Ovav.); AMg. JM. *guḷa*=*guḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav.; Erz.), Mg. *guḷodaṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,20), also *guḍa* (Hc. 1,202), Mg. *guḍāha*=*guḍaka* (Mṛcch. 116,25); M. Mg. *nīḷa*=*nigaḍa* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 109,16;132,20;162,17), AMg. *nigaḷa* (Jiv. 349; Ovav.); M. *nīḷiṭa*=*nigaḍita* (G.R.), JM. *nīḷaḷiya* (Pāṭiyāl. 197); M. *nīḷāḍia* (H.); Ś. *nīḷaḷavadī* (Mālav. 51,21); AMg. *ēḷaḷa*=*ēḷaka* (Uttar.226; Paṇṇav. 366f.; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *garuḷa*=*garuḍa* (Hc. 1,202; Pāṭiyāl. 25; G.; Thāp. 71.85; Sūyag. 317.771; Āyār. 2,15,12,13; Paṇḥāv. 235.311; Vivāhap. 183.964 [°ḍa]; Paṇṇav. 97; Jiv. 485.488; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Dvār. 507,37); beside them M. has *garuḍa* (R.), JM. *garuḍavūha* beside *garuḷa-sattha* (Erz.); Ś. *garuḍa* (Nāgān. 66,10;71,12;99,1), Mg. *galuḍa* (text °ru°; Nāgān. 68,4,13); in M. stands *galuḍa* (Acyūtaś. 2.29.34; AMg. *chalaṃsa*=*ṣaḍāśra* (Thāp. 493), *chalaṃsiya* (Sūyag. 590), *chalaṃsiyana*=*ṣaḍāyatana* (Sūyag. 456), *chalaṃsi*=*ṣaḍāṣiti* (Vivāhap. 199; Samav. 143); cf. §211.441; AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaḷa*=*ṣoḍaśa* (§ 443); *vaḍavā* (Pāṭiyāl. 226); M. *vaḍavāmūha* (R.), A. *vaḍavāṇala* (Hc. 4,365,2.419,6), beside M. *vaḷavāmūha*, *vaḷaāmūha* (R.), *vaḷaāṇala* (R. 2,24;5,77), JM. *vaḷaāmūha* (Erz.); Ś. *dāḍima* (Bh. 2,23; Hc. 1,202; Viddhaś. 15,2), M. *dāḍimī* (G.), beside AMg. *dāḷima* (Hc. 1,202; Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Vivāhap. 1530; Paṇṇav. 483.531; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *āmela*, M. *āmeliāa*, AMg. *āmelaḷa*, *āmelaḷa*=**āpiḍya* (§122), beside *āveḍa* (Hc.1,202), Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatim.207,4); AMg. *taḷāga*, *taḷāva*

beside *taḍāga* = *taḍāka* (§ 231); M. *kīlei* (G.), AMg. *kīlanti* (Rāyap. 138; Uttar. 504), *kīlāe* (Uttar. 570), *kīliya* (Āyār. p. 135,17); Samav. 23), JM. *kīlāi*, *kīlanta*-, *kīlanti*, *kīliṇa* (Erz.), Ś. *kīlasi* (Mr̥chh. 54,3; 95,11), *kīla* (Mr̥chh. 95,23), *kīlamha* (Ratn. 293,25); Ś. Dh. Mg. *kīlēmha* (Mr̥chh. 94,15; 30,18; 131,18); Ś. *kīlissam* (Vikr. 41,7; 47,11 [so to be read both the times with the Dravidian recension and the v.l. to 47,11 instead of °di°; Mālav. 60,11), *kīlissasi* (Mr̥chh. 94,19; 95,12); Mg. *kīlissam* (Mr̥chh. 30,23; Śak. 155,12; Mg. Ā. *kīlidum* (Mr̥chh. 100,21; 140,7; 148,13); Ś. *kīlida* (Mr̥chh. 95,7; Ratn. 293,29); Ś. *kīlamāna* (Vikr. 52,9); A. *kīlāi* (Vikr. 64,5), *kīladi* (Hc. 4,442,2), *kīlanti* (Vikr. 63,5) from *kriḍ*; M. Ś. *kīlā* = *kriḍā*; Ś. *kīlaṇaa*, AMg. *kīlaṇa*, *kīlāvaṇa*, beside AMg. JM. *kīdā*, *kīddā* (§ 90), as well as Ś. *kheḷadi*, A. *kheḷanta*, AMg. *kheḷlāvaṇa*, JM. *kheḷlāveṇa*, *kheḷla*, A. *kheḷlanti*, beside AMg. JM. *kheḷḍa*, A. *kheḷḍaa*; *kheḷḍai* (§ 90, 206); AMg. *tālei* = *tādayati* (Nāyādh. 1236.1305), *tālenti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālayanti* (Uttar. 360.365), *tālējā* (Uvās. § 200), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *tālemāna* (Vivāgas. 102), *taḷijjomāna* (Paṇhāv. 196), *tāliya* (Nāyādh. 1236), *tālaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 535; Uttar. 582; Ovav.), Mg. of Śakāra. *tālia* (absol.; Mr̥chh. 167,6), but elsewhere M. Mg. *tāḍaṇa* (G.H.R.; Karp. 1,7; 65,9; Mr̥chh. 122,20); M. *tādiumaṇā* (Karp. 70,7), *tāḍia* (R.); JM. *tāḍiya*, *tāḍijjamāna* (Erz.); Ś. *tāḍedi* (Mr̥chh. 79,22), *tāḍia* (absol.; Mr̥chh. 155,4), *tāḍida* (Mr̥chh. 69,23), *tāḍaidum*, *tāḍaiṣam* (Mālav. 44,16; 65,20), *tāḍiadi* (Mālatim. 267,6), *tāḍianta*-, *tāḍiamāna* (Mudrār. 211,5; 212,2; 203,1); Mg. *tāḍhedha* (Mr̥chh. 166,24; 169,22), *tāḍaiṣam* (Mr̥chh. 80,5); Mg. Ā. *tāḍida* (Mr̥chh. 29,19; 105,2; 148,10). In agreement with Hc. M. AMg. have *uḍu* (Pāiyāl. 96; Karp. 36,3; Jiv. 351); M. *gaḍa* (G.), AMg. A. *goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41; Piṅgala 2,112.138; cf. § 61^a); M. *nivida* (G.; on H.996; Karp. 49,11), *niviḍia* (G.); JM. *nivida* (Erz.); M. *niḍa*, *neḍḍa* (§ 90); M. JM. *taḍi* (Pāiyāl. 98; G.; Erz. 14,22; 71,23), AMg. *tāḍiyā* (Vivāhap. 943), but A. *taḷi* (Vikr. 55,2); M. *piḍia* (G.R.), AMg. JM. *piḍiya* (Pāiyāl. 190; Uttar. 577; Erz.). Ś. *piḍida* (Mr̥chh. 22,13; Śak. 11,1), also M. *nippīḍia* (R.), *sampīḍia* (G.), *piḍijjanta*-(H.R.), *piḍaṇa* (H.), M. JM. Ś. *piḍā* (Pāiyāl. 161; G.; Erz.; Mr̥chh. 22,13; Śak. 29,9; Vikr. 18,5), Ś. *piḍiadi* (Mr̥chh. 72,15), *piḍedi* (Vikr. 16,17). In AMg. however, *ḷa* prevails: *pīliya* (Uttar. 590); *pīliyaga* (Ovav.); *pīlei* (Dasav. 631,37; Uttar. 927.935.940.945.950); *āvilāe*, *pavilāe*, *nippīlāe* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1); *uppīlāveḷḷia* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13); *paripīlēḷḷia* (Sūyag. 208); *ovilemāna* (Vivāgas. 102; text u°); *āvilīyāna*, *paripīliyāna* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *pīlā* (Paṇhāv. 394. 402.426; Uttar. 675); *sampīlā* (Uttar. 926.934.940.945.950); *pīlaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 537; Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). In Uttar. 620 stands *pīḍoi* beside *āvilīḷḷia*. In Piṅgala 1,145^a we have to read *pīliya* with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, what is required also by the rhyme with *mīlia*. AMg. *eḍei* = *eḍayati* (Vivāhap. 248), *eḍanti* (Vivāhap. 236), *eḍēti* (Ovav.), *eḍittā* (Vivāhap. 236.248) have always *ḍa*. Beside *viḍḍā* = *vriḍā* (§ 90), AMg. has an adjective *viḍḍa* (Vivāhap. 1258); but the commentary reads *veḍa*, that will be correct and is connected to AMg. *veḷanaya* (Aṇuog.333), that according to Deśin. 7,65 is also a substantive and regulates dialectical *veḷuṇā* (Deśin. 7,65). *e* is to be explained according to § 122. M. has *viḍia* beside *viḷia* = *vriḍita*, AMg. *saviḷiya* (§ 81). *viḍḍuṇā*, *veḍuṇā* (Deśin. 7,65) are also adduced.

§ 241. *ḍa* has become *ra* in M. Ś. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya* = *vāḍiṇya* (§ 80). Bh. 4,33 has *veluria*, by which *veḷuria* is meant, as by *velulia* (Deśin. 7,77), *veḷulia*. According to Hc. 2,133 occurs also *vedujja*. Further in AMg. JM. *birāla* = *bidāla*¹ (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇnav. 367.369; Nāyādh. 345; Uttar. 918; Āv. 42,20), A. *birālaa* (Piṅgala 1,67; ed. Bombay. °ḍā°), femin *birālī* (Nandis. 92; Paṇnav. 368; Āv. 42,42), AMg. *birālīyā* (Sūyag. 824), also as a name of a plant *chirabirālī* = *kṣirabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532),

birāliya (Āyār. 2,1,8,3). For *viḍāla* (Jiv.356) is to be read *birāla*. Ś. has *biḍāla* (Mālav. 50,16; v.l. *vi*°; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 94,7, where the South Indian MSS. and presses waver between *biḍāla*, *biḍāla*, *biḷāla* and *vilāla*, feminine *biḍālī* (Hāsy. 25,7), *biḍālīā* (Mālav. 67,9; v.l. *viāriā*, *biḷālīā*, *vuḍālīā*); Pāli *biḷāla* and *biḷāra*.

1. Excluding Nandis. 92 and Sūyag. 824, the texts everywhere have *vi*°. For Skt. the only authentic transcription is *bi*°, that is valid for Pkt. also.

§242. *ḍha* remains unchanged in all the dialects: AMg. JM. *āḍhaya*=*āḍhoka* (Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *āsāḍha*=*āsāḍha* (Āyār. 2,15,2; Kappas.); M. JM. *ḡāḍha*=*gāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.H.; Karp. 64,7; Erz.; Ś. Karp. 15,5); M. AMg. JM. *ḡāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; Āyār. 1,6,2,2; Sūyag. 161,544; Mṛcch. 69,11; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 16,16;30,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 116,8), JS. *ḡāḍha* (Kattig. 400,329,330,336;403,370; Mṛcch. 44,5; Vikr. 12,20;22,14; Mallikām. 225,11; Priyad. 42,4;43,6; Prab. 18,1; Piṅgala 1,86^a)=*dyḍha*; M. JM. *bāḍha*=*bāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.; Erz.). On A. *khallihadaḡ* cf. § 110.207. —Secondary *ḍha*, originating from *ṣha* (§ 66.67.304) becomes *ṭha* (written *tha*) in *koḷhua* (jackal; Deśin. 2,65; Pāiyāl. 152) from **koḍhua*=*kroṣṭuka*¹, to which belongs also *kuḷha* for **koḷha* (jackal; Deśin. 2,34) = **kroṣṭa* for *kroṣṭr*; *koḷhāhala* (fruit of *momordica monadelpha*; Deśin. 2,39) = **kroṣṭāphala*; cf. *kroṣṭuphala*. Likewise *goḷhā*=*gūḍhā* (*momordica monadelpha*; Deśin. 2,95), *goḷhāphala*=*gūḍhaphala* (Pāiyāl. 255)².

1. LEUMANN, GSAI. 6,117 note.—2. Pkt. shows that we should not be sanguine about *gūḍhaphala* with BÖHTLINGK s.v. It is assumed that *ṭha* makes a position.

§243. *ṇ* in *veṇu* may become *ḷ*: AMg. *veḷu* (Hc. 1,203; Pāiyāl. 144; Sūyag. 197,248; Paṇṇav. 33; Rāyap. 33.89.184), beside *veṇu* (Āyār. 2,11,4; Sūyag. 197,248; Vivāhap. 1526; Paṇṇav. 40), *veṇudeva* (Sūyag. 317); likewise *veḷugā*, *veḷuṇa*=*veṇuka* (*amomum*; Āyār. 2,1,8,14; Vivāhap. 1526; Dasav. 623,4; Paṇṇav. 43). Since Pāli has *veḷu*, *ḷ* is to be assumed probably also in Pkt. Probably *veṇu* and *veḷu* go back to the basic form **velnu*, which belongs to the root *vel*, *veḷl* that is much used and has widely branched off in Pkt. (§107). From this even the other meanings of *veḷu* “thief” and “pestle” (Deśin. 7,94) could be well explained; cf. *thūṇa* “thief” § 129. In P. CP. *na* becomes *ṇa* (§ 225). Ki. 5,107.108 teaches that *la* enters: *phalati*=*bhaṇati*, *thvalati* [sic] = *dhvanati*, *phalitaṃ*=*bhaṇitaṃ*, *thvalitaṃ* [sic] = *dhvanitaṃ*, *palaṃ*=Pkt. *vaṇaṃ*=*vanam*; *phalaha* [sic] = *bhaṇata* (5,113); *phalāmo*=*bhaṇāmaḥ* (5,114). In the examples *kakaṇa*=*gagaṇa* (5,102), *jajaṇa*, *cacaṇa*=*yajana* (5,103), *calaṇa*=*carana*, *usaṇa*=*uṣṇa*, *paṣaṇa*=*praṣṇa*, *sināṇa* [sic] = *snāna* (5,109) the edition writes *ṇa*, and since *ṇa*, *na*, and *la* very often interchange in the Bengali script in the MSS., the hypothesis is, that in agreement with the other grammarians *na* is to be read for *la*. According to Ki. 5,110 *na* and *ṇa* could become also *ṇa* in P.: *kaṇaka*=*kanaka*; *vaṇṇa*=*varṇa*.

§244. Sometimes *ta* and *da* become *la*, and through the intermediate grades *ṭa*, *ḍa* (§ 218.219) they become *ḷa* (§ 226.238.240), that the North Indian MSS. likewise indicate by *la*, so that it cannot always be said with certainty whether *la* or *ḷa* is to be written: Ś. *alasi*=*atasi* (Hc.1,211), Mallikām. 87,15); but AMg. *ajysi* (Vivāhap. 41.1526; Paṇṇav. 34.526; Uttar. 592; Ovav.); AMg. *āsila*=*asita* (Sūyag. 203); *palila* (Hc. 1,212) beside M. *palia*=*palita* (Hc. 1,212; G.H.); M. *vijjulā*=Pāli *vidyutā*=*vidyut* (Hc. 2,173; Mk. fol. 37; R.), *vijjuli*=**vidyuti* (Vr.4,26; Mk. fol. 37), M.Ś. A. *vijjuliā*=**vidyutikā*¹ (H.584 v.l.; Vikr.27,13; Piṅgala 1,142^a). *vijjud*, that Vr.4,9; Hc.1,15; Ki.2,129; Mk. fol. 33 forbid for M., stands in H. 584, hardly rightly, as otherwise M. has only *vijjulā* and *vijju* (G.H.R.); Ś. has *vijjudā*

(Mṛcch. 91,19; Venis. 60,17); M. *sālavāhaṇa*, *sālāhaṇa*=*sātavāhana* (Hc.1,8. 211; H.; cf. §167), yet JM. beside *sālivāhaṇa* also *sāyavāhaṇa* (Kk.); Mg. *śūla*=*sūta* (Mṛcch. 97,3). — AMg. *salilā* (stream; Sūyag. 317,460; Uttar. 342; perhaps also Vivāhap.479) is not, with JACOBI², to be equated as=Pāli *sarītā*=Skt. *sarīt*, which always retains *r*, but is a feminine of the adjective *salila* (Āyār. 2,16,10=Sūyag. 468) of which Skt. *salila* (water) is neuter.—*la* is to be read in Mg. *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11,1;40,4), *maḷa* (Mṛcch. 118,14.15.24; 132,21) beside *kaḍa*, *maḍa*=*krta*, *mrta* (§ 219), JM. *vāuḷa*=*vyāpṛta* (Kk.; §218), A. *paḷai* for *paḍai* (§ 218)=*patati* (Piṅgala 1,78.116.120^a.123.125. 125^a.133.135;2,60.135.202 231.261). — *da* has become *la* in M.AMg. *kalamba*=*kadamba* (Vr. 2,12; Hc.1,222; Ki.2,20; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl.255; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 60; Thān. 321), beside *kaamba* (Hc.1,222), AMg. *kayambaga* (Nāyādh. 354.1045), *kayamboja*, (Kappas.; text falsely °bu°; v.l. *kalam-baja*, *kalamba*, *kajamba*); AMg. *kālamba* (Thān. 505), M. *kāmba* (G.R.)=*kādamba*.—M. *goḷa*=*godā* (Hc. 2,174; Mk. fol. 39; Deśin. 2,104; Pāiyāl. 132; Triv. 1,3,105; H.), also introduced into Skt.³ The MSS. of Triv. write *la*, which is attested by the v.l. *godā* in H.—M. AMg. *ṇollaī*, *ṇullaī*=*nuddti* with doubling according to § 194 (Vr. 8,7; Hc. 4,143; Ki. 4,46 (text *ṇoṇṇa*); Mk. fol. 53); M. *ṇollei* (H.R.), *ṇollēnti* (G.), *ṇollia* (R.), *paṇollia* (G.R.); AMg. *ṇollāvehinti*, *ṇollāviya* (Vivāhap. 1280), *paṇollā* (absol.) Sūyag. 360), *vipaṇollā* (Āyār. 1,5,2,2), *paṇullemāṇa* (Nandis. 146; commentary °ṇo°).—JM. *palivei*=*pradipayati* (Hc. 1,221; Āv. 9,13), *palivesi*, *palivehi* (Āv. 9,19;32,21); JM. *palivai* (Hc. 4,152; Mk. fol. 15; Erz.); M. *palivesi*, *palivium*, *palippamāṇa* (H.), *palivei* (R. 5,67)⁴; M. AMg. *palitta* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,221; Ki. 2,20; H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117); M. *palivia* (H.), JM. *paliviya* (Pāiyāl. 16; Āv. 9,15;32,22,26); AMg. *āliviya* (Vivāgas. 225); *ālivaṇa*=*ādīpaṇa* (Deśin. 1,71); JM. *palivaṇa* (Āv. 19,9); but without prefix M. *dīppanta* (R.), *dīppanti*, *dīppamāṇa* (G.), A. *divia*=*dīpita* (Vikr. 60,19), and with prefix Ś. *uddivanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22), *padivesi* (Uttarar. 83,2; ed. Calc. 1831, p. 55,19 has °ti°).—AMg. JM. *duvāḷasa*=*dvādaśa* (Paṇhāv. 347; Vivāhap. 168.173.249.608; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *duvāḷasaṅga* (Hc. 1,254; Samav. 3; Thān. 569; Sūyag. 616; Nandis. 388.394), *duvāḷasaviha* (Vivāhap. 159.524; Paṇhāv. 30.374; Jiv. 44), *duvāḷasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699).—AMg. JM. *doḥaḷa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḷa*=*dohada*, M. Ś. *dohaḷaa* (§222), according to the information given by Pāli, to be written with *la*, as is shown also by Mg. *haḷaka* (Mṛcch.9,25), *haḷaa* (Mṛcch. 163,24) beside the usual Mg. *haḍakka* (§ 194). Cf. § 436.—M. *maḷai*=*mradaṭa* (Vr. 8,50; Hc. 4,126; R.), *maḷesi* (H.), *maḷei* (R.), *maḷia* (G.H.R.), *parimaḷasi* (H.), *parimaḷia* (H.R.), *vimaḷai* (G.), *vimaḷia* (G.R.), *omaḷia* (R.), *maḷaṇa* (G.), *parimaḷaṇa* (H.), with *la* as in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī⁵.—AMg. *elisa*=*īdṛṣa*, *aṇelisa*=*anīdṛṣa*, *elikhha*, *elikkhaya*=*īdṛkṣa*, *īdṛkṣaka* (§121).—*sōllaī* (cooks; Hc.4,90)=*sūddāyati*, with doubling according to §194, AMg. *sōlla* (cooked; roasted; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), *sōllaya* (Uvās.)=*sūd+na*, *sūd+na+ka* (§566)⁶ and from the present stem (§ 565) *sōlliya*=*sūḍita* (Ovav.).—*veḷūṇā* beside *bedūṇā*, *viddūṇā* (§ 240); AMg. *vibhelaya*=*vibhedaka* (§121).

1. So correctly BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 27,13 p. 279. Not correctly, thinks WEBER on H. 584 with regard to *vidyullatā*.—2. SBE. 45,68, note 1. Even JACOBI's explanation of *kulala* is wrong; see §20.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3,237f.—4. The text has *paḍivei*, in the same stanza with *palitta*, for which 1,5;5,87 *paḍitta*, 15,73 perhaps *paḍitta* stands. Forms with *ḍa* are not attested elsewhere.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,126.—6. Wrongly equated by HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. as=*śūlya*, *śūlyaka*, an explanation, that is not tenable in places like as Ovav. §74 *ingālasaḷliya*.

§245: *ta* becomes *ra* through *ḍa* (§ 218) in *sattari*=*saptati* (Hc.1,210);

AMg. JM. *sattariṃ*, *sattari*, JM. also *sayari* (70); AMg. *egūnasattariṃ* (69), *ēkkasattariṃ* (71), *bāvattariṃ* (72), JM. also *bisattari*; AMg. *tevattariṃ* (73), *covattariṃ*, JM. *caūhattari* (74) etc., A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76). See §446. More frequently *da* has become *ra*, Mg. *la* through *ḍa* : AMg. *urāla*=*udāra* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9;2,15,14,15 [text *o*]¹; Sūyag. 95.392.408.639; Ṭhāp. 177; Nāyādh. §4; p. 369.566; Antag. 57; Vivāhap. 10.155.168.170.231.248.942. 1039.1228f.; Uttar. 1052.1058; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. s. v. *orāla*); *orāliya*=*audārika* (Paṇṇav. 397 [*u*]¹. 461ff.; Uttar.881; Vivāhap. 111.146. 528ff.620; Ṭhāp. 54.55; Ovav.). — *karali*=*kadali* in the meaning "elephant flag", but *kaali* in the meaning "musa sapientum" (Hc. 1,220). False is Ś. *kaṇaakeriā* (Bālar. 131,14)=*kanakakadalikā* against M. Ś. *kaali* (Karp. 46,14;102,6), Ś. *kadaliā* (Prab. 66,2), AMg. JM. *kajali* (Pāyāl 254; Āyār. 2,1,8,12 [so to be read]; cf. v.l.). — *gaggara*=*gaḍgada* (Vr.2,13; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). — *daṣa* becomes *rasa*, *raha* in the numerals 11-13,15,17-18 (Vr. 2,14; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). So : AMg. *ēkkārāsa*, A. *eāraha*, *ēggārāha*, *gārāha*, but also A. *ēkkadaha*, CP. *ekātasa* (11); AMg. JM. *bārāsa*, A. *bārāha*, beside AMg. JM. *duvāsa* (§ 244) (12); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13); AMg. JM. *paṇṇarāsa*, A. *paṇṇaraha* (15); AMg. JM. *sattarāsa* (17); AMg. JM. PG. *aṭṭhārāsa*, A. *aṭṭhārāha* (18). See §443. Likewise the ordinals (§ 449). Further *da* becomes *ra* in the adjectival and pronominal compound words formed with *-dr̥ś*, *-dr̥śa*, *-dr̥kṣa*, like M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erisa*, AMg. JM. *erisaya*, A. *erisia* beside AMg. *elisa*, *aṇelisa*, P. *etisa*, Ś. *īdiśa*, Mg. *īdiśa*=*īdr̥śa* (§ 121); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kerisa*, JM. *kerisaya*, Mg. *kelisa* beside Ś. *kīdiśa*=*kīdr̥śa* (§ 121); JM. *annārīsa*=*anyādr̥śa* (Hc. 1,142; Erz.), Ś. *aṇṇārīsa* (Vikr. 52,19; Mālatīm. 89,7;138,10;217,4; Mahāv. 128,7; Bhartṛharinirveda 4,1), but P. *aññātīsa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *aṇṇāisa* (Hc. 4,413); M. JM. Ś. *amhārīsa*=*asmādr̥śa* (Hc. 1,142; H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,16.17.21;18,3; Mudrār. 36,4;241,8;259,1; Karp. 92,8; Viddhaś. 25,8), feminine Ś. *amhārīsī* (Viddhaś. 71,9;116,5), but P. *amhātīsa* (Hc. 4,317); M. JM. Ś. *tumhārīsa*=*yuṣmādr̥śa* (Hc.1,142; G.R.; Erz.; Viddhaś.51,12;121,9; Karp.93,9), but P. *yumhātīsa* (Hc. 4,317); *eārīsa*=*etādr̥śa* (Hc.1,142), Ś. *edārīsa* (Viddhaś. 102,2; so to be read); feminine *edārīsī* (Prab. 44,13; so to be read), AMg. JM. *jārīsa*=*yādr̥śa* (Hc. 1,142; Ki.1,29; Uttar.794; Erz.), AMg. *jārīsayā* (Nāyādh.1284), but P. *yātīsa* (Hc. 4,317), Ś. *jādīsa* (Viddhaś. 29,3;32,1.2), feminine *jādīsī* (Śak.51,11.12; Prab. 16,10), A. *jaīsa* (Hc.4,403.404); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *tārīsa*=*tādr̥śa* (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Ki. 1,29; R.; Karp. 115,4; Sūyag. 365.429; Uttar. 794; Dasav. 633,19=Hc. 4,287; Āv. 27.2.6.25; Erz.; Vikr. 52,19; Mahāv. 126,7; Prab. 44,12 [read *tārīsī*, AMg. *atārīsa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *tārīsaga* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), Mg. *tālīsa* (Mṛcch. 37,11), but Ś. also *tādīsa* (Śak. 32,5; Vikr. 52,7;53,11; Prab. 16,10), feminine *tādīsī* (Śak. 51,12; Viddhaś. 32,1.2), Mg. *tādīsī* (Mṛcch. 140,12; Prab. 62,7), P. *tātīsa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *taīsa* (Hc. 4,403); AMg. A. *sarīsa*=*sadr̥k* (Hc. 1,142; Nāyādh.; Piṅgala 1,42); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. *sarīsa*=*sadr̥śa* (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Mk. fol. 11; G. H. R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Kattig. 399,316; Mṛcch. 17,18;24,16;55,4;95,11;134,18;152,21; Śak. 132,1;134,8; Vikr. 6,1; 8,13 [so to be read]; 39,12; Mālav. 6,20 etc.; D. Mṛcch.102,23;105,4; A. Piṅ. gāla 1,10), AMg. *sarīsayā*, feminine *sarīsīyā* (Nāyādh.), Mg. *śālīsa* (Mṛcch. 154,20;164,20;176,5), A. *sarīsima*=**sadr̥śīman*=*sādr̥śīya* (Hc.4,395,1); M. Ś. *sarīccha*=*sadr̥kṣa* (Hc. 1,44.142; H.; Viddhaś.23,4), also M. JM. JŚ. *sārīccha* (§ 78), and Ś. *sārīkkha* (Karp. 108,2), *sārīccha*=**sadr̥kṣya* (Hc. 2,17; G. G. 852; see v.l.), AMg. A. *sārīkkha* (Hc. 2,17;4,404); Ś. *sārīkkhadā*

(Karp. 109,7.10). Cf. also *bhavārīsa* (Hc. 1,142) against A. *avarāisa* = **aparādīsa* (Hc. 4,413).

1. *orāla* is likewise false, as *urāliya*. Both the words are substituted by one another in the anlaut in the MSS. and the printed editions.

§246. Sometimes *va* has taken the place of *ta* and *da* just seemingly. *āvajja* is not = *ātodya* (Hc. 1,156), but = **āvādyā* (§ 130). AMg. *ujjovemāṇa* (Pannav. 100.102.112; Uvās.; Ovav.), *ujjoviya* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *ujjovēnta*- (Nāyādh.) are not = *uddiyotayamāna*, *uddiyotita* *uddiyotayant* with the infixed *v*¹, but belong to *Vdyu*, that occurs in Skt. *dyu* (day), *didyu* (thunder-bolt; lightning), perhaps also in A. *joedi* (sees; Hc. 4,422,6 and Wort-verzeichniss zu Hc) and certainly in the modern Indian dialects². M. *ruvāi*, M. JM. *rovāi* do not belong to *rud*, but to *ru* (§ 473). *kavattia* is not = *kadarthita* (Hc. 1,224;2,29), but = *kava* in the sense of *kad* = *ku* + **artita* = *ārta* (§ 289.428). Certain other sound changes assumed by the grammarians are also not tenable. *erāvaṇa* is not = *airāvata* (Vr. 2,11; Bh. 1,35; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *airāvāṇa* (Hc. 1,148.208; §60). *gabbhīna* is not = *garbhita* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *garbhīn* with a transition to the *a*-declension (§ 406). *atimuktaka* forms, according to Hc. 1,26.178.208, *aṇimūṭṭaa* beside *aṇimūṭṭaa*; in AMg. it regularly becomes *aṇimuttaja* (Hc. 1,26; Ovav. §8), in Ś. *adimūṭṭaa* (Mṛcch. 73,10), as *atimukta*, JM. *aṇimutta* (Pāyā. 256), Ś. *adimutta* (Vikr. 21,9; Vṛṣabh. 15,17;47,15; Mallikā. 97,6;128,15). In Mk. fol. 34 *aṇimūṭṭa* is to be read for *aṇimutta* of the MS., in Bh. 4,15 probably *aṇimūṭṭa* is to be read for *ahimūṭṭa*, which is explained by *abhimukta*. Where comes *aṇimūṭṭaa* is not clear. On *ta* erroneously used in AMg. see §203; on *da* for *ta*, §192.203. 204; on *ta*, *ḍa* for *ta*, §218.219; on *ta* for *da*, §190.191; on *ḍa* for *da*, §222.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *ujjey*. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,322.

§247. *tha* may become *dha* (§221), *dha* may become *dha* (§223), in CP. *tha* (§191). AMg. *samilā* (Uttar. 592.788) is explained by JACOBI¹ with *samidh*. That is phonetically impossible and against the sense. The explanation of the commentators by *kilikā*, *yugakilikā* points to **samitā*; cf. *samit*, *samiti*. — *na* becomes mostly *ṇa* (§224). In *nimba* it may become *la*: *limba* (Hc. 1,230) = Marāṭhī *limba*, A. *limbaḍaa* (Hc. 4,387,2) = Gujarātī *limbaḍa*, beside M. *nimba* (Hc. 1,230; H.), AMg. *nimboliṇṇā* = *nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152.1173; cf. §167). — On *nhāviā* = *nāpita* see §210.

1. SBE. 45, p. 94, note 4.

§248. For *pa*, which as a rule becomes *va* (§199), dialectically also *ba* (§192) and *bha* (§209), there may appear sometimes also *ma*: M. AMg. JM. *ameḷa* = *āpīdyā*, *ameḷiaa*, AMg. *ameḷaga*, *ameḷaja* (§122); *ṇimeḷa* = **nīpīdyā* (§122); M. *ṇumajjai* = *nīpadyate*, *ṇumajja* = *nīpanna* (§118); AMg. *āṇamaṇi* = *ājñāpani* (Pannav. 363ff.369) beside *āṇavaṇi* (Pannav. 364f.); AMg. *cimiḍha* = *cipiṭa* (Nāyādh. 751; commentary *cimiṭṭha*) against *civiḍha* (Nāyādh. 745; text *civiṭṭha*, commentary *cimiṭṭha*, in the text, therefore, to be read *cimiḍha*, as for example in 751; cf. §207); AMg. *kuṇima* = *kuṇapa* (Sūyag. 225. 282. 483. 811; Thāp. 338; Pāṇhāv. 179; Jiv. 255; Ovav.); AMg. *talima* = *talpa* (D.śā. 5,20; Pāyā. 117.122; Nāyādh. 1192f.); AMg. *nīma*, *ṇīma* = *nīpa* (Hc. 1,234; D.śāy. 623,5; Pannav. 31; Ovav.; cf. Ovav. §6 note 12), beside AMg. *nīva*, A. *nīva* (Hc. 1,234; Ovav.; Pāṇhāv. 61.158; Ovav.), beside *bh.ṇīvāla* (Vr. 3,46; Hc. 2,38[also FISCHER].89; Ki.2,65; Mk. fol.26; AMg. *maṇāma* = Pāli *maṇāpa* (Thāp. 65.66.527; Samav. 94; Vivāhap. 162.480; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.), feminine *maṇāmi* (Vivāhap. 196), *amaṇāma* (Sūyag. 630; Vivāgas. 40f.; Samav.227; Jiv.256; Vivāhap. 89.117.254); AMg. *vaṇimaga*,

°ja=*vanīpaka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 13; 2, 1, 5, 1; 2, 2, 2, 8ff.; 2, 3, 1, 2; 2, 5, 1, 9ff.; 2, 6, 1, 7; 2, 10, 23; 2, 15, 11; Paṇhāv. 492; Tāhāp. 397; Nāyādh. 1086; Dasav. 622, 31.35; 626, 29; Kappas.), *vaṇīmaṇḍayā*=*vanīpakatayā* (Paṇhāv. 358; text *vaṇīmaṇḍayā*); AMg. *viḍima*=*viṭapa* (twig; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 12; Paṇhāv. 437; Jiv. 548f.; Dasav. 628, 28; Ovav. §4; tree; Dasav. N. 645, 4; Rhinoceros; Deśin. 7, 89; Ovav. §37. [37]; young roe; Deśin. 7, 89), but M. Ś. *viḍava* (Bh. 2, 20; Ki. 2, 10; G.H.R.; Śak. 67, 2; 137, 5; Vikr. 12, 17; 22, 12; 31, 1); *viḍavi*=*viṭapin* (Pāyāl. 54); AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* beside *suviṇa*, JM. *sumiṇaga* beside *suviṇaga*; *simiṇa* beside M. *siviṇa*, Ś. AMg. *siviṇaa*=Pāli *supina*=Skt. *svapna* (§ 177). The transition, that is almost wholly limited, is explained by the interchange of *ma* and *va* (§ 251.261).

§249. Ś. *pāraddhi* (hunting; Viddhaś. 23, 9), which is equated by Hc. 1, 235 and Nārāyaṇadīkṣita on Viddhaś. 23, 9 as=*pāpardhi*, is=*prāraddhi*; its synonym *pāraddha* (Deśin. 6, 77), that means also "compensation for an act done in a former life", "oppressed" and "tortured", is=*prāraddha*.

§250. Like *pa* (§ 248), *ba* also sometimes becomes *ma*: *kamandha*=*kabandha* (Vr. 2, 19; Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16). Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16; Prākṛtamañjarī in FISCHER, De gr. Prākṛ. p. 14 teach also *kayandha*, that will originate form AMg. JM. or JŚ. and, therefore, will be=*kajandha*. We find in the texts also M. JM. A. *kavandha* (§ 201), which according to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. too always has.—*samara*=*śabara* (Hc. 1, 258), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *savara*, M. AMg. *savarī* (§ 201). AMg. JM. *māhaṇa* with WEBER¹, E. MÜLLER², JACOBI³, LEUMANN⁴, Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵, ASCOLI⁶, HOERNLE⁷ to be equated as=*brāhmaṇa*, is linguistically impossible. Corresponding to AMg. JM. *bambha*=*brahman*, *bambhayāri*=*brahmacārin*, *bambhaṇṇaya*=*brāhmanyaka*, *bambhaloṇa*=*brahmaloka* etc. (§ 267) the word must be pronounced as *bambhaṇa*, as is the case also, AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (Uttar. 748.753f.; Āv. 18, 15; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *subambhaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 448). Sometimes both the words occur beside one another, as Erz. 1, 7 *māhaṇassa*, but 1, 8 *bambhaṇa*; Kk. 276, 25 *bambhaṇarūva*, but II, 508, 19 *māhaṇarūva*. AMg. employs almost exclusively *māhaṇa*⁸ (e.g. Āyār. 2, 1, 12, 2, 1, 3, 11, 9; 2, 1, 2, 8, 9; 2, 6, 1, 1; 2, 7, 2, 15, 2, 4, 11; Sūyag. 17.56.74. 105.106.113.118.373.419.495.553.620.642f.; Vivāhap. 115.119.343; Vivāgas. 152f.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *maḥāmāhaṇa* (Uvās.), femin. AMg. JM. *māhaṇī* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Nāyādh. 1151; Vivāhap. 788; Kappas.; Āv. 12, 1), *māhaṇatta*=*brāhmaṇatva* (Uttar. 756). I derive the word from Skt. *mākha* (sacrifice), *mākha* (pertaining to a sacrifice), and equate it, therefore, as=**mākhana*="sacrificial priest."

1. Bhag. 1, 410, note 5.—2. Beiträge p. 29.—3. Kalpas. und Erz. s.v.—4. Aup. S. s.v.—5. Prākṛtica p. 15.—6. Kritische Studien p. 221 with note 8.—7. Uvās., Translation p. 120, note 273.—8. Cf. Uttar. 748 je loe *bambhaṇo vutto...taṁ vayanā būma māhaṇaṁ*.

§251. In A. *ma*, in the inlaut, may become *vā* (Hc. 4, 397); *kaṇala* beside *kamala* (Hc. 4, 397); *bhaṇara* beside *bhamara* (Hc. 4, 397); *niśāvāṇṇa*=*niśāmāṇya* (Hc. 4, 341, 1); *paṇḍāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (Hc. 4, 419, 3); beside *paṇḍāṇa* (Hc. 4, 399, 1); *bhaṇai*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4, 401, 2); *vajjāva*=*vajramaya* (Hc. 4, 395, 5); *sava*=*sama* (Hc. 4, 358, 2); *suṇarahi* beside *sumari*=*smara* (Hc. 4, 387). This sound-transformation has become obscure in the other dialects and partly in A. itself, as either *v* has vanished behind the *anunāsika* or more frequently the *anunāsika* has disappeared before *v*, so that only *~* or *v* has remained. Thus according to Hc. 1, 178 the *anunāsika* takes the place of *m* in *anīṇṭa*=*atimuktaka* (§ 246); *kāua*=*kāmuka*; *cāuṇḍā*=*cāmuṇḍā*; *jāuṇḍā*=*yamunā*. According to Vr. 2, 3; Ki. 2, 5; Mk. fol. 14 *m* drops off in *yamunā*, and so has M. AMg. JM. *jauṇḍā* (G.; v.l. on H. 671; Kāmsav. 55, 5; Pra-

bandhac. 27,2; Thāp. 544; Vivāgas. 208; Dvār. 495,20; T. 4,8). Most of the MSS. have in H. 671 *jamuṇā*, as also Ś. (Vikr. 23,13;41 3). The correct ecriture in M. AMg. JM. will be *jāṇṇā* (§ 179). For *kāua* M. Ś. have *kāmua* (H.; Mṛcch. 25,21;71,6; Vikr. 21,18; 31,14), JM. *kāmuya* (Erz.); for *cāuṇḍā* Ś. has *cāmuṇḍā* (Mālatim. 30,5; Karp. 105,2;106,2; 107,1). Erroneous is M. *kuarī* for *kumarī*=*kumārī* (H. 298) and the similar v.l. in other words in WEBER, H.² p. LXI on strophe 298. The same sound-change is to be assumed in A. in *thāu*=*sthāma* (Hc. 4,358,1; text *thāu*), in the sense of *sthāna*, as the scholiasts explain. Kī. 5,99 has *thāma sthāne*. Further in *bhōhā* from *bhamuhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *bhohā*, S. GOLDSCHMIDT *bhaumhā*; cf. § 124.166) and *haṇṇā*=*hanumān* (Piṅgala 1,63^a; text *haṇṇā*).—*va* has taken the place of *ma* in AMg. *anavadagga*, AMg. JM. *anavayagga*=Pāli *anamatagga*=*anamadagga*¹ (Sūyag. 456 [°no^o]. 787.789.867; Thāp. 41.129; Paṇhāv. 214.302; Nāyādh. 464.471; Vivāhap. 38.39.160.848. 1128.1290.1324; Uttar. 842; Erz.) from *ṽnam*, which in M. JM. A. also has sometimes *va*: *ṇavaī* (Hc. 4,226); M. *oṇavia*=**avanamita*=*avanata* (H. 637); JM. *navakāra*=*namaskāra* (Erz. 35,23.25.27.29); AMg. *vipṇa-ṇavanti*=*vipṇanamanti* (Sūyag. 472); A. *ṇavahi*=*namanti* (Hc. 4,367,4), *ṇavantiāhā*=*namatām* (Hc. 4,399). In all the dialects, however, *nam* mostly retains its m. *ahivaṇṇu* (Hc. 1,243), beside Mg. Ś. *ahimaṇṇu* (Hc. 1,243; Venis. 34 12; 64,16); A. *ravaṇṇa*=*ramanya* (Hc. 4,422,11); AMg. *vāṇavantara*² beside the usual *vāṇamantara* (Nāyādh. 1124; Thāp. 222; Bhag.; Ovav., Kappas.).—In the anlaut too *ma* has sometimes become *va*: AMg. *vimāṇsā*=*mimāṇsā* (Sūyag. 59; Thāp. 332f.; Nandis. 351.381.383.505), *vimāṇsaya*=*mimāṇsaka* (Paṇhāv. 109)³; *vaṇjara* (Hc. 2,132) beside *maṇjara* (§ 81.86); M. JM. A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (Vr. 2,39; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,242; Kī. 2,45; Mk. fol. 18; G.H.R.; Karp. 38,11;47,16;57,6; Viddhaś. 24,12; Dhūrtas. 3,13; Unmattar. 2,19; Erz.; Piṅgala 2,88), also in Mg. in verses (Mṛcch. 10,13; text *ba°*; cf. GopABOLE 28,4 with note), but in Ś. only *mammadha*⁴ (Śak. 53,2; Hāsy. 22,15;25,3.14; Karp. 92,8; Mālatim. 81,2;125,2;266,3; Nāgān. 12,2; Pras. 32,12;36,18;84,3; Vṛṣbh. 29,19;38,11;42,11;49,9;51,10; Pārvatip. 24,15;26,23;28,5;30,17; Bālar. 135,10; Kārṇas. 30,5; Anarghar. 270,8 etc.). On *va* from *ma* in consonant groups see § 277.312. Cf. also ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 200f.—M. A. *hasala* (bee; H.; Karp. 10,7.8; 64,5; Hc. 4,444,5) is to be derived neither with Hc. 1,244.254; Deśin. 6,101 from *bhramara*, nor with WEBER⁵ from *ṽbhramś*, but it belongs with *bhasman* (ashes), *bhasad* (the hinder part), *bhastrā* (bellows) to *ṽbhas* “to blow”, and therefore designates the bee as “the humming creature.”⁶ The word has also gone over into Skt. too.⁷

1. The correct explanation of this t.t., which, except in Vivāhap. 991, is an adjective of *samsāra*, probably means “whereof the beginning is not bent off”=“what does not change”=“endless.” The root *ṽnam* has correctly been recognized by JACOBI, Erz. s.v.; his other explanation is, however, wrong. False also FISCHEL, BB. 3,245. The scholiasts explain the word by *ananta*, *aparyanta*, *aparyavasāna* and mostly consider *avadagga*, *avayagga* as Deśi words used in the sense of “end”, and, therefore, analyse the words as *an*=*avadagga*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vāṇamantara*.—3. The scholiasts explain the words by *vimāśa*, *vimāśaka*.—4. The Indian editions always write *mammaha*. Falsely they sometimes have also *vammaha* in Ś. (Bālar. 24,11;242,4; Viddhaś. 23,9.99,8; Rukmiṇip. 19,10;20,7;28,6;30,14; Mallikām. 122,18;124,3;158,19 etc.), as conversely *mammaha* in M. (Acyutaś. 58; false also H. 327.576 [cf. v.l.]). P. GOLDSCHMIDT (Speciman. p. 10) desired to write it wrongly as *bammaha*.—5. On H. 444.—6. FISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,63.—7. FISCHEL, on Hc. 1,244.

§252. Except in Mg. P. CP. *ya* becomes *ja* in the anlaut (Vr. 2,31; C. 3,15; Hc. 1,245; Kī. 2,38; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D.

(Mr̥ch. 101,9; 102,21; 103,15; 105,7). Dh. A. *jaī*, Ś. also often, Ā. (Mr̥ch. 105,3) *jadi=yadi*, but Mg. *yaī*, *yadi*; M. AMg. JM. Ā. (Mr̥ch. 100,12). A. *jāha*, JS. *jadha*, Ś. D. (Mr̥ch. 105,21) *jadhā=yathā*, but Mg. *yadhā* (§ 113); M. AMg. JM. *jakkha=yakṣa* (G. H.; Karp. 26,1; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; Sūyag. 674; Paṇṇav. 75; Thāṇ. 90.229; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Āv. 13,25ff.; Erz.; JS. *jadi=yati* (Pav. 383,69); M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*, Ś. *jūdhā=yūtha* (§ 221); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa=yauvana* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jāṛisa*, but P. *yātisa=yādr̥sa*, Ś. *jādisi=yādr̥si* (§ 245). So also in the inlaut when it is, according to § 91, doubled in M. AMg. JM. JS. D. A. (Vr. 2,17; C. 3,25; Hc. 1,248; Ki. 2,36.37; Mk. fol. 16), as M. JM. A. *dijjāi*, JS. *dijjadi=diyate*, but P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi* (§ 545); AMg. JM. *hojjā=bhūyāt*, AMg. *dejjā=deyāt*, *ahitthējjā=adhiṣṭheyāt*, *pahejjā=prahēyāt* (§ 466); M. AMg. JM. *karañjja=karaṇiya*, but Ś. *karaṇia*; AMg. *vandanijja*, but Ś. *vandaṇia* (§ 571); AMg. *aṅgulijjaka=aṅguliya* (Nāyādh. [°le°]); Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañcujja=kañcukiya* (chamberlain; Vivāhap. 792.800.963.966; Rāyap. 289; Nāyādh. §128; Ovav.; Āv. 8,8); AMg. *koṣejja=kaṣeya* (Ovav.); AMg. *gevejjā=grāireya* (Uttar. 1086; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. [°vi°]); AMg. JM. *nāmadhējjā=nāmadheya* (Āyār. 2,15,11.15; Nāyādh. §92.116; p. 1228.1351 [°dhi°]; Paṇṇāv. 303.327; Ovav. § 16.105.165; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 10,2). As a rule *y* drops off in the inlaut according to §186. In Mg. P. CP. *y* remains in the anlaut and inlaut, in Mg. in the inlaut only when doubled (Hc. 4,292): Mg. *yuga=yuga* (Hc. 4,288); *yādi=yāti*, *yadhāsalūva=yathasvarūpa*, *yāṇavatta=yānapattra* (Hc. 4,292); *yutta=yukta* (Hc. 4,302); *yaśka=yakṣa* (Nāmiśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12; *yadhā=yathā*, *yaṃ yaṃ=yad yad*, *yahastam* [read °dha°]=*yathārtham* (Lal. tav. 566,5.8.9); in the inlaut: *alākṣiyyamāṇa=alakṣyamāṇa*, *peṣkiyyamdi*, *peṣkiyyasi* [read °si°]=*prekṣyante*, *pr kṣyase*; *yāniyyadi=jñāyate* (Lalitav. 565,7.13.15; 566,1). As in the case of *ja* (§236) in this case too the manuscripts do not falsely establish the rule. P.: *yutta=yukta*, *yātisa*, *yumhātisa*, *yad=yādr̥sa*, *yuṣmādr̥sa*, *yad* (Hc. 4,306, 317.323); in the inlaut: *giyyate=giyate*, *tiyyate=diyate*, *ramiyyate=ramyate*, *paḍhiyyate=paṭhyate*, *huvēyya=bhavet* (Hc. 4,315.320.323): CP. *niyocita*= (Hc. 4,325; cf. 327). On *dōgga=yugma* see §215, on *yeva=eva* § 336.

§253. As in the case of treatment of *na* (§ 224), so in that of *ya* too PG. shows an extraordinary variation. In the anlaut it is retained in °*yāji* (5,1); °*payutte*=°*prayuktān* (5,6); °*yaśo*=°*yaśas* (6,9); °*yōllaka* (? 6,31); *yo=yah*; (7,46), on the contrary it becomes *ja* in *jo* (7,44) and °*saṃjutto*=°*saṃyuktaḥ* (7,47). VG. has *yuva*° (101,2). In the inlaut simple *ya* remains unchanged in PG. VG.: PG. °*vājapeya*° (5,1); *visae*=°*viṣaye* (5,3); *neyike*=°*naiyikān* (5,6); °*āyu*=°*āyus*°, *viṣayavejayike*=°*viṣayavaijayikān* (6,9); °*ppadāyino*=°*pradāyinaḥ* (6,11); *ātteya*=°*ātreya*° (6,13); °*saṃvinayikam* (6,32); *viṣaya*=°*viṣaya*° (6,35); *āpiṭṭiyam*=°*āpiṭṭiyām* (6,37); *bhūyo*=°*bhūyah* (7,41); *vasudhādhipataye*=°*patin* (7,44); *ajātāe*=AMg. *ajjattāe* (Kappas. Th. 2; S.6 7)=°*adyatvāya* (7,45)¹; °*sahassāya*=°*sahasrāya* (7,48); VG. *viṣaya* (101,1.3); *nārāyaṇaṣa*, *āyūn*, *vaddhanīyam* (101,8); *gāmeyikā* (101,10; cf. EI.1,2, note 2); *pariharayam* (101,11; cf. EI.1,2, note 2). In PG. the same variation is found in the case of duplicated *ya* as in the anlaut: at 6,40, beside one another, there stand *karēyya*, *kāravejja*=°*kuryāt*, *kārayet*; 7,1 *karēyyama*=°*kuryāma*, but 7,46 *vaṭṭeja*=°*varṭayet* and 7,48 *hoja*=°*bhūyāt*². As usual (§ 280). As usual *dya* becomes *jja* in *ajātāye*; likewise *rya* would correctly and regularly become *jja* in *golasamajasa*, *agisamajassa*, *dattajasa*, *dāmajasa*, *sālasamajasa*, *agisamaja*° (6,12.13.21.23.27.37), if BÜHLER were right in equating °*aja*° as=°*ārya*°. But *namdijasa* and *sāmijsa* (6,21.26) cannot be equated phonetically with BÜHLER as=°*nandīyāryasa* and

svāmīyasya, but are=*nandijasya*, *svāmijasya*. Also for the rest, therefore, °*ja* has to be assumed.

1. This is the correct explanation of LEUMANN; false FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211.—2. Cf. BÜHLER, EI, 1, 2f. —3. l.c. 1, 2.

254. In the place of *ya*, apparently *ga* has entered into AMg. *pariyāga*=*pariyāya* (Āyār. 2, 15, 16; Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 135, 173, 220, 223, 235, 249, 796, 845, 968, 969; Nāyādh. 1225; Uvās.; Ovav.), beside *pariyāya* (Uvās.; Ovav.). To equate *pariyāga* as=*pariyāyaka* by contraction, according to § 165, with HOERNLE (Uvās. s. v.), in the case of a t. t. of prose, is improbable. I suspect that *pariyāga* stands for **pariyāva* with *ga* for *va* according to § 231. In support of this view stands AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya*, which ought to be mentioned at the same time. Likewise AMg. *niyāga* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 1; Sūyag. 665 [ni°])=**nyāva* will stand for *nyāya* (commentary=*mokṣamārga*, *saṁyama*, *mokṣa*).—Interchange of *ya* and *va*, as in Skt.¹ and in Pāli², occurs in *kaivāṁ*=*katipayam* (Hc. 1, 250); AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya* (§ 81); AMg. *tāvattisā*=*trayastrimśat*, AMg. JM. *tāvattisagā*, °*yā*=*trayastrimśakāḥ* (§ 438); A. *āvāi*=*āyāti* (Hc. 4, 367, 1, 419, 3), *āvahi* (Hc. 4, 422, 1), *āva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *āu*]=*āyāti* (Piṅgala 2, 88)³; A. *gāva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *gāu*]=*gāyanti* (Piṅgala 2, 88), *gāvanta* (Piṅgala 2, 230); further in the participia necessitatis in A. *evā*, *ēvāu*, *īēvāu*, like *soevā*=**svapeyya* (§ 497), *jaggeva*=**jāgreyya* (§ 556), *kariēvāu*=**karyeyyakam* of the passive stem (§ 547), *sahevāu*=**saheyyakam* (§ 570). In AMg. *murava* for **muraya*=*muraja* (Paṇhāv. 512; Vivāhap. 1102; Ovav.; Kappas. [so to be read]), *muravi*=*muraji* (Ovav.), beside M. Ś. *muraa* (Pāiyāl. 266; H.; Mr̥cch. 69, 23) *va* has entered for the secondary *ya*. *murava* might rest also upon the popular etymology=*mu*+*rava*. The *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya*, *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (§ 191) goes back to a secondary *va* for *ya*, whilst *va* has become *pa*, as in *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava* (§ 191).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 188c.—2. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 42f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Pāli Grammar p. 30f.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4, 367, 1; cf., however, also *Vav* (to go) and Ved. Stud. 1, 1, vi

§ 255. Corresponding to Pāli *nahāru*, Greek *νῆρον*, Latin *nervus* AMg. JM. have *nhāru*=*snāya* (Thān. 55; Paṇhāv. 49; Vivāhap. 89, 349, 810; Jiv. 66, 271; Erz.), AMg. *nhāruṇi*=**snāyuni* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 676). There occurs *nhāru* twice (Samav. 227).—In *yaṣṭi ya* becomes *la* (Vr. 2, 32; C. 3, 17a p. 49; Hc. 1, 247, 2, 34; Ki. 2, 39; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. *laṭṭhi*, *laṭṭhi* (H.; R.; Karp. 44, 3, 49, 12, 58, 5, 69, 8, 73, 10, 80, 10; Viddhaś. 64, 4; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 5, 2, 4, 2, 11; Sūyag. 726; Paṇhāv. 282; Nāyādh. § 135, 136; p. 1420; Vivāhap. 831; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. has *jaṭṭhi* only and so stands Vṛṣabh. 37, 2 and is so meant in Mallikām. 129, 19, where the text has *taṇuyajṭhi*, and at 192, 22, where it has *hārayajṭhi*. Rājasekhara, however, uses *laṭṭhi* (Karp. 110, 6; Viddhaś. 42, 7, 97, 11, 122, 3 [hāralaṭṭhi]; Bālar. 305, 10) and *laṭṭhiā* (Viddhaś. 108, 3) in Ś. too, corresponding to M. *laṭṭhiā* (C. 3, 17a p. 49), AMg. *laṭṭhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 2). False is *jaṭṭhi* in M. (Sāhiyadarpaṇa 73, 5). Pāli has *laṭṭhi* and *yaṣṭhi*.—*kaivāhaṁ*, according to Hc. 1, 250=*katipayam*, is=Pāli *katipāhaṁ*=Skt. *katipayāhaṁ* according to § 167.—M. *chāhā* (shade; shadow; Vr. 2, 18; H.), Ś. *sacchāha* (Hc. 1, 249; Mr̥cch. 68, 24) and M. *chāhī* (shade, shadow; sky; Hc. 1, 249; Mk. fol. 19; Deśin. 3, 26; Pāiyāl. 236; H. R.) are not=*chāyā*, but=**chāyākhā*=**chāyākā*; they stand, hence, for **chākhā*, **chākhī* with contraction according to § 165 and with aspiration according to § 206. In the sense of "beauty" only *chāā* is used according to Hc. 1, 249, as generally *chāyā* occurs in M. Ś. Mg. only as *chāā* (G.H.R.; Karp. 69, 5; Mr̥cch. 9, 9; Śak. 29, 4, 51, 6; Vikr. 51, 11; Karp. 41, 2; Mg. Mudrār. 267, 2), in AMg. JM. as *chāyā* (Pāiyāl. 113, 236; Kappas.; Erz.).

§ 256. *ra* always becomes *la* in Mg. (C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Ki. 5,87; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṁkāra 2,12; Simhadeva-gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṁkāra 2,2) and Dh. (§ 25). Thus Mg.: *lahaśavaśaṇa-miśaśulaśilavialidamandālāyīdaṁhiyuge vilayīṇe* = *rabhasavaśaṇamrasuraśirovicalī-tamandārarājītmāhriyugo vīrajinaḥ* (Hc. 4,288); *śāyambhaḥiśaśilavīla* = *sākambhariśvaraśibira*, *viggahalaṇaśeśalaśilīṇam* = *vigraharājānareśvaraśrīṇam* (Lalitav. 565,6,11); *ṇagalantala* = *nagarāntara*, *duḥidda cāludattāha aṇulattā* = *daridracā-rudattasyānuraktā*, *andhaālapūlida* = *andhakārapūrita*, *ovāḥiśaśilila* = *apavāritaśarira* (Mṛcch. 13,8,25; 14,22; 127,25); *mahālaṇabhāśula* = *mahāratnabhāśura*, *udalabbhantala* = *udarābhyantara* (Śak. 113,3; 114,10); *śamale piabhattālām luhi-lappiām* = *śamare priyabhartāram rudhirapriyam* (Veṇiś. 33,8); *bahūṇalakaduk-khādālūṇapaliṇām dukkale* = *bahūnarakaduḥkhadārūṇapariṇāmo duṣkaraḥ* (Caṇḍik. 42,6). — Dh. : *ale le* = *are re*; *luddhu* = *ruddhaḥ*; *palivevida* = *parivepita*; *kulu* = *kuru*; *dhāledi* = *dhārayati*; *pulisa* = *puruṣa* (§ 25). — According to C. 3,38; Ki. 5,109; Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṁkāra 2,3 in P. too *ra* becomes *la* : *ale ale duṭṭhalakkhasā* = *are are duṣṭarākṣasāḥ* (C); *calaṇa* = *carāṇa* (Ki. 5,109); *chaṅkāla* = *jhaṅkāra* (Ki. 5,102); *hali* = *hari* (Ki. 5,111); *ludda* = *rudra* (S.). Undoubtedly in C. Ki. S., P. has again been interchanged with CP. (§ 191 note 1). The examples from P. in Hc. 4,304,307,314,316,319, 320,321,323,324 have throughout *ra*, as also Ki. 5,109 *usara* = *uṣṭra*, *kāria* = *kārya*. On the other hand Hc. 4,326 teaches that in CP. *la* may enter for *ra* : *golicalana* = *gauricarāṇa*, *ekātasatanuthalām luddam* = *ekādasatanudharam* *rudram*, *hala* = *hara* (Hc. 4,326); *nala* = *nara*, *sala* = *saras* (Triv. 3,2,64). Likewise Vr. fol. 65. Most of the examples from CP. have, however, *ra*, as *nagara*, *kiritaṭa*, *rāca*-, *caccara*, *nicchara*, *chacchara*, *ṭamaruka*, *tāmotara*, *mathura* etc. (Hc. 4,325), so that the examples in Hc. 4,326 certainly originate from a third Pāṇicāli dialect, which Mk. calls Pāṇicāli (§ 27). Presumably the transition of *ra* into *la* in it was just as necessary as in Mg. and in Dh.

§ 257. In dialects other than Mg. Dh. Pāṇicāli (§ 256) the change of *ra* into *la* is isolated and fluctuating. Vr. 2,30; Hc. 1,254; Ki. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17; Pkl. p. 52 have collected the words which take *la* under the ākṛtiṇa *haridrādi*. The information supplied by them, however, does not hold equally good for all the dialects. They say: *haladdā*, *haladdi* (Grr.), M. AMg. JM. *haliddā*, M. *haliddi*, AMg. *hāḥidda* (§ 115); M. Jś. S. *dalidda* = *daridra* (Gr.; G. 859 [so to be read : v.l.]; H.; Kattig. 404, 387; Mṛcch. 18,9; 29,1,3; 54,3; 55,25; 70,7), S. *daliddadā* (Mṛcch. 6,8; 17,18; 54,1), but M. also *dariddattāṇa* (Karp. 16,2), S. *dariddadā* (Mālav. 26,15), AMg. JM. *daridda* (Kappas.; Erz.), JM. *dariddi* = *daridrin*, *dariddiṇa* (Erz.); *jahitṭhila* (Grr.), *jahutṭhila* (Hc.), AMg. *juhiṭṭhila*, but S. A. *juhiṭṭhira* = *yudhiṭṭhira* (§ 118); M. JM. S. *muḥala* = *mukhara* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Erz.; Prab. 39,8); AMg. JM. *kaluṇa* = *karuṇa* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 225,270, 273,282,286,288,289,291; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Sagara 5,15; Erz.; everywhere adverb *kaluṇam*), beside JM. S. A. *karuṇa* (Erz.; Śak. 109,9; Vikr. 67,11) and always M. AMg. JM. *karuṇā* (pity; G.; Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,15 [text here false *kaluṇa*]); Sagara 5,18; Kk.); M. *karuṇaa* = *karuṇaka* (pity; G.); M. *cilāa*, AMg. *cilāya* = *kirāta*, AMg. *cilāi* = *kirāti*, *cilāiṇa* = *kirātikā*, beside S. *kirāda*, JM. *kirāya*, and M. *kirāa* in the meaning “Śiva” (§ 230); M. AMg. JM. *phaliha* = *parigaha*, M. AMg. *phaliḥa* = *parikhā* (§ 208); *phāḥihadda* = *pāribhadra* (§ 208); *valuṇa* = *varuṇa* (Hc. 1,254), but M. *varuṇa* (H.), S. *vāruṇi* (Bālar. 134,13); AMg. *antalikkha* = *antarikṣa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,7; 2,4,1,13; 2,5,1,20,21; 2,7,1,7; Sūyag. 294,708; Uttar. 456,651; Dasav. 629,33; Nāyādh. § 93; Uvās.), but S. *antarikkha* (Pāṇicāli. 27; Mṛcch. 44,19;

Mālav. 25,14; AMg. *ruila*=*rucira* (Sūyag. 565; Samav. 25 [°lla]. 59; Paṇhāv. 269.285; Paṇṇav. 116; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *lūha* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,5,3,5; 1,6,5,5; 1,8,4,4; Sūyag. 165.185.578.665; Paṇhāv. 348f.; Vivāhap. 279.838; Thān. 198; Uttar. 56.106; Ovav.), *sulūha* (Sūyag. 497) and *lukkha* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 1,8,3,3; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 198; Vivāhap. 1470ff.; Paṇṇav. 8.11.12.13.380; Anuog. 268; Jiv. 28.224; Uttar. 1022; Kappas.)=*rūkṣa*, *lukkhaṃ* (Uttar. 1028), *lukkhatta* (Thān. 188; Vivāhap. 1351), *lūhei*, *lūhittā* (Jiv. 610; Nāyādh. 267; Rāyap. 185), *lūhiṃ* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), falsely *rukkha* (Sūyag. 239), that in AMg. too always is=*rūkṣa* (tree; § 320); but A. *rukkha* (Piṅgala 2,98), and so also JM. in the word-play with *rukkha* "tree" (Rṣabhap. 29), AMg. shows *la* also in *lādhā*=*rādhā* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2) and=*rādhāḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,3.6.8; Paṇṇav. 61; Vivāhap. 1254)=*ś. rādhā* (Karp. 9,4)=Skt. *rādhā*; further in *pariyāla*=*parivāra*¹ (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 724.784.1273.1290.1327.1460 [°ra]. 1465; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), beside *parivāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.); further in *sūmāla*, *sukumāla* beside M. *sonāra*, also *somāla*, *suumāra*, *ś. suumāra*, *sukumāra*, JM. *sukumārayā* (§ 123); in the numeral AMg. JM. *cattālisam*, AMg. *cattālisā*, JM. *cāyālisam*, *cālisā*², A. *cālisā*=*catvāriṃśat* and in combinations with other numerals, as AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42), *caūyālisam*, *coyālisam* (44) and others (§ 445). Often in AMg. *pari* becomes *pali*, especially in the oldest dialect; e.g. in *paliuñcayanti*=*parikuñcayanti* (Sūyag. 489), *paliuñciṃ*=*parikuñciṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *paliuñca*=*parikuñcana* (Sūyag. 381), *apaliuñcamāna*=*aparikuñcamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,4,1; 2,5,2,1), *paliyanta*=*pariyanta* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4; Sūyag. 103.172); *palei*=*paryeti* (Sūyag. 495), *palinti*=*pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95.134); *paliyanka*=*pariyanka* (Āyār. 2,13,19.20; Sūyag. 386; Ovav.); *palikkhiṇa*=*parikkhiṇa* (Sūyag. 978); *palicchinna*=*paricchinna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2; Sūyag. 560), *palicchindiya*=*paricchidya* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 2,5,2,3,5), *palicchinna*=*pariyavacchinnā* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *palibhindiṃyāna*=*paribhidiṃ* (Sūyag. 243); *palicchāsi*=*paricchādayati* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6); *palimadējjā*=*pramadēyot* (Āyār. 2,13,2); *paliucchūdhā*=*pariyutksubdhā* (§ 66); *sampalimajjamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3). Therefore, AMg. has *la* for *ra* more frequently than the other dialects have. In this respect it approximates to Mg. and is removed from M. (§ 18). According to Hc. 1,254 here is said beside *jadhara*=*jathara*, *vaḍhara*=*vaṭhara*, *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* also *jadhala*, *vaḍhala*, *niṭṭhula*. Up to this moment the forms to be found in the text are M. *ś. jadhara* (Pāyāl. 112; G.; Mrcch. 72,19); M. *niṭṭhura* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. *ś. niṭṭhura* (Pāyāl. 74; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 400,333 [ni°]). Hc. 1,254 and Triv. 1,3,78 teach that *carāṇa* becomes *calaṇa* in the sense of "foot", and that otherwise it remains. *carāṇa*. Bh Mk. Pkl. have *calaṇa* without limitation. So *calaṇa* "foot" in M. AMg. JM. *ś. A.* (Pāyāl. 109; G.H.R.³; Karp. 46,8; 56,1; 60,1; 62,8; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.⁴; Rṣabhap.⁴; Mrcch. 41,4.12; Śak. 27,9; 62,6; 84,14; Mālav. 34,12; Karp. 22,1⁵; Hc. 4,399). AMg. has *carāṇa* in the meaning "way of life" (Nāyādh.), A. in the meaning "foot of a metre" (Piṅgala 1,2.13.79.80 etc.), but also in the meaning "foot" (1,4,22.85⁶. 116; 2,186). In stead of *sakkāla*=*satkāra* (Hc. 1,254) only M. AMg. JM. *ś. sakkāra* is to be pointed to (G.R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 23,8; 27,6; Mālav. 44,4; 70,2; 72,2). — On *iṅgāla* beside *aṅgāra* see § 102, on *kāhaḥ* beside *kāra* see § 207, on *bhasala* see § 251.

1. The form conformably is *pariyāla*, rather=*paricāra*, the meaning, however conformably is=*parivāra*. — 2. R. 6,7; 8,28 is with the v.l. to be read as *calaṇa*, 6,8; 13,49 is to be corrected as *calaṇa*. — 3. Kappas. § 36 stands *carāṇa* behind *calaṇa* of the preceding line. One corrects it to *calaṇa*. — 4. Rṣabhap. 28 is with the ed Bombay to be read as *calaṇa*. — 5. Vikr. 53,9; 72,19 in BOLLESEN has *carāṇa*, the v.l. excepted. The Dravidian recension, in the first place, does not have the word; in the second

place PAṆḌIT, with his MSS., reads *caraya* (127,1), however, FISCHEL *calaṇa* (658,18). It is to be corrected as *calaṇa*.

258. AMg. *tuḍiṇa* (Āyār. 2,11,14; Paṇhāv. 513; Nāyādh. 870; Rāyap. 20.21.60.80; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.) is not, with the commentators, JACOBI¹, E. MÜLLER², WARREN³ and LEUMANN⁴, to be equated as=*tūrya*, but is=*tudita*=*tunna* from *tudai* (Hc. 4,116)=*tudati* with cerebralization according to § 222. Cf. Skt. *tud*, *toḍi*, *toḍikā* (name of a musical mode), *todya*, *ātodya* (cymbal). — *kiḍi*, *bheḍa*, presumably=*kiri*, *bhera* (Hc. 1,251) are=Skt. *kiṭi*, *bheḍa*⁵. AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* (saddle; Hc. 1,252) is not with Hc. to be assumed as=*paṇyāṇa*, but as=*pratyā-dāna* according to § 163; cf. Skt. *ādāna* (decoration of a saddle). For *ra* has entered *ḍa* in AMg. JM *kuḥḍā*=*kuḥhāra* and *piḥaḍa*=*piḥhara* (§ 239). — AMg. *kaṇavīra*=*karavīra* (Hc. 1,253; Pāiyal. 146; Paṇnav. 526; Rāyap. 52 ff; Paṇhāv. 194), *kaṇavīraja* (Paṇnav. 527 ff) is to be explained perhaps from **kaḷavīra* or *kalavīra* according to § 260, if a synonym **kaṇavīra* does not occur. M has *karavīra* (G.), Mg. *kalavīra* (Mṛcch. 157,5). According to § 166 167 *kaṇera* (Hc. 1,168) too goes back to *kaṇavīra*. Hc. equates it as=*karṇikāra*, and the MSS. ABCE, as well as Triv. 1,3,3 give *kaṇero*, according to which it has been so written in my edition too. But F and the Bombay edition read *kaṇero*, and in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Urdū *kaṇ-ṛa* means "Oleander"; for HIN Lİ BATE gives the meaning "Cistarea Ovata", which is in no way correct. Since *karṇikāra* may according to § 287, form *kaṇiāra* with a simple *ṇa*, Hc has evidently interchanged the plants. JM. *kaṇeradatta* (E z) will, therefore, be=*kaṇvīradatta* *karavīra*, *karavīraka*, *karavīrya* are well known as proper names, but not *karṇikāra*. It is phonetically impossible to refer *kaṇera* back to *karṇikāra*⁶.

1. Kalpasūtra s. v. — 2. Beiträge p. 28. — 3. Nirayāv., s. v. — 4. Aup. S. s. v. —

5. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,251. — 6. JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,578.

§ 259. For Skt. *kila* dialectal *kira* has been retained in M JM A. *kira* (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Kī. 4,83; G.H.R.; Erz.: Piṅgala 1,60; Hc. 4,349). Beside i JM. has *kila* (Āv. 8,45; Erz.) and so always Ś. (Mṛcch. 2,24; Sak. 21,4; 30,1; 116,7; 159,12; Vikr. 52,4; 72,18; 80,20 etc.). In places where in Indian editions occurs Ś *kira*, as Pras. 46,7; 48,12; 101,3; 119,12, there is either a false reading or a case of interchange of dialects. M. *ira*, beside *kira*, (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Kī. 4,83; G.; R.) is explained according to § 184, *hira* (Hc. 2,186) according to § 388. Otherwise *ra* for *la* is also only isolated and dialectal: Ś *pharaa*=*phalaka* (shield; Deśin. 6,82; Karp. 97,6); AMg. *saraḍuṇa*=*śalāḍuka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,6); *sāmari*=*śālmali* beside AMg. *sāmali* (§ 88 109).

§ 260. In the anlaut *la* has become *ṇa*, *ṇa* in *nāhala*=*lāhala* (Vr. 2,40; Hc. 1,256), beside *lāhala* (Hc. 1,256); *naṅgala*, AMg. *naṅgala*=*lāṅgala* (Hc. 1,256; Kī. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18; Pāiyal. 121 [n^o]; Āyār. 2,4,2,11; Paṇhāv. 284; Dasav. N. 646,10), beside *lāṅgala* (Hc.; Mk.), *naṅgaliṇa*=*lāṅgaliṇa* (Ovav.; Kappas.) AMg. *naṅgula*=*lāṅgula* (Mk. fol. 18; Jiv. 883 886 887), *goṇaṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *naṅgula*=*lāṅgula* (Hc. 1,256), *naṅgūli*=*lāṅgūlin* (Aṇuog. 349), *naṅgola* (Nāyādh. 502), *naṅgoli*- (Jiv. 345), *naṅgoliṇa* (Thāp. 259); Jiv. 392 ([n^o]), beside M. *lāṅgula* (Hc. 1,256); G.; *ṇohala*=*lohala* (Kī. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18), beside *lohala* (Mk.). It is noticed that the texts in AMg. mostly write, *ṇa* in the anlaut. According to Mk. fol. 67 the sound change does not take place in Ś. Corresponding to Pāli *naḷāṭa* beside *laḷāṭa* Pkt. has *naḷāḍa* (Hc. 2,123). M. AMg. with i according to § 103 *niḷāḍa* (R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5 [n^o]; Nāyādh. 1310. 1312; Paṇhāv. 273 [n^o]; commentary *niḍāḷa*); Vivāgas. 90 [commentary *niḍāḷa*]. 121.144.157.169) more frequently with transposition of the last

syllable according to § 354, M. *ṇāḍāla* (Hc. 1,257; 2,123; Ki. 2,117; Mk. fol. 38; G.); M. AMg. JM. *ṇāḍāla* (AMg. JM. sometimes *ni*°; Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,257; H.R.; Karp. 48,6. Nāyādh. 754.790.823; Vivāhap. 237; Rāyap. 113; Jiv. 351.353; Paṇhāv. 162.285; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Bālar. 101,6; 259,8 [text° *ḍo*°]; Caṇḍak. 87,8; Mallikām. 195,5); A. *ṇāḍā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *ṇāḍā*). For *Ṣ*. the form is apparently incorrect. *lālāḍa* is made certain for *Ṣ*. by the similarly sounding *lālāḍe*, *lālāḍesara* (Bālar. 74,21); It occurs also in Bālar. 270,5; Venṣ 60,5 [text° *ṭa*; v. l. *ṇāḍāla*, *ṇāḍā'la*, *ṇāḍāla*]. False in AMg. *lilāḍa* (Rāyap. 165). Mk. fol. 38 teaches also *laḍāla*. *ṇāḍāla* is edited in *Ṣ*. in Pārvatipariṇaya 24,12 [ed. GLASER 23,31 has *ṇāḍāla*; cf. v. l. to Venṣ. 60,5]. The word has gone over to Skt. as *niṣāla*, *niṣāla*, *niṣāla*¹. To *ṇāḍāla* belongs M. *ṇāḍāla* (found on the forehead; G. 29), to *ṇāḍāla* belongs the dialectical *ṇāḍāli* (a kind of head ornament; Deśin. 4,43). In the inlant *l* has become *m* in *jampāi*=*jalpati* and derivatives (§ 296).— In P. CP. *la* becomes *la*: in the inlant P. *kamaḥa*, *kuḥa*, *jaḥa*, *saḥa*, *siḥa*=*ṣiḥa* (Hc. 4,308); CP. *thūḥi*=*dhūḥi*; *pāḥa*, *bāḥa*=*bāḥa*; *maḥa*=*maḥa*, *liḥa*=*liḥa*; *saḥa*=*saḥa* (Hc. 4,325—327). So probably *ucchālanti* (Hc. 4,326) too is to be written. Cf. § 226.

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573 *ṇāḍāla* cannot directly be identified with *lālāḍa* without more ado.

§ 261. In A. sometimes *va* becomes *vā*¹: *ēva*=*eva* in the sense of *evam* (Hc. 4,376,1.418,1); *evāi*=*eva*+*api*, in the sense of *evam eva* (Hc. 4,332,2.423,2.441,1); *evāhiḥ* in the sense of *idānim*=Vedic *evaiḥ* (Hc. 4,387,3; 420,4); *keḥa* (Hc. 4,343,1.401,1); *kiḥa* (Hc. 4,401,2.422,14) in the sense of *katham*=**keva* (cf. § 149.434), *keḥai* (Hc. 4,390.396,4)=*kathamapi*; *teḥa* (Hc. 4,343,1.397.401,4), *tiḥa* (Hc. 4,344,367,4.376,2.395,1.397.422,2), in the sense of *tathā*=**teva*, *teḥai* (Hc. 4,439,4); *jeḥa* (Hc. 4,397.401,4; Ki. 5,6 [so to be read]), *jiḥa* (Hc. 4,330,3.336.344.347.354.367,4.376,2.397 etc.; Kk. 272,37 [text *jiva*] in the sense of *yathā*=**yeva*, **yiva* (§ 336); *jāḥa*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3); *tāḥa*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3). From *vā* a full-fledged *ma* has developed in A. *jāma*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,387,2.406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *tāma*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *jāmahi*, *tāmahi*=*yāvadbhiḥ*, *tāvadbhiḥ* in the sense of *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,3; Erz. 86,17ff. [text° *vā*]). The same line of development has to be assumed also for the other dialects, in which *va* is represented by *ma*: *ajjama*=*ārjava* (Triv. 1,3,105)²; *ohāmai* (excels; Hc. 4,25), *ohāmiya* (overcome; Pāiyal. 187), beside *ohāvai* (Hc. 4,160), *ohāia*=**ohāvia* (downcast; Deśin. 1,158)=**apabhāvaṭi*, *apabhāvita*³; *gamaṣai* beside *gavesai*=*gaveṣai* (Hc. 4,189); *ṇimī* beside *ṇivī*=*ṇivī* (Hc. 1,259); *ṇumai*, *ṇimai* from *vī* (§ 118); *Ṣ. damiḥa* (Mallikām. 296,14)=*draviḍa*, AMg. *damiḥa* (Vivāhap. 792; Rāyap. 288), *damiḥi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.)=Pāli *damiḥi*=Skt. *draviḍi*, beside AMg. *daviḥa* (Paṇhāv. 41), *Ṣ. daviḥa* (Mṛch. 103,6; Viddhaś. 75,2)=*draviḍa*, M. *daviḥi*=*draviḍi* (Viddhaś. 24,12); AMg. JM. *vesamaṇa*=*vaiśravaṇa* (§ 60). The same sound-change has taken place in the case of the secondary *vā* in the passive *cimmai* beside *civai* from *civ* and JM. *summai* beside *suṇvai* from *svap* (§ 536); further in AMg. *bhumā*=**bhruvā*=*bhrūḥ*, M. *bhumā*, AMg. *bhumajā*, *bhumagā*, *bhamuhā*=**bhruvukā* (§ 124.206).— On the analogous change of *pa*, *ba* through *va* into *ma* see § 248.250, on *va* for *ma* see § 251.277, on *ga* for *va* see § 231, on *pa* for *va* see § 191.254 and on *va* for *ya* see § 254.

1. The MSS. almost always write *mva* for *vā*; more seldom *va*, what perhaps is corrected close to *vā*.— 2. PSICHEL, BB. 76,94.— 3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 14 f., who wrongly assumes *anabhā*. Cf. 286.

§ 262. The sibilants sometimes become *ha* dialectically, especially after long vowels and diphthongs. According to Vr. 2,44.45; C. 3,14;

Kl. 2,104.105; Mk. fol. 19 in M., in *daśan* and in the numerals connected with it *śa* becomes *ha* necessarily, and in proper names it so becomes optionally; according to Hc. 1,262 the transition to *ha* is optional also in the case of the pure numeral words, with which the texts are in agreement. M. *dasa* (R. [v.l. often *daha*]; Karp. 73,9; 87,1), *daha* (Karp. 12,7); *dasakamdhara* (G. R.); *dasakanṭha*, *dahakanṭha* (R.); *dahamuha*, *daharaha*, *dāsarahi*, *dahavaṇa*, *dasāṇa* (R.). *ha* occurs also in A. (Piṅgala 1,83 [so S. GOLDSCHMIDT]. 123.125.156; 2,196); yet *dasa* (Vikr. 67,20). AMg. JM. have only *dasa* (§ 442). According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *sa* in *daśan* and *caturdaśan* may become either *sa* or *ha*; on the other hand *sa* must stand in the proper names, *ha* in the remaining tens, excluding 10 itself and 14. The forms that have been found are *dasa* (Karp. 72,3; Pras. 19,5) and *daha* (Ratn. 292,12); *dasakamdhara* (Mañāv. 118,3); *dasarādha* (Uttarar. 27,4 [°ha]; Bālar. 152, 10 [°ha]; Anarghar. 150,12 [°ha]), *dāsaradhi* (Anarghar 157,10 [°hi]), *dasamuha* (Mahāv. 22,20; Pras. 143,6; Bālar. 20,15), *dasāṇa* (Bālar. 57,2; 123,17; 125,10; 139,13), *dasakanṭha* (Bālar. 122,15; 143,17). Mg. Dī. have *daśa* only (Mṛcch. 11,1:32,18;38,17;121,25;122,19;133,20;134,13; Dh. Mṛcch. 29,15;30,1;31,4;32,3;34,9.12.17;35,7;39,13), Mg. *dasakamdhala* (Mṛcch. 12,13). False is Mg. *daha* (Lalitav. 566,11). In the remaining tens M.A. have *ha*, the other dialects, *sa* (§ 443). *śa* has further become *ha* in M. Ś. *ēddahamētta*=*īdṛsamātra*, M. *te'ddaha*=*tādṛśa*, *jē'ddaha*=*yādṛśa* (§ 122); A. *eha*, *keha*, *jeha*, *teha* beside *aśa*, *kaśa*, *jaiśa*, *taśa*=*īdṛśa*, *kīdṛśa*, *yādṛśa*, *tādṛśa* (§ 121.166); A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (§ 64). According to Kl. 2,104 *palāśa* becomes *palāha*. A mention should be made of M.AMg. Ś. *palāśa* (G.H.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 127,21), Mg. *palāśa* (Mṛcch. 127,24).

§ 263. *śa* has become *ha* in M. *dhaṇuḥa*=**dhanuṣa*=*thanus* (Hc. 1,22; Karp. 38,11; Pras. 65,5), *dhaṇuho*=*dhanuṣaḥ* (Bālar. 113,17). — M. *pacūha*=*pratyūṣa*, in the meaning "morning sun" (Hc. 2,14; Deśin. 6,5; Pāiyāl. 4; H. 606 [so to be read with v.l. and the commentary], but M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *pacūsa* in the meaning "morning twilight" [Hc. 2,14; Pāiyāl. 46; G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 403.374.375; Śak. 29,7; Mallikām. 57,16; Viddhaś. 115,4]. — M. AMg. JM. *pāhāṇa*=*pāsāṇa* (G. 3,14; Hc. 1,262; Kl. 2,104; Mk. fol. 19; G.H.; Uās.; Erz.), JM. *pāhāṇa* (Erz.), beside *pāsāṇa* (Hc.; Mk.), as according to Mk. fol. 67 always in Ś. — AMg. *bīhaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa*, *bīhaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇaka*, M. JM. *bīhai*, *bīhei* beside M.Ś. *bhīṣaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (§ 213.501). A. *eho*, *eha*, *ehu*=*eṣa*, *eṣā*, **eṣam*=*etad* (Hc. 4,362 and Word Index; Piṅgala 1,4 [in BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 527]. 66.81; 2,64; Vikr. 55,16). — A. *akkhiṇi* from **akkhiṇi*=**akṣiṣmin*=*akṣṇi* (§ 312.379). — *chaha*=**śaṣa*=*śaṣ* with crossing over to the *a*-declension (Piṅgala 1,95.96.97). So is explained *ha* also in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *suṇhā*, M. *soṇhā* from P. *sunuṣā* for **suṇuḥā* (§ 148); *kāhāvaṇa* (Vr. 3,39; Hc. 2,71; Kl. 2,71; Mk. fol. 25) from **kāsāvaṇa* (§ 87), *kārṣāpaṇa*, also with shortening of *ā* of the first syllable (§ 82), *kāhāvaṇa* (Hc. 2,71), AMg. *kūḍakahāvaṇa* (Uttar. 629); in future, as *kāhimi*, *hohimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*, *hohāmi*=**karsyāmi*, **bhogyāmi* (§ 520 ff.); in aorist, like *kāhi* beside *kāsi* (§ 516). JACOBI¹, misled by the commentators, equates AMg. *viha* (Āyār. 1,7,4,2) as=*viṣa*. The word recurs in Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,3,3,14; 2,5,2,7 and there it is mostly assumed by the commentators as=*aṭavi*, therefore, means "forest" and probably is=*vikha* "without heaven"="where one does not see the sky." Therefore, Āyār. 1,7,4,2 is to be translated as "for the ascetic it is better that he goes into the forest alone". *viṣa* in M. AMg. JM. Ś. becomes only *visa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Ṛṣabhap.; Priyad. 51,1.8.

15,16; 53,14; Mudrār. 40,6; Mālav. 56,8; 65,10); Mg. *viśa* (Mṛcc. 136,17; 164,1; Mud ār. 193,3; 194,6); JM. *nivīśa*=*nirviśa* (Sagara 6,2).

1. SBE. 22, p. 68.

§ 264. *sa* has become *ha* in: *ñiharaī* beside *ñisaraī*=*ñihsarati* (Hc. 4,79). In *divasa* *sa* becomes *ha* compulsorily, according to Vr. 2,46, and optionally according to Hc. 1,263; Ki. 2,105; Mk. fol. 19; Prākṛta-māñjari in PISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 14. M. has *diasa*, *divasa* (G.R.) and *diaha* (G. H.; Karp. 12,7; 23,7; 43,11 etc.); AMg. only *divasa* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); JM. *divasa* (Erz.; Kk.), *diyasa* (Prākṛta-māñjari l. c.), *diyasaṃyara* (Pāiyāl. 4), *diyaha* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.), *aṇudiyaham* (Kk.); JS. *divaha* (Kattig. 402,364); S. only *divasa*, *diasa* (Mṛc. h. 68,4; Śak. 44,5; 53,9; 67,10; 121,6; 162,13; Vikr. 52,1; Mudrār. 184,5; Karp. 33,7; 103,3; 110,6), *aṇudiasam* (Śak. 51,5) against M. *aṇudiahām* (H.; Karp. 116,1 [°ha]); Mg. *diaśa* (Śak. 114,9), falsely *diaha* (Veñis. 33,5); A. *diaha* (Hc. 4,388.418,4), *diahaḍa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2). — *dūhata* (unhappy; Deśin. 5,43) beside *dūsala* (Deśin. 5,43; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 6,87)=*duhsara*. — M. JM. *sāhaī*=**śāsati*¹ (Hc. 4,2; H.R.; Erz.). — AMg. JM. A° *hattari*, AMg° *hattariṃ*=*saptati*, as JM. *caūhattari* (74), AMg. *pañcāhattari* (75), *sattahattariṃ* (77), *aṭṭahattariṃ* (78), A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76); (§ 245.446). — In future, as *dāhimi*, *dāhāmi*, *dāham*=*dāsyāmi* (§520 ff.) and in aorist, as *thāhi* beside *thāsi* (§ 516); in the loc. sing. of the pronouns *ta*-, *ya*-, *ka*:- *tahiṃ*, *yahiṃ*, *kahiṃ* beside *tasiṃ*, *jasiṃ*, *kasiṃ* (§ 425.427.428) and in the loc. of nouns formed according thereto in Mg., as *kulāhiṃ*=*kule*; *pavahanāhiṃ*=*pravahane* and in A., as *antahī*=*ante*; *cittahī*=*citte*; *gharahī*=*ghare*; *sisahī*=*śirṣe* (§366); in the genitive plural formed likewise according to the pronominal declension with the ending -*sām* in Mg. and A., as Mg. *śaṇāhā*=*svagaṇānām*, A. *taṇahā*=*tṛṇānām*, *mukkāhū*=*muktānām*, *loṇahā*=*locanayoh*, *śaūnāhā*=*śakunānām* (§ 370), in the genitive, that are found according to Hc. 4,300 also in M., as *sariāhā*=*sarītām*, *kammahā*=*karmaṇām*, *tāhā*=*teṣām*, *tumhāhā*=*yuṣmākam*, *amhāhā*=*amākam* (§ 395.404.419.422) in the genitive sing. in Mg. in *āha* from *-*āsa*=*-asya*, as *kāmāha*=*kāmasya*; *calittāha*=*caritṛasya*; *puttāha*=*putṛasya*, and in A. in *-aha*, *-ahō*, as *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, *kānahō*=*kāmasya*, *sesahō*=*śeṣasya* (§ 366); in A. in the 2. sing. active in *-hi* beside in *-si* as *ñisarahi*=*ñihsarasi*; *ruahi*=Vedic *ruvasi*; *lahasi*=*labhase* (§ 455). On *h*=*s* in consonant groups see § 312 ff.

1. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 72; WEBER. ZDMG. 28,369.

§ 265. For *sa* in *śaṣṭi* (60) and *sa* in *saptati* (70) there occurs *va* too beside *cha*. *sa*, *ha* (§ 211.264) in conjunctions with units in AMg. JM.: *bāvaṭṭhiṃ* (62), *tevaṭṭhiṃ* (63), *caūvaṭṭhi*° (64), *chāvaṭṭhiṃ* (66), *bāvaṭṭariṃ* (72), *tevaṭṭariṃ* (73), *covaṭṭariṃ* (74), *chāvaṭṭariṃ* (76); (§ 446); AMg. *tinni* *tevaṭṭhāiṃ* *pāvādūyasayāiṃ* (363 adversaries); JM. *tiṇham* *tevaṭṭhānam* *nayarasayānam* (of the 363 cities); (§ 447). The *va* has probably developed on the analogy of *va* in the numeral for 50, as *egāvannaṃ* (51), *bāvannaṃ* (52), *tevaṇnaṃ* (53), *caūvaṇnaṃ* (54), *pañavaṇnaṃ* (55), *sattāvaṇnaṃ* (57), *aṭṭhāvaṇnaṃ* (58), A. *bāvaṇṇa* (52), *sattāvaṇṇāi* (57); (§ 273) in which it regularly stands (§ 199) for *pa* in **pañcat* (§ 445). *aūṇaṭṭhiṃ* (59), *aūṇaṭṭariṃ* (69); (§ 444), *pañṇaṭṭhiṃ* (65); (§ 446) stand for **aguṇavaṭṭhiṃ*, **aguṇaṭṭhiṃ*, **aguṇāṭṭhiṃ*; **aguṇavaṭṭariṃ*, **aguṇaṭṭariṃ*, **aguṇāṭṭariṃ*; according to § 167.83. Spellings like *khaḍaṅgavi*=*śaḍaṅgavid* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,425), *khodasama*=*śoḍaśa* (Sūyag. 562 in the subscription), *hōkkhaī*=**bhogyaṭi* (§ 521) are Sanskritisms, with an erroneous writing of *kha* for *śa*, the sounds that in pronunciation have coalesced in Northern India at the present day.¹ On this is based the false reading

AMg. *pākhaṇḍa* (Thāp. 583), Mg. *pāhaṇḍa*=*pāsaṇḍa* (Prab. 48,1). The Madras (59,14) and the Bombay (103,2) editions correctly have *pāsaṇḍa*, as also AMg. (Aṇuóg. 356; Uvās.; Bhag.)² and JM. *pāsaṇḍiya*=*pāsaṇḍika* (Kk.).

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1.261 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 19 p. 24; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 118. — 2. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,213, note 6; KERN, Jaartelling p.67 note; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 32 f.

§ 266. *ha* neither falls out, nor it is brought in to avoid hiatus. All the cases in which this has been assumed¹ rest partly on false readings and partly on false etymologies.² Where in the interior of a word, between vowels, there appears an aspirate for *h* of Skt. there we need not see "coarsening" of *h*³, but the old phonetic conditions.⁴ So Ś. Mg. *Ā. idha*=*iha* (Ś. Mr̥cch. 2,25; 4,14; 6,9; 9,10.12; 24,20; 51,24; 57,17; 69,6.15; etc.; Śak. 12,4; 20,3; 67,5; 115,5; 168,15; Vikr. 30,17; 48,4; Mg. Mr̥cch. 37,10; 100,20; 113,17; 114,21; 123,21; 133,15.16; 164,10; Śak. 114,11; Ā. Mr̥cch. 100,18). Ś. Mg. sometimes falsely have *iha*, as Ś. (Mr̥cch. 70,12; 72,13; Vikr. 21,12), *ihaloio* (Mr̥cch. 4,1), Mg. (Mr̥cch. 37,10 [beside *idha*!]; 122,12), readings, that are to be corrected.⁵ The rest of the dialects have *iha*, also D. (Mr̥cch. 101,13) and JŚ. *iha* (Pav. 389,2), *ihalogā* (Pav. 387,25), *iḥaparaloya* (Kattig. 402,365). From this is explained the fact that Hc. 4,268 permits in Ś. *iha* beside *idha*(§21). For Dh., where *ida* was expected, examples are wanting. — *dāgha*=*dāha* (Hc. 1,264); cf. Skt. *nidāgha*. — AMg. *nibhelaṇa* beside *niḥelaṇa*, M. *sibhara* beside *sihara* (§206). — AMg. *maghamaghaṇṭa*, *maghamagheṇṭa* beside M. *mahamaḥaṇṭa*, JM. *mahamaḥiya* (§558). — AMg. *vebhāra* (Vivāhap. 194.195; Uttar. 194 f.), *vēbbhāra* (Nāyādh.), *vibbhāra* (Nāyādh. 1032)=*vaihāra*, with Jains also in Skt. *vaibhāra*⁶. The passive *vubbhāi*=*uhyate*, *dubbhāi*=*duhyate*, *libbhāi*=*lihyate* (§ 541.544) go back to the root-doublets **vabh*, **dubh*, **libh*. *bh* is related to the original *gh*, *gh*, as *v* is related to *k*, *g*, (230.231), that is to say here is a case of transformation of gutturals to labials. -*rubbhāi* from *rudh* (§ 546), also in the parasmaipada *rumbhāi* in M. AMg. commonly (§ 507), is formed on the analogy of the roots in gutturals. — On *hammāi*=Pāli *ghammāti* see § 188. Obscure is *bhimora*=*himora* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259), since a Skt. word *himora* is not known, and the meaning *bhimora* has not been handed down.

1. WEBER teaches dropping off, Hāla¹ p. 29; 2 on the stanzas 4,410.584; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; Bhag. 1,411, P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 47; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *thāha*; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *bhamuḥā* teach insertion. — 2. FISCHER, GGA. 1880 p. 333 f.; BB. 3,246 f.; 6,92 f.; cf. § 296. — 3. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 469 ff. — 4. FISCHER, BB. 6,91 f. — 5. FISCHER, KB. 81:37.

§ 267. After nasal vowels *h* can become *gh*, after nasals, the aspirates of the corresponding class of the nasals. In many cases the aspirates here as well might be older than *h*, as certainly in *saṃghaṇṇa* (body; Deśin. 8,14; Pāṭyaḥ, 59; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255), AMg. *saṃghayaṇa* (Jiv. 66; Vivāhap. 83,89; Uvās.; Ovav.)=**saṃghatana*=*saṃghanana*, AMg. *saṃghayaṇi* (Jiv. 66.87)=**saṃghatani*, Ś. *saṃghadi*=*saṃhati* (Anarghar. 290,2). Other examples are: *saṃghāra*=*saṃhāra* (Hc. 1,264); *siṃgha*=*siṃha* (Hc. 1,264), beside M.AMg. JM.A. *siha*, Ś. *siṃha*, Mg. *siṃha* (§ 76); falsely stands in Ś. *siṃgha* (Śak. 102,2 ed. BÖHTLINGK according to some MSS.), *vīrasīṃgha* (Karnas. 53,20), *siṃghala* (Mallikām. 88,21), M. *siṃghali*=*siṃhali* (Viddhaś. 24,11). AMg. *hambho* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Sūyag. 579; Vivāhap. 254; Dasav. 640,27; Nāyādh. 740. 761.767.769.1337; Uvās.; Nirayāv.)=Ś. Mg. *hanḥho* (Viddhaś. 97,10; Mg. Mr̥cch. 140,12; 141,1; 149,17; 163,2; 165,8; 167,2)=Skt. *hanḥho*. —

Behind nasals the aspirate stands for *h* in M.AMg. JM. *cindha* from **cinha* (§ 330) = *cihna* (Vr. 3,34; Hc. 2,50; Ki. 2,117 [text *cinnam*]; Mk. fol. 25; Pāṇyā. 68.114; G.; Āyār. 2,15,18; Nāyādh. §64; p. 1318; Paṇṇav. 101.117; Vivāhap. 498; Paṇhāv. 155.167; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 13.5; Dvār. 507,38), JM. *cindhiya* = *cihnita* (Āv. 27,1), dialectical *cindhāla* (delightful; most excellent; Deśin. 3,22), M. in compounds °*indha* (G.), beside M. S. Mg. A. *ciṇha* (Hc. 2,50; R.; Nāgān. 87,11; Mg. Mrecc. 159,23; Nāgān. 67,6; A. Vikr. 58,11). According to Mk. fol. 68 S. has only *ciṇha*. Bh. 1,12 teaches beside *cindha* also *cēndha* (§119). Further in AMg. JM.A. *bambha* = *brahman* (Jiv. 912; Sūy. g. 74; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; T. 5,15; Hc. 4,412); AMg. *bambha* = *brahman* (Uitar. 904.906; Dasav. N. 654,39), *bambha* = *brāhma* (Āyār. p. 125,34), feminine *bambhi* (Vivāhap. 3; Paṇṇav. 62.63): M. *bambhaṇḍa* = *brahmāṇḍa* (G.); AMg. *bambhaloṇa* = *brahmaloka* (Uttar. 1090; Vivāhap. 224.4-18; Ovav.); AMg. *bambhacāri* - (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; Uttar. 164; Uvās.), AMg. JM. *bambhacāri* = *brahmācārin* (Dasav. 618,34; 632,38; Uttar. 353.487.917 f.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. A. *bambhacera* = *brahmācarya* (§ 176); AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 250); AMg. *bambhaṇṇa* = *brāhmaṇṇa* (Ovav.; Kappas.) and others. The other dialects have only *bamha*, *bamhaṇa* (§287.330). The same phonetic alteration has taken place in the secondary *h*, that originated from a sibilant (§ 262 ff.) in *āsaṅghā* = **āsaṃhā* = *āsaṃsā* (Deśin. 1,63), mostly with a change of gender (§ 357)¹, M.S. *āsaṅgha* (Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,250; G.R.; Śak. 160,14; Vikr. 11,2; Viddhaś. 42,7; Kamsav. 7,20), S. *aṇāsaṅgha* (Mallikām. 93,9); M. *āsaṅghai* = *āsaṃsati* (Hc. 4,35; G.R.); *saṅghai* = *saṃsati* (Hc. 4,2); AMg. *dhimkūṇa*, dialectical *dhāmkūṇa*, *dhēṇkūṇa* = **daṃkhūṇa* from *daṃs* (§ 107.212)². Beside AMg. JM.A. *simbha* - (Hc. 2,74; Paṇhāv. 498; Erz.; Hc. 4,412), AMg. *sēmbha* - (WEBER, Bhag. 1,439), also femin. *sēmbhā* (Mk. fol. 25) = *śleṣman* from **sēmbha* - , **simha*, AMg. *sēmbhiya* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,415; 2,274.274), *simbhiya* (Ovav.) = *ślaiṣmika*, AMg. has also, with a secondary nasal vowel, *siṃghāṇa* from *śleṣmāṇa* - (§ 403), **sēmhāṇa* - , *siṃhāṇa* - , **siṃhāṇa* - (Āyār. 2,2,1,7 [so to be read with v.l.]; Thāp. 483; Paṇhāv. 505; Vivāhap. 164; Dasav. 631,3; Uttar. 734; Sūyag. 704; Ovav.; Kappas.; Bhag.). The word, as *siṃghāṇa*, *śriṃghāṇika*, has been taken into Skt. A denominative therefrom is AMg. *siṃghāṇei* (Vivāhap. 112). A. has also *gimbha* = *grīṣma* (Hc. 4,412). On *kambhāra* = *kāśmīra* see § 120, on *sepha* = *śleṣman* see § 312, and on *bharai* = *smarati*, §313.

1. BOLLSENSEN on Vikr. 11,2 p. 196; Cf. FISCHER, De gr. Präcr. p. 5. f.; on Hc. 4,35; BB. 3,250. — 2. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,255; 6,85 f.

II. CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

§ 268. Conjunct consonants of different classes are either separated by a separation-vowel (§131-140) or assimilated. In the anlaut, with the exception of *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha*, and dialectically also of consonant + *ra*, only a simple consonant can stand: of the consonants assimilated in the anlaut only the second one enters into the anlaut. The anlaut of the second member of a compound is generally treated as anlaut (§ 196). M. *kaḍḍhai* = *kvathati*; *kiḷai* = *kriḍati*; *khandha* = *skandha*; *gaṇṇhi* = *granṇhi*; *jalaḷai* = *jvalati*; *thala* = *sthala*; *thāmatthāma* = *sthāmasthāma* - (G.); *diā* = *dvija*; *bhamai* = *bhramati*; *ṇhāṇa* = *snāṇa*; *ṇhāṇa* = *snāpita*; *ṭhasai* = *hrasati*. — *mhi* = *asmi*, *mha*, *mho* = *smah* can, as they are enclitic, be regarded as treated in the anlaut.¹ The grammarians permit a consonant + *r* in the anlaut and the anlaut (Vr. 3,4; Hc. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20): *doha*, *droha* = *droha* (Bh. 3,4),

daha, draha=*hrada* (§ 354; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14); *canda, candra* (Grr.); *rudda, rudra* (Bh.; Hc.); *inda, indra* (Mk.); *bhadda, bhadra* (Hc.; Mk.); *sammudda, samudra* (Hc.). So there occurs M. *bodroha* (Pāyā. 1. 62; cf. Deśin. 7,80) or *vodraha* (young; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 7,80; H. 392²); Jm. *vandra* (crowd; Hc. 1,53; 2,79; Deśin. 7,32; Erz. 26,3) or *bandra, bundra*³. Frequent is consonant + *r*, which sometimes is secondary, in A. So in Hc.: *tram*=*tad*, more correctly=*tyad* (4,360); *dramma*=*δρ κμνη* (4,422,4); *dravakka* (fruit; 4,422,4); *draha*=*hrada* (4,423,1); *drehi*=**dekhi*=*dr̥ṣṭi* (4,422,6; cf. § 66); *dhrum* in the sense of *yad, yasmād* (4,360. 438,1), in Ki. 5,49 *drum*=*tad*, *jrum*=*yad* and according to 5,69 peculiar to Vṛācaḍa Apabhraṃśa; *dhruvu*=*dhruvam* (4,418; cf. Ki. 5,5, where *ghruva, ghru* has been edited); *praṅgaṇa*=*prāṅgaṇa* (4,360.420,4); *pramāṇa* *pramāṇita* (4,422,1); *prāṇvadi*=*prajāpati* (4,404); *prassadi*=*paśyati* (4,393); *prāva, prāva prāu*=*prāyah* (4,414); *pria*=*priya* (4,370,2.377.379,2; 398.401,6.417); *bruvahu*=*brūta*; *brōppi, brōppiṇu*=**brūtvā* (4,391; also Ki. 5,58); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *vratte*=*vratā* (4,394); *vāsa*=*vyāsa* (4,399; Ki. 5,5). In Ki. besides those mentioned above also *bhāsa*=*bhāṣya* (5,5). In the inlaut: *antraḍi*=*antra* (Hc. 4,445,3); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *putra* (Ki. 5,2); perhaps also in *jatru, tatru*=*yatra, tatra* (Hc. 4,404), and in *etrula, ketrula, jetrula, tetrula*=*iyat, kiyat, yāvat, tāvat* (Hc. 4,435), where the MSS. waver between *tta* and *tra*. Ki. 5,50 has in the edition *yadru, tadru*=*yatra, tatra*. — In Mg. A. there occur dialectically in the inlaut also *yca, yja* (§ 217).

1. The relevant paragraphs supply the references. — 2. So according to Hc. 2,80. The MSS., according to WEBER on H. 392 and IS. 16,140 f., do not have *r*. — 3. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,53.

§ 269. In the inlaut, of conjunct consonants, there can stand only: 1) the consonant doubled and with the aspirate of its own class; 2) the composite sounds *ṇha, mha, lha*; 3) dialectically consonant + *r* (§ 268); 4) nasal + consonant of its class. The MSS. mostly write anusvāra in place of the nasal: the grammarians vary. According to Ki. 2,121; Mk. 1.1. 34 *m* comes in for *n, ṇ*, according to Vr. 4,14, for *n, ṇ* before a consonant¹: *vañcaṇa*=*vañcaniya*; *vinjha*=*vinḍhya*; *paṇti*=*paṇṭikā*; *mantri*=*mantrin*. According to Hc. 1,1 *n, ṇ* can remain before consonants of their own class; according to 1,25, on the other hand, *n, ṇ, n* must become *m* before consonants; according to 1,30, however, they may remain; yet according to Hc. some grammarians require them necessarily. From Deśin. 1,26 it is seen that *airimpa*, not *airim̐pa*, was written, and Deśin. 1,18 makes it probable that *andhandhu*, and not *aṇḍham̐dhu* should be read.² The examples of the grammarians partly relate to words in which the nasal in conformity with the phonetic laws of Pkt. goes out of its class, and in them *m* must be written.³ So: *Ś.avarāṇmūha*=*aparāṇmukha* (Vikr. 44,9); AMg. *chaṇmāsiya*=*ṣaṇmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M.A. *chaṇmūha*=*ṣaṇmukha* (§ 441); M.Ś. *diṇmūha*=*diṇmukha* (Karp. 39,3; Viddhaś. 34,11; Laṭṭakam. 4,3); M. *diṇmoha*=*diṇmoha* (H. 866); M. JM.Ś. *paraṇmūha*=*parāṇmukha* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Śak. 75,15; Mahāv. 34,12; Bhārīharin. 22,13); M. AMg. JM.Ś.A. *paṇti*=*paṇṭikā* (R.; Karp. 47,12; 101,1; Jiv. 446,512; Paṇḍhāv. 520; Rāyap. 143; Vivāhap. 1325; Ovav.; Kappas; Āv. 36,36; Bālar. 49,2; Karp. 37,9; Piṅgala 1,10), M.Ś. *vaṇti* (H.; Mṛcch. 69,1), AMg. *paṇṭiyā*=*paṇṭikā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5; Aṇuog. 386; Thāṇ. 94; Vivāhap. 361; Paṇḍhāv. 80.84.85); AMg. *baṇjha*=*bandhya* (Sūyag. 460 [text *va*]); *abāṇjha* (Sūyag. 600 [text *ava*]); M. AMg. JM.Ś. *vinjha*=*vinḍhya* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,16; Vivāhap. 1189.1274.1287; Erz.; Rukminīp. 48,3); Ś. *vinjha*=*vinḍhya* (Priyad. 14,6; 52,6); M. JM.Ś. *saṇjhā*=*sandhya* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Karp. 67,4). In support of this are the rules,

like Vr. 3,43=Hc.2,61; Ki.2 98; Mk.fol.25 too, where for *nma* the change into *mma* is especially prescribed again. Whether an exception should, however, be generally made for nasal+nasal, and, therefore, even *parammuha*, *chammāsiya* should be written, remains uncertain. 5) In Mg., in the inlaut too, are found *śca*, *vyha*, *śtha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śta*, *śta*, *sta*, *spa*, *spaha*, *hka* (§ 233.236.271.290.301 ff. 331).

1. On the misunderstanding of this rule by Bhāmaha see COWELL on Vr. p. 137, note 2.—2. FISCHER, *Defin.*, Introduction p. 8 f. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 1,25.

§ 270. Of the conjunct mutes of different classes the first one is assimilated to the second (Vr. 3,1.50; C. 3,3.24; Hc. 2,77.89; Ki. 2,49.108; Mk. fol. 19.26). 1) *k+t* becomes *tt*: M. *āsatta*=*āsakta* (G.H.); *jutta*=*yukta* (H.R.); *bhatti*=*bhakti* (G.H.); *mōttia*=*mauktika* (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects¹. *mukka* beside rare *mutta*=*mukta* is derived from **mukna*, as *ragga* beside *ratta*=*rakta* goes back to **ragna* (§ 566). *sakka*, which Hc. 2,2 equates as=*śakta*, is everywhere=*śakya* (Ki. 2,1)². *nakkamcara* (Hc. 1,177) is not=*naktamcara*, which must become *nattamcara*, but goes back to **nakkā* from **nakā'* (§ 194.355)=Vedic *nak*³.—2) *k+th* becomes *tt*: JM. *rittha*=*riktha* (Pāiṣ. 49; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *sittha*=*siktha* (Hc. 2,77; Ovav.; Kappas.); *sittha*=*sikthaka* (Bh. 3,1; Pāiṣ. 228).—3) *k+p* becomes *pp*: M. *vappāra*=*vāpāra* (G.)—4) *g+dh* becomes *ddh*: M. *duddha*=*dugdha* (G.H.); M. *muddha*=*mugdha* (G.H.R.); M. *niddha* (H.R.), *siniddha*=*snigdha* (G.).—5) *g+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *pabbhāra*=*prāgbhāra* (G.R.)⁴.—6) *t+k* becomes *kk*: AMg. *chakka*=*śatka* (§ 451); AMg. *chakkatthaga*=*śatkāsthaka* (Nāyādh.).—7) *t+c* becomes *cc*: AMg. *chacca*=*śatca*; *chaccaraṇa*=*śatcaraṇa* (§ 441).—8) *t+t* becomes *tt*: AMg. *chattala*=*śattala*; *chattisaṃ*, *chattisā*=*śattirisaṃ* (§ 441).—9) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *chappaa*=JM. *chapāya*=*śatpada*; AMg. *ch ppaṇṇam*, A. *chappaṇa*=**śatpaṇṇat* (56; § 441.445).—10) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: *kappala*=*kaṭṭhala* (Hc. 2,77).—11) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *khagga*=*khadga* (G.H.R.); M. *chaggaṇa*=*śadgaṇa*, Ś. *chaggaṇa*=*śadgaṇoka* (§ 441).—12) *d+j* becomes *jj*: AMg. *chajjiva*=*śadjiva* (Āyār. 1,1,7,7); *sajja*=*śadja* (Hc. 2,77).—13) *d+d* becomes *dd*: AMg. *chaddisaṃ*=*śaddisaṃ* (§ 441).—14) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: AMg. *chabbhāya*, °ga=*śadbhāga* (§ 441); Ś. *chabbhua*=*śadbhujā* (Cait. 42,7).—15) *d+v* becomes *vv*: AMg. JM.A. *chavvīsaṃ*=*śadvīsaṃ* (§ 441).—16) *t+k* becomes *kk*: M. *ukkaṇṭhā*=*utkaṇṭhā* (G.H.); AMg. *ukkaliyā*=*utkalikā* (Ovav.); Ś. *balakkāra*=*balātkāra* (Mrcch. 13,22; 17,23; 23,23,25; Śak. 137,3), Mg. *balakkāla* (Mrcch. 140,15; 146,17; 158,22; 162,20; 173,12).—17) *t+kh* becomes *kkh*: M. *ukkhāa*, JM. *ukkhaja*=*utkhāta* (§ 80).—18) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *uppala*=*utpala* (G.H.R.); AMg. *tappadhūmayā*=*tatprathama* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *sappurisa*=*satpurisa* (G.H.).—19) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: M. *upphulla*=*utphulla* (H.R.); M.Mg. *upphāla*=*utphāla* (R.; Mrcch. 99,10).—20) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *uggama*=*udgama* (G.H.R.); M.Ś. *mōggara*=*mudgara*; AMg. JS. *pōggola*=*puḍgala* (§ 125).—21) *d+gh* becomes *ggh*: M. *ugghāa*=*udghāta* (G.H.R.); M. *ugghuttha*=*udghuṣṭa* (R.).—22) *d+b* becomes *bb*: M. *bubbua*=*budbuda* (G.); Ś. *ubbandhya*=*udbandhya* (§ 513).—23) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *ubbhāa*=*udbhāta* (G.R.); M. *ubbhāa*=*udbhāta* (G.H.R.); M. *sabbhāa*=*sadbhāa* (G.H.R.).—24) *p+t* becomes *tt*: M. *ukkhitta*=*utkṣipta* (G.H.R.); M. *pajjatta*=*paryāpta* (G.H.R.); M. *sutta*=*supta* (H.).—25) *b+j* becomes *jj*: M. AMg. JM.Ś. *khujja*=*kubja* (§ 206).—26) *b+d* becomes *dd*: *adda*=*abda* (Hc. 2,79); M. *sadda*=*śabda* (G.H.R.).—27) *b+dh* becomes *ddh*: *āroddha*=*ārabdhā* (R.); M. *laddha*=*labdhā* (G.H.R.); *loḍdhāa*=*lubdhaka* (§ 1255).

1. Cf. § 184, note 1. — 2. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 12,120; FISCHER on Hc. 2,2.

Cf. 279. — 3. Skt. *nakṣatra* "star", "constellation" too should be equated as = **nakṣatra* "ruling over the night". The customary explanations on account of **nakṣatra* (AUFRECHT, KZ. 8,71; cf. WEBER, *Nakṣatra* 2,268) or from *ṇnakṣ* (GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* s.v.) are in any case perverse. — 4. So according to the usual interpretation. ZACHARIAE (Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 60 ff.) sees probably rightly in *prāgbhāra* a false back formation of *pabbhāra*. He would like to derive *pabbhāra*, that is frequent in AMg. also (e.g. Uttar. 1034; Aquog. 416; Vivāhap. 248,920; Thāp. 135,297; Ovav.; Nirayāv.) and is found also in JM. (Kk.) and Ś. (Anarghar, 149,10), from **prabhāra*. The common meaning "crowd" points, however, rather to **prabhāra* (JACOBI, Kk. s.v.) with duplication according to §196.

§271. Conjunct mutes of the same class, except in the cases mentioned in §333, undergo a change only dialectically. In Mg. *ṣṭ* becomes *st* (Hc. 4,290); *paṣṭa*=*paṭṭa*; *bhaṣṭālikā*=*bhaṭṭārikā*; *bhaṣṭiṇi*=*bhaṭṭiṇi*. STENZLER, in *Mṛch.*, writes *ṣṭ* for *ṣṭ*: *bhaṣṭaka*=*bhaṭṭaka* (10,5;16,18;22,3.5;114,16;118,8.12.22;119,9;122,10;124,12 ff.; 125,1,3.8.24;132,11.15.18); *bhaṣṭālaa*=*bhaṭṭāraka* (22,5;32,4;112,18;119,13;121,12;154,9;164,12;165,1.5;176,4); *piṣṭadu*=**piṭṭadu*=*piṭṭoyatu* (125,8). GODABOLE, as often in other cases also, has followed him. The manuscripts almost always have *bhaṭṭaka*, *bhaṣṭaka*, *bhaṣṭhaka*, *bhaṭṭālaka*, *bhaṣṭālaka* [*laa*], only some of the MSS. have *ṣṭ* in 10,5;22,3.5;32,4;119,13;124,24;132,11. For *piṣṭadu* all have *piṣṭadu*¹ or *viṣṭadu*, likewise *aṭṭahāśaśa* (168,21), for which we should read *aṣṭa*² according to Hc. The Calcutta editions, have *ṣṭ* throughout, likewise all the editions at Śak. 114,12;116,11;118,4; Prab. 32,8.10.11.12; Caṇḍak. 60,12 etc. In *Mṛch.ṣṭ* can be a dialectical variant for *st*, as *ṣk* beside *hk*=*ky*. But elsewhere according to Hc. *st* should be written for *ṣṭ*³. Cf. §290. — *kṛtti* (skin) becomes *kicci* according to Hc. 2,12. In the text we find only *katti* (Pāyāl. 110; G.H.) and *M. kitti* (H.). At H. 951 the MS. W has the v.l. *kaccia* for *kattio*; in *Dhvanyāloka* at 128,6 the edition reads *katti a* and so also *Kāvya prakāśa* 329,10 the edition and the best manuscripts. *kacci* and *kicci* presuppose Skt. **kṛtyā*=*karṭyā* (scil. *tvak*) "what is to be cut off (skin)". Cf. AMg. *vigñicai*=**vikṛntyati* (§485). On Mg. *ṣca* for *ccha* see §233.

1. *piṣṭadu* in GODBOLE p. 345, note 9 is a printing error. — 2. ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 233 note; SENART, *Piyadasi* 1,29 f.; 2,418 ff; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 2,18 note 1. wrongly equate *st* as=ṣṭ. Cf. FISCHER, GGA. 1881,1319 f.

§ 272. If the first of two conjunct consonants is a nasal, the sound-group remains unchanged as a rule, when the nasal precedes: *M. añka* (G.H.R.); *M. Ś. sañkhalā*=*śṇkhalā* (§213); *M. siṅga*=*śṇga* (G.H.); *M. jañghā* (G.); *M. koñca*=*krañca* (G.); *M. lañchana*=*lāñchana* (G.H.R.); *M. mañjari* (G.H.); *M. kañṭha* (G.H.R.); *M. khaṇḍa* (G.H.R.); *M. anta* (G.H.R.); *M. manthara* (G.H.R.); *maaranda*=*makaranda* (H.R.); *M. bandha* (G.H.R.); *M. jambū* (G.H.). If the nasal quits its own class, it becomes *m* (§269).

§273. Dialectically *ñca* becomes *ṇa* in *pañcadaśan* and *pañcāśat* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Ki. 2,66; Mk. fol. 25). So: *pañnaraha* (15; Grr.; A. Piṅgala 1,112.114); AMg. JM. *pañnarasa* (**nnā*) (Hc. 3,123; Kappas.; Bhag.; Erz. p. XLI), *pañnarasi* (Kappas.); *pañnāsā* (50; Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Mk. fol. 26; Kappas.); AMg. JM. also *pañnāsam* (Ki. 2,66; Thāp. 266; Bhag.; Erz.), also *pañnā* (C. 3,32) in the remaining fifties shortened to *pañnam*, *vañnam*: *ekkāvañnam* (ed. *eka*²; 51; Samav. 112); *bāvañnam* (52); *tevañnam* (53); *caivañnam* (54); *pañavañnam* (55); *chappañnam* (56); *sattivañnam* (57); *aṭṭhavañnam* (58) (WEBER, *Bhagavati* 1,426; Samav. 113-117; Erz. p. XLI).

āṇāpaṇṇam (49; Ovav. §163); *paṇāpaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.); *A. bāvaṇṇa* (52), *sattāvaṇṇā* (57) (Piṅgala 1,87,51). So also AMg. *paṇṇaṭṭhi* (65; Kappas.) and *paṇṇattari* (75; Samav. 133). Before 20—60, in JM. AMg. *paṇṇa* is mostly weakened to *paṇa*: *paṇavisaṃ* (25); *paṇatisaṃ* (35); *paṇajālisaṃ* (45); *paṇavaṇṇam* (55) and *paṇavaṇṇā* (C. 3,33; [so to be read; see v.l.]; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,245 beside *pañcāvāṇṇā*); *paṇasatṭhiṃ* (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,425; Samav. 72-123; Erz. p. XLI). So also AMg. *paṇāpaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.) and *A. chappaṇa* (56; Piṅgala 1,96). Corresponding to Pāli *paṇṇuvisati*, *paṇṇuvisaṃ* (25) stands AMg. *paṇuvisāhi* (Instr.; Āyār. p. 137,25), AMg. *paṇuvisaṃ* (Rāyap. 114 f.; Jiv. 673; Jiyak. 19,20); JM. *paṇuvisā* (Āv. 48,13), of which *u* is to be explained according to §104. Pāli too has *paṇnarasa*, *paṇnarasī*, *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇāsa* beside *paññāsa*. E. KUHN has conjectured (KZ. 33,478), that “*ññ* should be explained as arising from a dissimilation of *c* and *ś*, and accordingly it goes to back to a time, when *ś* had not yet gone over into the dental sibilant, but in its pronunciation was still distinctly connected to *c*.” That is not possible for for *ṇṇa*. Pañjābī and Sindhī *pañjāh*, P. °*vañjā*, S. °*vañjāha* (HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. 259) point to the transition from *ñca* to *ñja*, *ñya*, *nya*. Cf. Pāli *āṇā*=*ājñā*, *āṇāpeti*=*ājñāpayati* and § 274.276.282.283. In A. the nasal has vanished in *pacisa* (25) and *pacaālisaṃ* (45; instr.). See §445. On AMg. *āṇṇaṇa* supposed to be=ākuñcana see §232.

§ 274. According to Hc. 4,293; Sr. fol. 62; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 in Mg. *ñja* becomes *ñña*: *aññāli*=*añjali*; *dhaññāli*=*dhanamjaya*; *paññāli*=*prāñjala*. According to this *ja*, as in the anlaut (236), has become *ya*. In Mṛcch. 19,6 stands *añjaliṃ*.

§ 275. According to Hc. 4,261.302; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12; Amaracandra, Kāvyaśālikāra p. 9 in Ś. and Mg. *nta* can become *nda*. The examples of the grammarians are: Ś. *andeura*=*antahpura*; *ñiccinda*=*niścinta*; *mahanda*=*mahat*; Mg. *mahanda*; in addition to the assumptive Ś. *randūṇa*=*ratvā* (Hc. 4,271) and in Trivikrama 3,2,1 *saṃdāle*=*śakuntale*. Inscriptionally *nda* occurs throughout for *nta* in Lalitav. in Mg.: *payyāṇde*=*paryante* (565,7); *avāyāṇdāda*=*aparyantāda* (565,12); *peṣkiyāṇdi*=*preksyante* (565,13); *puṣcāṇde*, [ni]līkaṇde=*prechan nirikṣamāṇaḥ* (565,20); *vaññāṇdassa*=*vrajataḥ* (566,7), whilst in Ś. *nta* exclusively remains: *viloiṇjāṇti*=*vilokyante* (554,21); *peṣkhiṇjāṇti*=*preksyante* (554,22); *vuttāṇtā...suṇiyāṇti*=*vṛttāntāḥ...śrūyante* (555,2); *huvaṇti*=*bhavantī* (555,5); *perāṇtesu*=*paryanteṣu* (555,11), *desaṇtara*=*deśāntara* (560,19) etc. HOEFER¹ and LASSEN² have already collected numerous examples, from older texts, that have partly vanished in the recent editions, such as *bhakkhandi*, for which STENZLER, Mṛcch. 69,3, with his manuscripts, reads *bhakkhandi*=*bhaksayanti*, *sandāva*, for which stands *santāpa* (Mṛcch. 78,8; Śak. 55,1; 68,1; Ratn. 298,10; 229,10), etc. In Prab. the editions also of Pūṇā (P.), Bombay (Bb.) and Madras (M.), like that of BROCKHAUS (B.) frequently have *nda*, even in words other than in BROCKHAUS, as 39,2 B. Bb. *ramandī*, M.P. *ramandī*, 9 B. *saṃbhāvaṇdī*, M. P. *saṃbhāvaṇdī*, Bb. *saṃbhāvaṇdī*, but 4 B. *ciṭṭhanti*, M. *ciṭṭhandi*, P. *ciṭṭhanti* Bb. *tussanti*, while all 7 read *nti* in B. *paḍichanti*, Bb. M. *paḍicchanti*, P. *paḍichanti*. The same oscillation occurs there often and so also in many of the editions published by Indians. Thus Sh. P. PANDIT writes Mālav. 27,2 *oloṇṭī*, 3 *antare*, but 5 *uvaārāṇḍandaram* (BOLLENS 6,9 correctly °*ntaram*); 66,1 *paṇcarattabbhandare* (BOLLENS 34,13 °*ntare*), but 5 *āntavāṇ* etc.; TĀRĀKĀRA CAKRAVARTI, Uttarar. 59,5; 69,10; 77,4; 89,11 *vāsandī*=*vāsanti*; TELANG, Mudrār. 36,4 *jāṇandī*, but 38,2 *jāṇantam*; 39,4 *sahandī*,

but 7 *nivedianti* [sic]; [DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, *Unmattarāghava* 3,2,5; 7,4 *disandi*, but 5,4 *disanti*=*drīyante*; 7,4 *apnesandīe*=*anveṣantīyā*, but 5,4 *sambhāmantā*=*sambhramantaḥ*; Mukund. 13,2 *kiṃ di*=*kiṃ iti*; 13,18 *andareṇa*=*antareṇa*; 17,14 *sandi*=*śānti*; 21,12 *akkando*=*ākṛāntaḥ*. Frequent is the writing in both the editions of Pārvatīp., as *nirandaram cindāulam* (2,15,16), *vāsandīe* (9,3), *vāsandīā* (9,15), *ahilasandi* (24,16; 28,4) and others. LASSEN was inclined to see therein a peculiarity of Ś³. But *nda* is found also in Mg. as well as in M. too, e.g. *jāṇandā* v.l. for *jāṇantā* (H. 821); *kiṃ deṇa* (H. 905); *bhaṇandi* (Pārvatīp. 28,2); *ramandi*=**ramanti*, *ujjhando*=*ujjhantaḥ*, *rajjandi*=*rajyante* (Mukund. 5,2,23,2). Hc. 2,180 teaches that *haṇdi* is used to express astonishment, regret, certainty, reality and doubt, and 2,181 teaches that *haṇda* is used in the sense "take!", "take care". *haṇda* is=*handa*=Skt. *hanta*. The example given by Hc. is H. 200, where the MSS. read *geṇhaha*, *giṇhaha*, *maṇda*, the Jaina recension R. has *haṇdi* and Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,70 on strophe 145) reads *haṇta*. AMg. has *haṇda ha* or *haṇda haṇ* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6,11,1,2; Thāṇ. 354); elsewhere, however, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *hanta*, AMg. also *hantā* (G.; Āyār. 2,5,2,4; Nāyādh. 1332; Vivāgas. 16; Uvās.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kk.; Vikr. 31,7). AMg. *haṇdi* (Sūyag. 151; Dāsav. 624,26 [*handi*]; Dāsav. N. 647,41 [*handi*]; 653,13 [*handi*]; Thāṇ. 488; Aṇuoz. 323; Nāyādh. 1134), goes back to JM. *haṇti* (Kk.), that is=*ham iti*. Cf. § 185 and AMg. *haṇbho* §267. The examples in Hc., with the exception of *handa*, are found in the Telugu recension, and like the doubled setting of the aspirates (§193), the writing of *nd* for *nt* is to be traced back to the Dravidians, who pronounce *nt* as *nd*. Hence *nd* is found frequently especially in Dravidian MSS. and in the MSS. which go back to the Dravidians. Sometimes the Dravidian MSS. write *ntta* for *nta* in Skt. too, e.g. *śakuntalā*⁴, to ensure the pronunciation *nt* thereby, and so in Pkt. too the South Indian PG. writes *mahaṇtte* (7,43) for *mahaṇte*=*mahataḥ* (acc. plur.)⁵, as also old Pkt. MSS. are fond of doubling *t* after *m*⁶. Especially frequently is found *saṇtāva* in M. (H. 817; Appendix 994) and Ś. (Mālatīm. 79,1; 81,2; 219,1; Uttarar. 6,1; 92,9; 163,5; Nāgān. 87,12; Viddhaś. 81,4; Priyad. 4,7; 22,12; 24,7; 25,13; Mallikām. 218,10,223,6; 330,17; Rukmiṇīp. 27,6,11; 33,13), *saṇdāvedi* (Priyad. 20,7; Mukund. 73,3 [so to be read]), *saṇdāvida* (Mālatīm. 79,1). Śak. too has *saṇdāva* at 55,1 in most of the manuscripts, at 68,1, in two of them at 127,7, most of them have *saṇdāvedi*. Since M. possesses a verb *dāvai*=*tāpayati* (Śak. 55,16 with note 1 at p. 184; cf. also §201, note 1), one might derive *saṇdāpa* from it. But in M. *saṇtāva* is the most accredited form, and for Ś. the only correct one. Dialectically the same phonetic change has occurred in *oandaḥ*=*apakṛntati* (§485), and *viḥuṇḍua*=*viḥuṇḍuda* (Deśin. 7,65; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,252).

1. De Prakrita dialecto p. 54.—2. Inst. p. 238; 378 note.—3. Inst. p. 238.—4. FISCHER, GN. 1873, 211 f.; KB. 8, 130 f.; Vikramorvaśiya p. 615.—5. FISCHER, GN. 1895, 210.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29, 494, note 1; Rāvaṇavaho p. xi.

§ 276. If the nasal stands in the second place, *ṇ*, *n* become assimilated to the preceding consonant: M *aggi*=*agni* (G.H.R.); M AMg. JM. Ś. *uvviga*=*udvigna* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 150,16; 151,2). *uvvigna*, that is equated by Hc. 2,79 as=*udvigna* is rather=**udvṛṇṇa* from Vedic *vrad*, **vrd* with *ud*. An original *r* is pointed to by *vunṇa* (timid; frightened; Hc. 4,421; Deśin. 7,94; Pāiyāl. 76) and *uvvunṇa* (frightened; Deśin. I, 123); JM. *nagga*=*nagna* (Erz.); M. *rugga*=*rugna* (G.); M. *viggha*=*vighna* (R.); AMg. *saṇṇagghī*=*śatagghī* (Uttar. 285; Ovav.); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *paṭṭi*=*paṭni*

(Uttar. 363.422); M. *savatta*=*sapatna* (G.R.), M. J.M.Ś. *savatti*=*sapatni* (H.; Āv. 28,9; Anarghar. 287,1; Venīs. 12,6), Ś. *nisavatta*=*nihasapatna* (Mṛcch. 5,1), M. *paatta*=*prayatna* (H.); AMg. *pappoi*, JŚ. *pappodi*=*prāpnoti* (§504). See 566. The sound-group *jña*, as a rule, becomes *ṇṇa*, in the anlaut *ṇa* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Kī. 2,102; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ahinṇāṇa*=*abhiṇṇāṇa* (R.); M. *jaṇṇa*=*yajña* (H.); *paṇṇā*=*prajñā* (Hc.2,42); M. *saṇṇā*=*saṃjñā* (R.); M.AMg. J.M. *āṇā*=*ājñā*, AMg. J.M. *āṇavei*, Ś.Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 88); M. *najjaṇ*, AMg. J.M. *najjai*=*jñāyate* (§548), AMg. *nāṇa*=*jñāna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6). Hc. 2,83 permits also *ajjā*=*ājñā*; *pajjā*=*prajñā*; *saṃjā*=*saṃjñā*; *jāṇa*=*jñāna*, and beside *ṇṇa*, *ṇṇu* (§105) also *jja*, when *jña* forms the second member of a compound: *appajṇu*, *appajja*=*ātmajña*, *ahinṇu*, *ahijja*=*abhiṇṇa*, *ingiaṇṇu*, *ingiajja*=*ingitajña*; *daivaṇṇu*, *daivajja*=*daivatajña*; *maṇṇṇa*, *maṇṇjja*=*manojña*; *savaṇṇu*, *savvajja*=*sarvajña*, but only *viṇṇāṇa*=*viññāna*. According to Vr. 3,5; Kī. 2,52; Mk. fol. 20 in M. only *jja* is used in words of the type of *sarvajña*: *sahajja*, *ahijja*, *ingiajja*, *sujj*=*sujña*, in Ś. on the other hand, according to Vr. 12,8 only *savaṇṇa*, *ingidaṇṇa*, according to 12,7 in *viñña* and *yajña* optionally *ñja*, according to Kī. 5,76 *ahijjo*, and *ahinco* optionally, according to 5,77 *paññā*=*pratiññā*. The correct reading in Vr. Kī. is wholly doubtful; presumably *jja* and *ṇṇa* should be permitted. The forms found in the texts are Ś. *aṇahinṇa*=*aṇabhiṇṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1); *jaṇṇa*=*yajña* (Śak. 142,3; Mālav. 70,15); *paññā* (§220). In AMg., beside *ṇṇu*, *ṇṇu* (§105), *ṇṇa*, *ṇṇa* also are suitable for use: *samaṇṇa*=*samanujña* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); *kheṇṇa*=*khadajña* (Āyār. 1,1,4,2; 1,2,3,6; 1,2,5,3; 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,3,4; 1,4,1,2; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 234 [°da°]. 304.565); *māyṇa*=*mātrajña* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2; 1,8,1,19; Dasav. 623,15; Uttar. 51); *kālanna*, *balanna*, *khaṇṇanna*, *khaṇanna*, *viṇṇanna*, *samaṇṇanna*, *bhāṇanna* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2); *meṇṇa* (Uttar. 508); *pañna*=*prajña* (Uttar. 33); *āsupanna*=*āsuprajña* (Uttar. 181); *mahāpañna* (Uttar. 200); *maṇṇunna*, *amaṇṇunna*=*manojña*, *amanojña* (Āyār. 2,1,10,2,11,2; 2,4,2,6; p. 136,7 ff; Sūyag. 390; Ovav. 53,87), but Ś. *maṇṇjja* (Mallikām. 195,5). So also AMg. *janna*=*yajña* (Uttar. 742), *jaṇṇai*=*yajñakṛt* (Ovav.). In Mg. *jña* becomes *ñña* (H. 4, 293); *avaññā*=*avajñā*; *paññāvisāla*=*prajñāvisāla*; *savaññā*=*sarvajña*. Vr. Kī. Mk. do not have this rule, and the MSS. write only *ṇṇa*. So: *jaṇṇa*=*yajña* (Mṛcch. 171,11); *jaṇṇaseṇi*=*yajñaseṇi* (Venīs. 34,13); for which, according to Hc., should be written *yañña*, *yaññaseṇi*; *paññāda*=*pratiññāta* (Venīs. 35,13); *viññāda*=*viññāta* (Mṛcch. 37,21), *viññavia*=*viññāpya* (Mṛcch. 138,25; 139,1) etc. The rule accredits *vaññādi*=**vrajñāti* (§ 448), which the copyists did not change, as they did not recognize it. — In P. too *jña* becomes *ñña* (Hc. 4,303; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12): *paññā*=*prajñā*; *saññā*=*saṃjñā*; *savaññā*=*sarvajña*; *ñña*=*jñāna*; *viññāna*=*viññāna*; *yaññā*=*yajña*; *raññā*, *rañño*=*rājñā*, *rājñah* (Hc. 4,304) beside *rāciñā*, *rāciño* (§237.399) In Vr. 10,9.12 the MSS. give *ñja*, *jja*, which will simply be an error for *ñña*.

§ 277. If the nasal standing behind a stop is *ma*, the sound-groups are differently treated. As a rule *gma* becomes *gga*: M.AMg. *jugga*=*yugma* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 2,62; Kī. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19; Vivāhap. 275.362); *tigga*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62); *vaggi*=*vāgmin* (Bh. 3,2); probably also *dōgga*=*yugma* (§215). Dialectically, however, it becomes *mma* as well: AMg. *jumma*=*yugma* (Hc. 6,62; Vivāhap. 1391 ff; 1666 ff; Thāp. 275; Samav. 138); *timma*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62). — *kma* becomes *ppa* Vr. 3,49; Hc. 2,52; Kī. 2,63; Mk. fol. 26); *ruppa*=*rukma* (Bh. 3,49; Kī. 2,63); AMg. *ruppi*=*rukmin*, by Hc. 2,52 equated as *-rucmin* (Samav. 114.117.139.144.157.160; Thāp. 75; Nāyādh. 781 ff; Rāyap. 177); AMg. J.M.Ś. *ruppiṇi*=*rukmiṇi*

(Antag. 3,43; Nāyādh. 529; Nirayāv. 79; Paṇhāv. 292; Dvār. 497,31 ff.; 502,34;505,34; Pracandap. 18,15; Mālatim. 266,4 [so to be read]; Nāgān. 51,8 [v.l.=cd. Jībananda Vidyasagara 49,7, where, however, *rukkiṇi*]. — According to Hc. 2,52 *kuṭmala* forms in Pkt. *kumpala*, as also Pāiyāl. 54 has. Since beside it is found also *kuṇcala* (Deśin. 2,36; Pāiyāl. 54), that cannot go back to *kuṭmala* or *kuḍmala*, *kumpala* also becomes a dialectical form, that is to be added beside *kuṭmala*. At Mk. fol. 26 the manuscript has *kuppala*. — *ātman* becomes almost always in M., always in A *appa-* (Vr. 3,48; Ki. 2,63; G.H.R.)¹, very rarely M. *atta-* in *attaṇo* (G. 63,96; Karp. 82,2). The other dialects oscillates (Hc. 2,51; Mk. fol. 26). AMg. JM. have *appa-* and *atta-* beside one another even in compounds, as AMg. *ajjhappa*=*adhyātman* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5; Paṇhāv. 437); AMg. JM. *attaja*=*ātmaja* (Vivāhap. 795; Erz.), AMg. *attajā*=*ātmajā* (Nāyādh. 727.1228.1232); AMg. has also *āya-* for **āta-*, corresponding to JŚ. *āda-* (§88); by the side of it JŚ. has *appa-*; in Ś. Mg. only in the nomin. sing. *appa-* is frequent; in the other cases almost only *atta-*, accus. *attāṇaam*; Dh. has *appa-* (§401). The form occurring in the Gīrṇār inscriptions, *āpta-*, which is not to be read² *ātpa-* with ASCOLI³ and SENART⁴, shows that *appa-*, by the route *ātma-*, **ātva-* (§251.312), **ātpa*, *āpta*, has arisen by transposition of the stops, whilst *atta* is the regular continuation of *ātman*⁵. In *kma*=*ppa* must be added a transition step: *rukma*, **rutma*=*ruppa*. — *dma* becomes *mma*: *chamma*=*chadma* (Hc. 2,112) beside the usual form *chaūma* (§139); *po'mma*=*padma* (§166.195) beside *paūma* (§139).

1. At H. 201 in place of *attaṇo*, as also the Bombay edition has, should be read *appaṇo* with S., likewise at G. 90 with the best manuscript J. In M. probably *appaṇo*, should be read *attaṇo* everywhere. — 2. BHAGVANLĀL INDRAJI, IA. 10,105; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f.; BÜHLER, ZDMG. 37,89. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 197, note 10. — 4. Piyadasi, 1,26 ff. — 5. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1318.

§ 278. If nasals of different classes meet together, then *nma*, *nma* become *nma* (§269), *nma* becomes *mma* (Vr. 3,43; Hc. 2,61; Ki. 2,98; Mk. fol. 25), *mna* becomes *nna*, AMg. JM. JŚ. also *nna* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ummoha*=*unmukha* (G.R.), *ummūla*=*unmūla* (H.), *ummūlaṇa*=*unmūlana* (R.), *jamma*=*janman* (H.R.); *mammaṇa*=*manmana* (Hc. 2,42); M. JMA. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (§251); M. *ninna*=*nimna* (Hc. 2,42; G.), *ninnaā*=*ninnagā* (G.), AMg. *ninna* (Vivāhap. 1244), *iṣiṇṇiṇṇayara*=*iṣannimnatara* (Vivāhap. 239), *ninnagā* (Paṇhāv. 440); M.Ś. *pajjuṇṇa*=*pradyumna* (Bh. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ratn. 295,26;296,5.17). In *dhṛṣṭadyumna*, according to Hc. 2,94 *mna* becomes *na*: *dhātthajjuṇa* Ś. has *dhātthajjuṇa* (Pracandap. 8,19), Mg. *dhātthajjuṇa* (Venis. 35,19), for which should be read *dhātthayjuṇa*. If *dhātthajjuṇa* is not purely metri causa, it is perhaps to be equated to **dhṛṣṭārjuna*, as there occurs the synonym *arjuna* for *dymna*.

§ 279. When a stop or nasal collides with a semi-vowel, as a rule the semi-vowel is assimilated, provided a separation-vowel is not inserted (§131-140). If the two semi-vowels collide together, usually the second is assimilated to the first. 1). One of the sounds is *ya* (Vr. 3,2; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,78; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19): *kya*=*kka*: Ś. *cāṇakka*=*cāṇakya* (Mudrār. 53,8 ff.); *pārakka*=*pārakya* (Hc. 1,44;2,148); AMg. *vakka*=*vākya* (Hc. 2,174; Sūyag. 838.841.842.844; Uttar. 674.752; Dasav. 636,10 16; Dasav. N. 644,21;649,26.658,29.31;659,22.33); Ś. *sakka*=*sākya* (Ś.k. 73,11;155,8; Vikr. 10,13;12,20;18,16;22,14;40,7). — *khyā*=*kkhā*: M. *akkhāṇa*=*ākhyāṇa* (H.); AMg. *akkhāi*=*ākhyāti* (§491);

Š. *vakkhāṇaissam* = **vyākhyāṇayisyāmi* = *vyākhyāsyē* (Viddhaś. 63,3, Rukmiṇīp. 19,3); M. AMg. JM. JS. Š. A. *so'kkha* = *saukhyā* (§61^a). On AMg. *āghāve* see §88.551. — *gya* = *gga*: M.; *jo'gga* = *yogya* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. *veragga* = *vairāgya* (Ovav.; Erz.); M. *sohagga* = *saubhāgya* (G.H.R.). — *cya* = *cca*: AMg. *cya* = *cyuta* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Kappas.); M. *muccai* = *mucyate* (G.); AMg. *vuccai*, Š.Mg. *vuccadi* = *ucyate* (§544). — *jya* = *jja*: M. *jujjaī* = *yujyate* (H.), *bhujjanta* = *bhujyamāna* (G.); *rajjī* = *rājya* (H.R.). — *tya* = *tt*: *ṇattā* = *nātyaka* (Mṛcch. 70,3); M. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4.116), M.A. *tuṭṭai* (§292) = *truṭyati*; M. *lōṭṭai* = *lutyati* (Hc. 4.146; Karp. 39,3). — *dya* = *dda*: *kudda* = *kudya* (Hc. 2,78; H.); AMg. *pidḍai* = *pīdyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4). — *dhya* = *ddha*: *ādhya* (G.); Sūyag. 957; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.). AMg. JM. *vejāddha* = *vaitāddhya* (§60). — *pya* = *ppa*: AMg. *appege* **apyeke*, *appegaīyā* = **apyekatyāh* = Pāli *appekacce* (§174); M. *kupṭai* = *kupyati* (H.G.), *supṭai* = *supyatām* (H.). — *bhya* = *bbha*: M. *abbhantara* = *abhyantara* (G.H.R.); Š. Mg. *abbhuvavanna* = *abhyupapanna* (§163); AMg. JM. *ibbha* = *ibhya* (Thāp. 414.526; Paṇhāv. 319; Nāyādh. 547.1231; Vivāgas. 82; Ovav.; Erz.). On *d* for *jy* see §215.

§280. In conjunction with dentals *y* is assimilated only after it has palatalized the preceding dental. Thus *tya* becomes *cca* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,13; Ki. 2,32; Mk. fol. 23), *thya* = *ccha* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 23), *dya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,22; Mk. fol. 23), *dhya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,28; Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). — *tya* = *cca*: M. AMg. JM. JS. Š. *accanta* = *atyanta* (§163); M. *ṇaccai* = *nṛtyati* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.); M. *dōcca* = *dautya* (H.); AMg. *vejāvacca* = *vaiyāpṛtya* (Ovav.); M. *sacca satya* (G.H.). — *thya* = *ccha*: M.Š. *nevaccha*, AMg. JM. *nevaccha* = *nepathya*¹ (G.R.; Vikr. 75,14; Ratn. 309,16 [°*utha*]; Mālatīm. 206,7; 234,3 [both the times °*utha*]; Pras. 41,7; Mālav. 33,18; 36,3; 38,3; 73,17; 74,17 [throughout °*utha*]; Priyad. 27,18; 28,1,4; Viddhaś. 30,8; 120,11 [both the times °*utha*]; Rukmiṇīp. 37,15; 41,11 [°*cca*]; 42,5; 43,5,9; Āyār. 2,15,18 [°*utha*]; Vivāgas. 234; Paṇhāv. 240.459 [both the times °*utha*]; Thāp. 238 [°*utha*]; Nāyādh. §117 [°*utha*]; Ovav.; Āv. 27,17; Erz.), AMg. JM. also *nevacchiya* (Vivāgas. 111; Paṇhāv. 196 [both the texts °*thiya*]; Āv. 28,5) = **nepathyita*; JM. *nevaccheṭṭā* (absol.; Āv. 26,27); AMg. *paccha* = *pathya* (G.R.; Kappas.); M.Š. *racchā* = *rathyā* (G.H.); Mṛcch. 2,20; Karp. 20,4; 30,7). — *dya* = *jja*: PG. *ajātāye* = *adyatvāya* (§253); M. *ajja* = *adya* (G.H.R.); M. *ujjāṇa* = *udyāna* (G.R.), *chijjaī* = *chidyate* (R.), *vijjujjo* = *vidyuddya* (G. 907); M. JM. Š. *vejja* = *vaidya* (§60). — *dhya* = *jja*: M.Š. *uvajjhā*, AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* = *upādhya* (§155); M. *majjha* = *madhya* (G.H.R.); M. AMg. JM.Š. *vimjha* = *vindhya* (§269); M. JM.Š. *sanjha* = *sandhya* (§269). In Mg. *dya* becomes *yya* corresponding to §236 (Hc. 4,292; Ki. 5,90; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāta, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12): *ayya* = *adya*; *avayya* = *avadya*; *mayyā* = *madya*; *viyyāhala* = *vidyādhara*. Corresponding to this *dhya* must become *yyha*, therefore, e.g. *madhyamādhina* becomes *mayyhaṇṇa* (§148.214.236). The MSS. write throughout *jja*, *jja*, as in the rest of the dialects; so also Latitav. 566,11 *yujjha* = **yudhya* = *yuddha* = M. AMg. JM. Š. A. *jujjha* (G.H.; Bālar. 180,5; Nāyādh. 1311.1313; Erz.; Lalitav. 568,4; Bālar. 246,5; Jivān. 86,10; Hc. 4,386). The separation-vowel *i* does not hinder palatalization: AMg. *ciyatta* from **tijakta* = *tyakta* (Thāp. 528 [text *bi*°]; Kappas. §117; cf. §134), absol. *ciccā*, *cēcā*, *ciccāṇa* *cēcāṇa* = **tiyaktvā*, **tiiktivā*, **tiktivā* = *tyaktvā* (§587), quite like *cajjaī* = *tyajati* (Hc. 4,86; Uttar. 902; Dasav. 638,18), *cajanti* = *tyajanti* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 100 [ci°]. 174), *cae* = *tyajet* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *cajāhi* = *tyaja* (Āyār. 1,6,1,5), *caissantī* = *tyaksyanti*

Sūyag. 361), *catta*=*tyakta* (Āyār. 2,15,23.24), JM. *cāi*=*tyāgi* (KJ. 5). AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti*, as M. *jhāi* (§479).

1. As the text shows, not only the Jaina-MSS., which steadily interchange *echa* and *ttha*, but also the MSS. of the dramas particularly very often write *ttha* in this word. The v.l. has throughout the only correct form *neaccha*.

§ 281. D. *dakkhiṇattā*=*dākṣiṇātyāh* (Mṛcch. 103,5) forms an exception to §280. See §26. Further AMg. *ghatta* (Sūyag. 964), *aghatta* (Sūyag. 969.983), provided these cases, with the scholiasts, are to be equated as =*ghātya*, *aghātya*. Yet *ghatta* may also be equated as =*ghātā* according to §90, with a change of gender according to §357, which is more probable. Other cases too are simply apparent exceptions. *caitta* (Hc. 1,151;2,13; Mk. fol. 23) is not =*cāitya*¹, but =*cāitra*, in the sense of *cāitya* (B-R. s.v. *cāitra*). — In M. *pattijāi*, AMg. JM. *pattijāi*, Ś. Mg. *pattijādi* (§487) = *pratiyāti* and AMg. *putteya*=*pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; Āyār. 1,1,6,2;1,2,1,5; Sūyag.28.783; Jiv. 44.47.436.478 ff.; Paṇṇāv. 30.32.35.40; Rāyap. 68.124.126.134.139.152 ff.; Nāyādh. §42; p. 1268; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pattēyabuddha*=*pratyekabuddha* (Nandis. 245; Paṇṇāv. 19) *patti* = **parati*, **parti* with separation-vowel is from *prati* (§132). *prati* and **parti* may, therefore, be compared with *πρωτι*¹ and *πορτι*². AMg. **pattijam* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN³, to be equated as =*pratyayam*, but as =*vṛttikam*. On AMg. *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna* etc. see §163. — AMg. JŚ. *tacca* (Hc. 2,21; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kattig. 400,324) is not with Hc. and the commentary to be equated as =*tathya*, but with WEBER⁴ and HOERNLE⁵ as =*tātva*, more correctly through the intermediate step **tātya* (§299). *tathya* with the separation-vowel becomes in AMg. *tahiyā* = **tathiyā*; it sometimes stands beside *tacca*, as *taccāṇam tahiyāṇam* (Nāyādh. 1006; Uvās. §85), *taccehim tahiehim* (Uvās. §220.259). — *sāmattha* beside *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22) is not = *sāmarthya*, but presupposes a **sāmartha*. — M. *kutthasi*, *kutthasu*=*kvathiyase*, *kvathyasva* (H. 401) is a false reading (cf. the v.l.) for *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* passive of *kaḍḍhai*=*kvathati* (§221).

1. With Hc. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,403; on Hāla² 216. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,210, Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. *pattiya*. Deviating BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 331 f.; WEBER on Hāla² 216; E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 64. — 3. Aup. S. s.v. — 4. Bhag. 1,398, note 2. — 5. Uvās. Translation p. 127, note 281.

§ 282. *y* is assimilated to a nasal: *nya*, *nya* become *ṇa*; in AMg. JM. JŚ. it is written also *nna*; in Mg. (Hc.4,293; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-ākāra 2,12), P.CP. (Hc.4,305) they become *ñña*. So M. *dahkhinṇa*=*dākṣiṇya* (G.H.R.), *puṇṇa*=*puṇya* (H.R.); AMg. *hiranṇa*=*hiranya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 2,15,10.12.17.18; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), Mg. *sahilaṇṇa*=*sahiranya* (Mṛcch. 21,9); AMg. *pinnāga*=*pinyāka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Sūyag. 926.928.931; Dasav. 623,7), *panna*=*panya* (Sūyag. 921); M.Ś. Mg. *anna*, AMg. JM. *anna*=*anya*; M. *ṇasa*=*nyāsa* (H.), *viṇṇasa*=*vinyāsa* (G.); M.Ś. *maṇṇe*=*maṇye* (§457); M.Ś. *seṇṇa*=*sainya* (G.R.; Adbhutad.56,6.19). — Mg. *abamhañña*=*abrahmanya*; *puñña*=*puṇya*; *ahimaññu*=*abhimanyu* (cf. §283); *aññadisam*=*anyadisam*; *kaññakā*=*kanyakā*; *sāmañña*=*sāmānya*; (Hc.); Nāmisādhū). The MSS. of the dramas have only *ṇa*. — P. *puñña*=*puṇya*; *abhimaññu*=*abhimanyu*; *kaññakā*=*kanyakā* (Hc.). According to Vr. 10,10 in P. *kanyā* becomes *kañjā*, according to 12,7 in Ś. *bhāhmaṇya* becomes *bamhaṇṇa* or *bamhañca*, *kanyā* becomes *kaṇṇā* or *kañcā*. The reading in Vr. and Kī. is very doubtful. In Ś. we find in the texts *bamhaṇṇa* (Mṛcch.89,12), *abbamhaṇṇa*=*abrahmanya* (Śak. 142,8.14; Vikr. 84,13; Karpas. 10,3;33,10); *kaṇṇā* (Śak. 30,3;71,3 [so to be read]; 134,8; Mālatim. 73,8;80,1 [so to be read]; 223,1;243,1 [so to be read]; Mudrār. 40,6 [so to be read]; Ratn. 299,6; Nāgān. 10,14 [°kā]; 11,1.10

etc.); in Mg. Mudrār. 193,3;194,6 [so to be read]. -*mya* becomes *mma*, after a long vowel *ma*: M. *kilammai*, Ś. *kilammadi*=*klāmyati* (§136); M. *tāmai*=*tāmyati* (H.), Ś. *uttamma*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 19,8), *uttammia*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 56,9); so *mma*, AMg. JM. *soma*=*saumya* (61^a); Ś. *kāmāe*=*kāmyayā* (Mṛcch. 49,14).

§ 283. *abhimanyu* becomes, according to Vr. 3,17; Ki. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21, *ahimajju*, according to Hc. 2,25 *ahimajju*, *ahimañju*, *ahimannu*. Ś. has *ahimannu* (Mk.fol.68; Venis. 64,16, likewise Mg. Venis. 34,12), for which *ahimañju* should stand according to §282. Beside M.Ś. *manñu* (H.R.; Venis. 9,19;11,15;12,1;61,22) according to Hc. 2,44 for *manyu* is used also *mantu*. This appears several times in the Telugu recension of Hāla as a v.l. for *manñu*¹. According to Pāiṣāl. 165 *mantu* means "bashfulness", "unpleasantness", the meanings that in Deśin. 6,141 are evidently given to the connected word *mantakkha*. Skt. too has *mantu*², which according to the form, is compared with *kantu* (love; Deśin. 2,1).

1. WEBER on Hāla 683. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāiṣāl. s.v.

§ 284. *yya* becomes *jja* (Vr. 3,17; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21): M. AMg. JM. *sejja*=*sayyā* (§101), in Mg. P. CP. *yya* (§252). — *rya* becomes in all the dialects, other than Mg., *jja* (Vr. 3,1; C. 3,15; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,89; Mk.fol.21): M. *ajja*=*ārya* (G.) *ajjā*=*āryā* (H.), *kajja*=*kārya* (G.H.) *majjā*=*maryādā* (H.R.). In Ś. Mg. according to Hc. 4,266.302 *rya* can become *jja* or *yya*: Ś. *ayya*ūta *ṣayyakulikada mhi*=*āryaputra paryākulikṛtāsmi*; *suyya*=*sūrya*; beside *ajja*=*ārya*; *pajjāula*=*paryākula*; *kajjaparavasa*=*kāryaparavasa*; Mg. *ayya*=*ārya*. The writing *yya* is found only sometimes in the South Indian MSS. Mostly they write, however, in place of the ligature a small circle: *aoa*=*ārya*; *paovathhāvehi*=*paryavasthāpaya*; *suoya*=*sūrya*, an orthographic device which may either permit of a choice between the pronunciations *jja* and *yya*¹ or express an intermediate sound between the two sound-groups. The circle, as rightly remarked by MÜLLER², has the same value as the peculiar ligature of the Jaina MSS. which WEBER³ wished to read as *yya*, which, however, with JACOBI⁴, and E. MÜLLER⁵, is read as *jja*. Probably it betokens a sound intermediate between both. Hc.'s rule will, therefore, be explained by the pronunciation of the Jains. The MSS. of the dramas write in both the dialects *jja*. Right is *jja* for Ś., *yya* for Mg. which are prescribed by Vr. 11,7: *kayya*=*kārya*, and is offered by Lalitav.: *payyande*=*paryante* (565,7), *avayyandadā*=*aparyantatā* (565,12). Instead of *jja* there occurs after *i*, *ū*, except the sound-group, which arise through the partition vowel, *ria*, *riya* (§134), also *ra*, therefore, elision of *y* according to §87 (Vr. 3,18,19; Hc. 2,63; Ki. 2,79; Mk. fol. 22): M. *gambhira*=*gāmbhīrya* (R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *āra*=*tūrya* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Āyār. p. 128,32; Erz.; Vikr. 56,5; Mahāv. 121,7; Venis. 23,11;64,2;73,16; Bālar. 147,18;200,10; Piṅgala 1,15); M. *soḍira*=*ṣauḍīrya* (Mk.; R.), Ś. *soḍirattana* (Karp. 30,7), *soṇḍira*=*ṣauṇḍīrya* (Hc.; Mallikām. 146,6), *soṇḍiradā* (Mṛcch. 54,4;74,12). So especially in the passive, as *jirai*=*jīryate*, M. JM. *tirai*, *tirae*=*tīryate*, M. JM. *hirai*=*hīryate* (§537), M. AMg. JM. *kirai*=*kīryate* (§547)⁶. The word *sūra*, Mg. *śūla* frequent in all the dialects, is to be derived with Hc. 2,64 from *sūra*. In P., necessarily according to Vr. 10,8, sometimes according to Hc. 4,314, the partition-vowel comes in *bhāriā*=*bhāryā*. Hc. has also *suja*=*sūrya*, for which **suyya* was expected, and *kirate* for **kīryate*=*kīryate* (4,316). — *kacca* (business; Deśin. 2,2) is not=*kārya*, but=*kṛtya*.

1. FISCHER, GN. 1873, p. 208; Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, p. 615 f. — 2. Beiträge p. 12. — 3. Bhag. 1,388 f. — 4. Kalpa-sūtra p. 18 note 1. — 5. Beiträge p. 12 f. — 6. Falsely JACOBI, KZ. 28,250.

§ 285. Like simple *ra* (§256.257), sometimes even *r*, that is in conjunction with *y*, is changed into *l*, to which *y* is assimilated: JM. *pallāṇa*=*paryāṇa* (Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20; Erz.), whilst AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* is=*pratyādāṇa* (§258); *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; cf. §123). M. *pallaṅka* (Vr. 3,21; C. 3,22; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 36,3) can, like AMg. *paliyaṅka* (§257) with Hc. 2,68, be derived from Skt. *palyaṅka*, if it itself is not a Prākritic bye-form of *paryāṅka*. In *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,68), *Ś. pallaṭṭha* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; Bālar. 243,11; Venis. 60,10; 65,13; Mallikām. 26,18; 57,9; 125,6; 135,16; 195,3; Rukmiṇīp. 29,8), M.AMg.Ś. *palhattha* (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; G.R. s.v. *as*; Kappas.; Mrcch. 41,20; Mālatim. 118,3; 260,5), M. *vivalhattha*, *Ś. vipalhattha* (Uttarar. 63,13 [text °*ṇha*°]; 92,10 [text °*ṇha*°]) and their denominatives *palhaṭṭai*, *palhatṭhai* (Hc. 4,26,200; G.R. s.v. *as*), AMg. *palhatthiya* (Pāiyāl. 201; Vivāhap. 282.284; Nāyādh. 1326; Uttar. 29), which are derived by the grammarians, scholiasts and all the moderners¹ from *as* (to throw) with *pari*, two roots are to be referred to. *pallaṭṭa* and *palhattha* are=*paryasta* (§308), *palhattha*, on the contrary=**prahlata* is from *hla*=*hras* with *pra*; cf. *nirhrasta*, *nirhrasita*. M. *palhattharaṇa* (R. 11,108) is a false reading for *paccattharaṇa*, as CK have=**pratyāstarāṇa*; cf. *pratyāstāra* (carpet).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,409, note 2; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 521; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 45.64; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. 2 *as*; Sh. P. PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho s.v. *as*; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v. *palhattha*; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,454 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. §137.143.

§ 286. *lya* becomes *lla*: M. *kalla*=*kalya* (G.H.); M. *kullāhi tullā*=*kulyābhis tulyāḥ* (Karp. 44,6); M.AMg. JŚ. *Ś. mulla*, AMg. JM. *mōlla*=*mālya* (§83.127).—*vya* becomes *vva*: M. *vavasā*=*vyavasāya* (G.R.), *vāha*=*vyādha* (G.H.), *kavva*=*kāvya* (G.H.R.); the participia necess. in *-tava*, as AMg. JM. *hojavva*, Ś.Mg. *hodavva*, JŚ.Ś. *bhavidavva*, Mg. *huvīdavva*=*bhavitavva* (§570). AMg. *pittijja* (Kappas.) is not=**pitrya*¹, but=**pitriya*. AMg. *pūha* (Nāyādh. §18; p. 331.353.845; Ovav.) is not=*vyūha*², but=**pyūha* for **apyūha* from *ūh* with *api* (§142). *pp* in some passive, which P. GOLDSCHMIDT³ and S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ wish to explain from *vy*, which WEBER⁵ earlier regarded as erroneously written *yy*, JACOBI⁶ and according to him JOHANSSON⁷ wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from *py*, M. JM.AMg.A. *gheppai* is=**grhyate* for **grbhyate*=*grhyate* (§212.548). JM. *ādhappai* (Hc. 4,254; Āv. 12,21) beside *ādhavai* (Hc. 4,254) and M. *vidhappai* (Hc. 4,251; R.) beside *vidhavijjai* (Hc. 4,251) are regular passive from *ādhavai* (Hc. 4,155; Ki. 4,46) and *vidhavai* (Hc. 4,108), the causatives from *dhā* (§553) with cerebralization according to §223. The past passive participle M.AMg. JM. *ādhatta*, M. *samādhatta* M. JM.Ś. *vidhatta*, A. *vidhattaṭṭa* (§565) may be derived from the causative, so that *ādhatta* would be=**ādhapta*, like *ānatta*=*ājñapta*; they are probably better derived from the present stem (§565)⁸.—*sippai*=*snihyate* and *sicyate* (Hc. 4,255), M. *sippanta* (v.l. to H. 185) belongs to *simpai* (Hc. 4,96), which is related to Marāṭhī *śimpṇem*, Gujarātī *śimpvum*⁹ and presupposes a root **sip*, which was parallel to *sic* from **sik*. This is, therefore, a case of interchange of gutturals and labials (§215). To **sip* belongs M. AMg. Ś. *sippi* (conch; Hc. 2,138; Mk. fol. 40; H.R.; Karp. 2,4; Viddhaś. 63,8; Uvās.; Bālar. 195,9; 264,3; Viddhaś. 108,2)=Pāli *sippi*, Marāṭhī *śipa*, *śimpa*, Gujarātī *śipa*, Hindī *sipi*, *sipa*, Sindhī *sipa*¹⁰.—*vāhippai* (Hc. 4,253), JM. *vāhippantu* (Āv. 38,6), which is derived, with Hc. 4,253 from *vhr*, is=*vyāhriyate*, is rather=*vyākṣipyate* with a somewhat more special meaning than in Skt., as *samākṣip* occasionally has in Skt. As a proof we

have M. *nihippanta-* (R.8,97) = *nikṣīpyamāṇa*, which is wrongly derived from *vdhā* by S. GOLDSCHMIDT. From this may be derived M. *nihitta*, AMg. JM. *nihitta* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; G.R.; Karp. 2,5; Vivāhap. 116; Erz.), A. *nihittā* (Hc. 4,395,2) and M.AMg. JM. *vāhitta* (Hc. 1,128;2,99; Pāṇyā. 247; H.; Uttar. 29; Āv.38,6)¹¹ = *nikṣīpta*, *vāṅkṣīpta*. Possible is also, however, the explanation from *nihīta*, *vāḥṛta* according to §194. — Hitherto several forms with *pp* have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning. *khuppai* (sinks; immerses; Vr. 8,68; Hc. 4,101; Ki. 4,51), M. *khuppanta-* (R.), past passive participle M.AMg. *khutta* (R.; Pāṇhāv. 201), explained by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹² from **khuyai* and derived from *khu* = *khan*, is = **kṣuyati* from *Vkṣupa avasādane*, *sāde* (WESTERGAARD, Radices p. 333). — *juppai* (yokes; Hc. 4,109) is = *yuppati* from *yupa ekikaraṇe*, *saṁkikaraṇe* (B.-R. s.v.), with which may be compared AMg. *juvala*, *juvalaja*, *juvalija* (§231). — M. *pahuppai* (Hc. 3,142;4,63; Mk. fol. 53; G.H.R.), which has been explained by WEBER¹ as a deponentially used passive of *bhū* with *pra*, is a denominative from *prabhutva* = **prabhutvati* “exercises authority”; “is able to”; “is in a position to”. This is borne out by A. *pahuccā* (Hc. 4,390.491), which presupposes a **prabhutyati* with the phonetic change discussed in §299. So too M. *ohuppanta-* (R. 3,18) = **apabhutoant-*. The scholiasts explain it by *ākramyamāṇa* and *abhibhūyamāṇa*. It belongs to *ohivai* = **apibhāvati* = **apabhāvayati* in the sense of *ākrāmati* (Hc. 4,160), from which spring also *ohāia*, *ohāmai*, *ohāmiya* (§261) and *ohua* (overcome; Desin. 1,158) = **apabhūta-*. M. *appāhai* (entrusts; Hc. 4,180), *appāhei*, *appāhēnta-*, *appāheum*, *appāhijoi*, *appāhia* (H.R.), which S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹⁴ artificially derives from an impossible **avyāhṛta*, and WEBER¹⁵ doubtfully equates as = *har* + *abhyā*, is regularly = **āprārthayati* from *pratha prakhyāne* (Dhātupāṭha 32,19); cf. *viprathayati*, *saṁprathita*.

1. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 17,35. — 2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. with the scholiasts. — 3. GN. 1874, p. 512 f. — 4. ZDMG. 29,491 ff.; Prakṛtica p. 3,13 note 1,17 f. — 5. ZDMG. 28,350; Hāla¹ p. 64; cf. IS. 14,92 f. — 6. KZ. 28, 249 ff. — 7. KZ. 32,446 ff.; where occur further literary details. — 8. The derivation from *rabh* is linguistically impossible. — 9. FISCHER on Hc. 4,96 — 10. FISCHER on Hc. 2,138. — 11. Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 513 note; JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *nihitta*. — 12. Prakṛtica p. 17 f.; against it JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 448, note 1. — 13. On Hāla 7. — 14. Rāvaṇavaho s.v. — 15. Hāla s.v.

§287. II) One of the sounds is *r* (Vr.3,3; C.3,9; Hc.2,79; Ki.2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *rka* = *kka*: M. *akka* = *arka* (G.); AMg. *kakkeṇa* = *karketana* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *takkemi* = *tarkayāmi* (§ 490). On M. *kaṁkoda*, *kaṁkoḷa* beside M.AMg. *kakkoḷa* = *karkoḷa* see §74. — *kra* = *kka*: A. *kijjā* = *kriyate* (§547); M. *caṁka* = *caṁra* (G.), *vikkama* = *vikrama* (G.). On M.AMg. JM. A. *vaṁka* = *vakra* see §74. — *rkha* = *kkha*: Ś.Mg. *mukkha* = *mūrkhā* (§139). — *rga* = *gga*; Ś. *niggamamagga* = *nirgamamārga* (Lalitav. 567,24); M. *duggama* *durgama* (G.R.), *vaṁga* = *varga* (G.H.R.). — *gra* = *gga*: PG. *gāmāgāmabhojake* = *grāmāgrāmabhojokān* (5,4), *gāme* = *grāme* (6,28), *gahaṇam* = *grahaṇam* (6,31.33.34), *nigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41); M. *gaha* = *graha* (G.H.R.); AMg. JM. *nāggoha*, *nāggoha* = *nyagrodha* (C. 3,9; Āyār. 2,1,8,5,7; Jiv. 46; Pannav. 31; Vivāhap. 41[m°]. 1530; Kappas. §212[text n°; see also the v.l.]; Āv.48,25; Erz.); AMg. JS. *niggantha* = *nirgrantha* (c.g. Āyār. 2,15,29; p. 132,4.6.15 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kattig. 404,386). — *rgh* = *ggha*: M. *nigghina* = *nirghṛṇa* (H.), *nigghosa* = *nirghoṣa* (R.), Ś.Mg. *digghā* = *dirghikā* (§ 87). — *ghra* = *ggha*: *āigghai* = *ājighrati*, *jigghia* = **jighrīta*, M.AMg. *agghāi* = *āghrāti*, *agghāia* = **āghrāyita* (§408). — *rea* = *cca*: M. *aṁcā* = *arcā* (G.); JM.Ś.D. *kucca*

=*kūrca* (Erz.; Śak. 134,4; Karp. 22,8; D. Mṛcch. 104,7); Ś. *caccari* *carcari* (Ratn. 293,17,18). — *rch=cch*: M. *mucchā=mūrchā* (R.). — *chra=ccha*: Ś. *samucchida=samucchrita* (Mṛcch. 68,15). — *ria=ija*: M. *aijuna=arjuna* (G.), *gajjia=garjita* (G.H.R.), *jajjara=jarjara* (G.H.), *bhuā* (birch; Deśin. 6,106) is not=*bhūra*, but=*bhuja* (Vaijayanti 48,89), therefore, M. *bhuavatta* (G. 641)=**bhuja**pattrā*. In Mg. *rya* becomes *yya* (Vr. 11,7; Hc. 4,292); *ayyuna=arjuna*; *kayya=kārya*; *gayyadi=garjati*; *guṇavayyida=guṇavarjita*; *duyyana=durjana*. The MSS. of the dramas have only *ija*, thus *kajja* (Mṛcch. 126,6; 139,23); *dujjana* (Mṛcch. 115,23). — *jra=ija*: M. *vajja=vajra* (G.H.R.). — *rjha=ijha*: M. *ñijjhara=nirjhara* (G.H.). — *rṇa=ṇa*: M. *kaṇṇa=kaṇṇa* (G.H.R.), *cuṇṇa=cūrṇa* (G.H.R.). *vaṇṇa=varṇa* (G.H.). *kaṇṇikāra* can, beside *kaṇṇiāra*, form also *kaṇiāra* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,95; Kī. 2,114; Mk. fol 27). So AMg. *kaṇiāra* (Āyār. p. 128,28), A. *kaṇiāra* (Hc. 4,396,5). The form shows accentuation on the final=**kaṇṇikārd*. On *kaṇṇa* see §258. A *cūra* (Hc. 4,337) is not=*cūrṇa*, which too becomes in A. *cuṇṇa* (Hc. 4,395,2), but=**cūrya*. — *rpa=ppa*: M. *kuppara*, AMg. *kōppara* (§127); M. *kuppāsa=kurpāsa* (G.H.), *dappa=darpa* (G.H.R.). — *pra=ppa*: PG. : *amhapesaṇappayutta=asmatpṛeṣanaprayuktān* (5,6), *appatihata=apratihata* (6,10), *satasahasappadāyino=śatasahasrapradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *patibhāgo=pratibhāgaḥ* (6,12 e.c.) etc.; M. *pia=priya* (G.H.R.) *appia=apriya* (H.). — *rba=bba*: AMg. *kabbaḍa=karbaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,2,6; Sūyag. 684; Thāp. 347; Paṇhāv. 175. 246. 406. 486; Nāyādh. 1278; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40.295; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *ṇibbandha=nirbandha* (Mṛcch. 5,4; Śak. 51,14); M. *dōbballa=daurbalya* (G.H.R.). — *bra=bba*: PG. *bamhaṇāṇam=brāhmaṇāṇam* (6,8. 27. 30. 38), AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (§250), Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* (e.g. Mṛcch. 4,16. 18. 21. 24; 5,5; 6,2; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,17; 121,10; 127,4; Śak. 113,7); Ś. *abbamhaṇa=abrāhmaṇya* (§282). — *rbha=bbha*: M. *gabbha=garbha* (G.H.R.), *ṇibbhara=nirbhara* (G.H.R.); Ś. *dubbhējja=durbhēdya* (Mṛcch. 68,19). — *bhra=bbha*: PG. *bhātukāṇa=bhātṛkāṇam* (6,18); M. *paribbhamaṇi=paribhramati* (G.H.), *bhamara=bhramara* (G.H.R.). — *rma=mma*: AMg. *ummi=ūrmi* (Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. M. *dhamma=dharma* (5,1; G.H.R.), PG. *dhamāyubala=dharmāyurbala*° (6,9), *siṇakhaṇḍavama=siṇakhaṇḍavarmā* (5,2), Ś. *dummaṇussa=durmaṇusya* (Mṛcch. 18,8; 40,14). — *mra=mma*: M. *dhummaṇḍa=dhūmrākṣa* (R.); AMg. *makkhei=mrakṣayati* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8), *makkhējja=mrakṣayet* (Āyār. 2,13,4). — *rla=lla*: M. *ṇillajja=nirrajja* (H.R.), *dullaha=durlabha* (H.). — *rva=vva*: PG. *savvathha=sarvatra* (5,3), *puvvaḍattam=pūvvaḍattam* (6,12,28); M. *puvva=pūvva*, *savva=sarva* (G.H.R.). — *vra=vva*: Ś. *pārivājja=parivājaka* (Mṛcch. 41,5.7.10.17); M. *vaa=vraja* (H.); AMg. *vihi=vrihi* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682; Thāp. 134; Vivāhap. 421.1185; Jiv. 356). On *rya* see §284.285.

§288. In conjunction with dentals *r* may be regularly assimilated. *rtu=tta*: PG. *nivatanam=nivartanam* (6,38); M. *āvatta=āvarta* (G.R.), *kitti=kirti* (G.R.; cf. §83); Dh. *dhutta=dhūrta* (Mṛcch. 30,12; 32,7; 34,25; 35,1; 36,23); M. *muhutta=muhūrta* (H.R.). — *tra=tta*: PG. *go'ttasa=gotrasya* (6,9 etc.); M. *kalatta=kalatra* (H.R.), *citta=citra*, *patta=patra*, *sattu=śatru* (G.H.). — *rtha=ttha*: M. *attha=artha* (G.H.R.), *patthiva=pārthiva* (G.R.), *sattha=sārtha* (G.H.R.), *samattha=samartha* (H.R.). — *rda=dda*: PG. *balivadda=balivarda* (6,33); M. *kaddama=kardama* (G.H.R.), *daddura=dardura* (G.), *duddiṇa=durdina* (G.R.). — *dra=dda*: PG. *ācanda=ācandra*° (6,29); M. *inda=indra*, *ṇiddā=ṇidra* (G.H.R.), *bhadda=bhadra* (G.H.), *samudda*

=samudra (G. H. R.). — rdha=ddha : PG. °vadhanike = *vardhanikān (6,9); M. addha=ardha (G.H.R.), niddhūma=nirdhūma (H.R.); AMg. muddha=mūrdhan (§402). — d'ra=ddha: AMg. saddhim=sadhrim (§103).

§ 289. In lieu of the dental, there occurs frequently the cerebral in the groups, in which the first member is *r*, especially in AMg. According to the grammarians (Vr. 3,22; Hc. 2,30; Kī. 2,34; Mk. fol. 22) in the case of *ri* cerebralization is the rule. The words, which retain the dental, are collected by Vr. 3,24; Hc.; Kī.; Mk. in the ākṛtigaṇa dhūrtādi. The dialects oscillate, sometimes, in the case of the same words: AMg. JM. aṭṭa=ārta (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,2,5,5; 1,4,2,2; 1,6,1,4; Sūyag. 401; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. aṭṭataraṇ (Sūyag. 282); AMg. aṭṭiya=*ārtita (Ovav.); in addition to kavaṭṭa (§246); but Ś. atti=ārti (Śak. 57,4). — AMg. kiṭṭai=kirtayati (Āyār. 1,5,4,3; 1,6,1,1), kiṭṭe (Sūyag. 661), kiṭṭimāṇa (Sūyag. 663), kiṭṭittā (Āyār. p. 137,27; Kappa.), kiṭṭiya (Āyār. p. 132,33; 137,23; Sūyag. 578.661), but always kitti=kīrti in all the dialects (§ 83.288). — kevaṭṭa=kaivarta (Hc.; Mk.), kevaṭṭaa (Bh.). — M. AMg. JM. cakkavaṭṭi=cakravartin (Karp. 7,3; 79,4; 115,10; Thāp. 80.197; Samav. 42; Vivāhap. 7.1049; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. cakkavatti- (Caṇḍak. 87,15; 94,10; Hāsy. 21,7), as perhaps also Karp. 104,2,4 with the v.l. is to be read. — AMg. naṭṭaga=nartaka (Ovav.; Kappas.); naṭṭaa (Bh. 3,22; Mk. fol. 22); naṭṭai=nartakī (Bh. 3,22; Hc. 2,30). — Ś. Dh. bhaṭṭā=bhartā in the sense of "Lord", but in all the dialects bhaṭṭā in the sense of "husband", "consort" (§ 390); AMg. bhaṭṭidāraja, Ś. bhaṭṭidāraa, bhaṭṭidāriā (§55). — The root *ṛt* forms M. vaṭṭasi (H.), vaṭṭai (R.), AMg. JM. vaṭṭai (Vivāhap. 268.1408; Erz. 6,3), AMg. vaṭṭanti (Āyār. 2,2,2,11.12; Kappas. S. § 35), M. AMg. JM. vaṭṭanta- (R.; Uttar. 712; Erz. 22,9), AMg. JM. vaṭṭamāṇa (Āyār. 2,2,2,1; Vivāhap. 268; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), JŚ. S. vaṭṭadi (Pav. 382,27; Lalitav. 560,15; Mṛcch. 2,20; 3,1,20; 169,21; Śak. 37,7; 59,12; Vikr. 21,10; 52,1; Caṇḍak. 86,4; Hāsy. 21,8; 25,3; 28,20 etc.), JŚ. vaṭṭadu (Pav. 387,21), Mg. vaṭṭāmi (Mṛcch. 32,22). Likewise with prefixes, pro ex. M. āṭṭanta-, āvaṭṭamāṇa (R.); AMg. anuparivaṭṭamāṇa (Sūyag. 328), anupariyaṭṭai (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 1,2,6,5), niyaṭṭai (Uttar. 116), niyaṭṭanti (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,6,4,1), niyaṭṭamāṇa (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), nivaṭṭaejjā (Sūyag. 415), uvaṭṭeja (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), uvaṭṭenti (Āyār. 2,2,3,9), JM. uvaṭṭiya (Erz.), Ś. paṭṭadi=pravartate (Mṛcch. 71,7), A. paṭṭai (Hc. 4,347), and in derivatives, such as AMg. pariyaṭṭanā (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,1,4,2; Ovav.), pariyaṭṭaya (Kappas.), but M. Ś. pariatṭana, parivattana (G.R.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Vikr. 31,6), AMg. pariyaṭṭa=parivarta (Ovav.); AMg. samvaṭṭaga (Uttar. 1056). In conjunction with prefixes, as the examples form Grr. already show, the dentals predominate. Thus pro ex. M. uvattai (G.), niattai (G.H.R.), pariatṭai (G.), parivattasu (H.), pariatṭanta-, parivattim (R.); AMg. pavattai (Paṇṇav. 62); Ś. niattiadi (Vikr. 46,19), niattiadu (Mṛcch. 74,25; 78,10 ["va"]), nivattissadi (Vikr. 17,2), niattaissadi (Śak. 91,6), niattāvehi, niattadu (Śak. 91,5,6), niattāsu (Śak. 87.1.2 [to be so read]), nivattamāṇa (Vikr. 5,11), nivattehi, nivattedu (Mṛcch. 27,12.15), nivattamha (Śak. 74,3) etc. Likewise in derivatives. — AMg. vaṭṭaya=varṭaka (quail; Āyār. 2,10,12; Sūyag. 100; Uvās.), vaṭṭaga (Sūyag. 681.708.722.747), but vattiā=vartikā (Bh.; Hc.) against vaṭṭiā (Mk.). — AMg. vaṭṭi=varti (Hc. 2,30) in gandhavaṭṭi (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) against M. vatti (H.). — The cerebrals stand throughout in the absolutive, as AMg. kaṭṭu=kartu°, āhaṭṭu=āhartu°, samāhaṭṭu, sāhaṭṭu etc. (§ 577). On kām, kādum=kartum etc. § 62. — Transition to the

media occurs in AMg. *gaḍḍa*=*garta* (Vr. 3,25; Hc. 2,35; Mk. fol. 23; Vivāhap. 246,479); *gaḍḍā*=*gartā* (Hc. 2,35).

§ 290. *rtha* becomes *ṭṭha* in AMg. JM. *aṭṭha*=*artha* in the sense of "reason", "cause", "thing", "story", but *attha* in the sense of "wealth", "money" (Hc. 2,33). So especially in the phrase AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samatṭhe* (§173), and in adverbially used cases like AMg. *se ten' aṭṭheṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 34 ff.; Uvās. §218,219), *se ken' aṭṭheṇaṃ* (Uvās. §218,219); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāe* (Uttar. 363; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.), *aṭṭhāyāe* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); JM. *aṭṭhā* (Erz.). However, the dental also occurs in the meaning "thing", "story" (Ovav.) and in adverbially used forms, such as AMg. *iccatṭhaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), and more frequently in JM. (Erz.). The rest of the dialects have only the dental in all the meanings of the word.¹ AMg. has also *anaṭṭha* "aimless", "false" (Uvās.; Ovav.), *niraṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 113), *samatṭha* (§173). Beside M.AMg. JM A. *caṭṭha*=*caturtha*, Hc. 2,33 teaches also *caṭṭha*; beside Ś. *caduttha*, there occurs also *caduṭṭha* (§449). AMg. *addhuṭṭha* is=*ardha*+**turtha* (§450). On *kavattia* said to be=*kadarthita* see § 246,289. In Mg. *rtha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12); *eṣe aste*=*eṣo 'rthaḥ* (Nāmis.); *astavadi*=*arthavati*, *śastavāhe*=*sārhavāhaḥ* (Hc. 4,291); *tista*=*tirtha* (Hc. 4,301). So the Lalitav. 566,9 has *yahastam* (read *yadhastam*)=*yathārtham*, but 566,7 *śastāśa*=*sārthasya* and 566,8, *paṭidum*=*prārthayitum* with *sta*. In Mṛch. 131,9;133,1;140,13;146,16;152,6;168,2 all the MSS. have *attha*, likewise Caṇḍak. 60,11; Prab. 28,14, where, however, the ed. Madras reads *palamacco*. Mṛch. 145,17 K in Gopābole has *accha*, 158,21 the very good manuscript E has *aṣṭa*. In Mṛch. 138,17 the MSS. have *kajjattṭhi* for *kyyattṭi*; in Śak.114,11 there stands *vikkaatṭhaṃ*=*vikrayārtham*, 115,7 *sāmippasādattṭhaṃ*=*svāmiprasādārtham*, Prab. 28,15 has *tittṭhiem*=*tirthikāḥ*, 29,7 *tittṭhā*=*tirthikāḥ*. Mṛch. 122,14;128,3;158,19 STENZLER has *śatthavāha*=*sārhavāha*, 133,1, *śaṭṭhavāha*. The MSS. vary greatly, and at 128,3 E in Gopābole correctly has *śastavāha*, to which the reading *śasyastavāha* of B and *śatthavāha* of H point². The manuscripts are to be everywhere corrected according to the rules of the grammarians.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,33. Not quite correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *attha*. —

2. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1319 f.

§ 291. *rda* becomes *ḍḍa* in *kavaḍḍa*=*kaparda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23); —*gaḍḍaha*=*gardabha* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,37; Ki. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23) beside *gaddaha* (Hc. 2,37; Pāiyāl. 150), which is the only form authenticated by the texts in AMg. JM.Ś.Mg.Dh. and is expressly prescribed for Ś. by Mk. fol. 67 (Sūyag. 204,724 f. 727 [°bha]; Samav. 83; Uttar. 794; Kk.; Ś. Mṛch. 45,16; Mg. Mṛch. 79,13;175,14), JM. *gaddabhi* and *gārdabhi* (Kk.), *gaddabhilla* (Kk.), *gaddabbha*=**gārdabhya* (unharmonious, shrill; Deśin. 2,82; Pāiyāl. 204); *gaddaha* (Deśin. 2,83), *gaddahaja* (Pāiyāl. 39; white lotus); Dh. *gaddahi* (Mṛch. 29,19). Kāleyāk. 25,15 *gaḍḍuho* [sic] is edited in Ś. — *chaḍḍai*=*chardati* (Hc.2,36); AMg. *chaḍḍējjā* (Āyār.2,1,3,1) *chaḍḍasi* (Uvās. § 95), JM. *chaḍḍijjā* (Āv. 41,8), *chaḍḍei*, *chaḍḍijjau*, *chaḍḍiya* (Erz.); A. *chaḍḍevinu* (Hc. 4,422,3); JŚ. *chaḍḍida* (Pav. 387,18; Text. °ya); *chaḍḍi*=*chardi* (Hc. 2,36); JM. *chaḍḍi*=*chardis* (Erz.); AMg. *chaḍḍiyalliyā* (Ovav.); M. JM.Ś. *vicchaḍḍa*=*viccharda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23; Pāiyāl. 62; Deśin. 7,32; G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.; Anarghar. 277,3 [so with ed. Calcutta to be read]); *vicchaḍḍi*=*vicchardi* (Vr. 3,26; Ki. 2,23); AMg. *vicchaḍḍaṭṭā* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *vicchaḍḍia* (R.). AMg. JM. *vicchaddiya* (Ovav.; Pāiyāl. 79), Ś. *vicchaddida* (Uttar. 20,11; Mālatim. 241,5;254,4;276,6; Anarghar. 149,10 [so to be read everywhere]). — *maḍḍai*=*mardate* (Hc. 4,126), but Ś. *maddiadi*=*mardyate* (Mṛch. 69,9);

maḍḍia=*mardita* (Hc. 2,36); *saṁmaḍḍa*=*saṁmarda* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23), but M. J.M.Ś. *saṁmaḍḍa* (G; Erz.; Mṛch. 325,17); *saṁmaḍḍia*=*saṁmardita* (Hc. 2,36). Against these Ś. *uamadda*=*upamarda* (Mṛch. 18,11); AMg. *paṁaddaṇa*=*pramardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṁaddi*=*pramardin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *pāmaḍḍā*=**pāmaḍḍā* (stamping asunder of corns with the feet; Deśin. 6,40); AMg. *paṁmaḍḍaṇa*=*paṁmardana* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *piḍhamadda*=*piṭhamarda* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *piḍhamaddiā* (Mālav. 14,9); Adbhutad. 72,13;91,9), AMg. *vāmaḍḍaṇa*=*vyāmardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.). — *viaḍḍi*=*vitardi* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23). — *khuddia*=*kūrdita*, *saṁkhuddai*=*saṁkūrdati* (§ 206), beside AMg. *ukkhuddai* (Uttar. 788). According to Mk. fol. 23, some taught also *taddū*=*tardū*. — *rdha* has become *ḍdha* in: AMg. J.M. *aḍḍha*=*ardha* beside *addha*, as the other dialects alone have (Hc. 2,41; § 450); *aḍḍha*, pro ex. also in AMg. *avaḍḍha*=*apārdha* (Jiv. 1055 f.; Vivāhap. 1057.1306), *saḍḍha*, *aṇaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 354), *divaḍḍha* (§ 450); J.M. *aḍḍhamāsa* (Erz.), beside *addha*^o (Kk.) and AMg. *māsaddha* (Vivāhap. 168); J.M. *aḍḍharatta*=*ardharātra* (Erz.) etc.; M.A.Mg. J.M.Ś.Mg.Ā.A. *aḍḍha* (G.H.R.; Samav. 156.158; Thān. 265; Jiv. 231.632 f.; Vivāhap. 209.1178; § 450; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Mṛch. 69,16; Caṇḍak. 51,11; Karp. 60,11; Mg. Mṛch. 31,17.20.23.25;32,5;133,10;168,20.21; Śak. 118,4; Ā. Mṛch. 100,12; A. Hc. 4,352; Piṅgala 1,6.61 ff.). — M. AMg. J.M. *vaḍḍhai*=*vardhate* (Vr. 8,44; Hc. 4,220; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 23; H.R.; Āyār. 2,16,5 [°i]; Sūyag. 460; Vivāhap. 160; Kk.); Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (Vikr. 10,20;19,7;49,4;78,18;88,14; Mālav. 25,4). Likewise with prefixes, in the causative and in derivations. The proper name *vardhamāna* becomes AMg. J.S. Ś. *vaḍḍhamāna* (Āyār. 2, 15,12; Pav. 379,1; Mṛch. 25,18;44,24;45,5 etc.), but AMg. also *vaddhamāna* (C. 3,26; Āyār. 2,15,15; Ovav.; Kappas.), as also AMg. *nandivaddhaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Kappas.) and *vaddhāvei* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Niraṣāv.) are said. For *govardhana* Mk. fol. 24 teaches *govaddhaṇa*. Ś. has *govaddhaṇa* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5).

§ 292. *tra* has become *ṭṭa* in M. A. *ṭṭṭai*=*trutyati* (R.; Piṅgala 1,65.68) beside AMg. *tuṭṭai* (Sūyag. 100.105.148), *tuṭṭanti* (Sūyag. 539); *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230); A. *tuṭṭā* (Hc. 4,356). According to Vr. 12,5 in Ś. *putra* in certain cases (*kvacit*) can become *puḍa*. Perhaps it is connected with the old form of *pāṭaliputra*, which will have been **pāṭalipuṭa* (§ 238, note 2), which must have regularly become **pādaliuḍa*. To the Skt. form corresponds M.Mg. *pādaliuṭta* (H. 2,150; Mṛch. 37,3), J.M. *pādaliputta* (Āv. 8,1;12,1.40; Erz.), Ś. *pādaliputtaa* (Mudrār. 149,3). In Mg. STENZLER writes in Mṛch. 118,1;119,11.21;124,5;129,18;132,9.164,16;165,3 *puṭhaka*=*putraka*. The MSS. vacillate very much and point rather to *pustaka* or to *puṭhaka*. Almost everywhere occurs the v.l. *puttaka*, and in Mg. in Mṛch. *putta* 19,19;116,8;129,7;133,1;160,11;166,1;167,24;168,3; *puttaka* 114,16;122,15;158,20; *śaputtaka* 166,18.21 stand. STENZLER likes to correct it to *puṭhaka* at p. 294 on 114,16. But only at 158,20 some MSS. have *pustake*, *puṭhake*, *puthake*, otherwise all have °*ṭṭa*°, which will be right. As at 158,19 for *ṇattike*=*ṇaṭṭikā* the vv. ll. *ṇattihike* (so STENZLER, GODABOLE and the Calc. editions in the text), *ṇastike*, *ṇastike* also occur, there seems to be a case of interchange with the change from *rtha* (§ 290). After a long vowel *tra* frequently becomes *ya* through *ta* in AMg., as *gāya*=*gātra*, *goja*=*gotra*; *dhāi*=*dhātri*; *pāi*=*pātri* (§ 87). In *rātri* the same law occurs in M.Ś. (§ 87). *dhāri* (nurse; Hc. 2,81) is not=*dhātri*, but is derived from *√dhai* (to suckle) with suffix *-ra*=“wet nurse”. Cf. *dhāru*.

§ 293. Against 288 *tra* apparently becomes *ttha* in the adverbs ending in *-tra*, as *aṇṇattha*=*anyatra* (Hc. 2,161;3,59); *Ś. attha*=*atra* in *atthabhavaṃ* (Śak. 33,3;35,7; Vikr. 30,9), *atthabhavado* (Mālav. 27,11), *atthabhodi* (Vikr. 38,17;83,13; Mālav. 26,1); M.AMg. JM. *kattha*=*kutra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; G.H.R.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.); M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.D. *jattha*=*yatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; H.R.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig.; 401,353; Uttarar. 20,11;21,10; D. Mṛcch. 100,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tattha*=*tatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; Kī. 3,42; G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7;1,1,2, 1.2 etc.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Vikr. 48,14; Mg. Prab. 32,6), in Ś. also in *tatthabhavaṃ* (Vikr.46,6;47,2;75,3.15), *tatthabhavadā* (Śak. 30,2; Vikr. 16,11; 80,14; 84,19; Mālav.10,13), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch.6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,13; 79,16), *tatthabhodi* (Mṛcch. 88,13; Śak. 95,12; 125,7;132,7;134,13; Vikr. 16,4 7.13;18.5 etc.); *iarattha*=*itaratra* (Bh. 6,2); M. JM. *savvattha*=*sarvatra* (Bh. 6,2; Hc. 3,59.60; G.H.R.; Erz.). Meanwhile PG.M.AMg. JM.Ś. Mg.D. *Ā. ēttha*, *A. ētthu* (§107), on account of the *e*, cannot be equated as=*otra*, but as=*Vedic itthā*. From i the rest of the adverbs cannot be separated, so that *kattha* must be derived from **katthā*, *jattha* from **yatthā* etc.¹. The regular continuation of *yatra*, *tatra* are *A. jattu*, *tattu* (Hc. 4,404; cf. 268), of *anyatra*, *Dh aṇṇatta* (Mṛcch. 36,23;39,10). Mg. *atta*=*atra* (Mṛcch. 161,17;167,17) is probably false. In the first place D. has *ēttha*, in the second it is wanting in most of the MSS. The writing *atthabhavaṃ*, *tatthabhavaṃ*, which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and Mālav. have², and which occurs occasionally elsewhere also, is erroneous³. On *A.kēttthu*, *jēttthu*, *tēttthu* see §107. — *Ś. mahāmettha*=*mahāmātra* (Mṛcch. 40,22) is a false reading for *mahāmetta*, as the MSS. D H in GODABOLE p.120 read, and *metthapurisa* =**mātrapuruṣa* (Mṛcch. 69,12) for *mahāmetthapurisa* (cf. D in GODABOLE p. 196), since *mātra* becomes only *mitta*, *metta* (§109). Cf. also *mēṇṭha*, JM. *miṇṭha* (mahout, elephant-driver; Deśin. 6,138; Erz.), *Pāli mēṇḍa*. — *M. patthi* (H. 240), which WEBER wishes to equate as=*pātri*, is a false reading for *pacchi* (Deśin. 6,1), *Pāli pacchi*; cf. v.l. ZDMG. 28,408; IS. 16,78 on strophe 185.

1. Others in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; R. s.v. *kattho*; WEBER on H. 240. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,253. — 2. BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 20,11 p. 177. — 3. FISCHER, *De Kālidāsa cākuntalī recensionibus* p. 34 f.

§ 294. *dra* has become *dda* in AMg. JM. *khudda*=*kṣudra* (Deśin.2,74; Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Sūyag. 414; Thān. 546; Uttar. 13; Jiv. 476 ff.; 559.622. 663.1013 ff.; Kappas.; Erz.); *khuddaa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105), AMg. JM. *khuddāya*, *femin. khuddiyā* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,2,1,4;2,2,3,2; Thān. 67; Paṇhāv. 520; Vivāhap. 1100; Kappas.; Āv. 23,6), AMg. *khuddāga* (Sūyag. 872; Thān. 545; Vivāhap. 1101; Ovav.), *khuddāga* (§70); rarely AMg. also *khudda* (Sūyag. 504) and *khuddāya* (Kappas.). — Like simple *da* becoming *la* (§244), *dda*, originating from *dra*, also becomes *lla* in M. AMg. *alla*, beside M.AMg. JM. Ś. *adda*=*ārdra* (§111), and *chilla* (hole; hut; Deśin. 3,35), *ucchilla* (hole; Deśin. 1,95), beside M.AMg. JM. *chidda* (H.; Uvās.; Erz.) and AMg. JM. *chidda* (Nirayāv.; Āv. 41,4.5; Erz. v.l.), M. *chiddia*=*chidrita* (G.). On *culla* see § 325. M. *maḷai* is not=*mardati*, but=*mradata* (§244). The synonymous *maḍhai* (Hc. 4,126) is=*maḥhati* from *maḥtha mardanivāsayoḥ* (Dhātupāṭha 9,47 according to Bopadeva), which belongs to *math*, *manth*. On *dra* beside *dda* see § 268.

§ 295. *b* is inserted between *m* and *r* in *āmra* and *tāmra*. The sound-group *mbra* created in this manner either is separated by a separation vowel: *ambira*, *tambira*(§137), or in it *r* is assimilated. So M.AMg. JM. *amba*

(Vr. 3,53; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,56; Kī. 2,64; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 145; H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,1,4,6; 2,7,2,2 ff.; 2,10,21; Thāp. 205; Paṇṇav. 482,531; Vivāhap. 116,1256; Erz.); AMg. *ambaga* (Aṇuttar. 11; Uttar. 231,983 ff.); AMg. *ambādaga* = *āmratāka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,4; Paṇṇav. 482). — M. AMg. *tamba*=*tāmra* (Gr.; Pāiyāl. 93; G.H.R.; Sūyag. 282 834; Uttar. 597; Vivāhap. 1326; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *tambaga* (Uttar. 1065), *tambiya* (Ovav.); M.Ś. *tambavaṇṇi*=*tāmraṇṇi* (Karp. 12,4; 71,8; Bālar. 264,3,4; Anarghar. 297,15 [so to be read]); M. *āmba*, AMg. *āyamba*=*ātāmra* (G.H.; Śak. 119,6; (Ovav.); *tambakimi*=*tāmrekrimi* (cochineal; Deśin. 5,6); *tambarattī*=**tāmraṇṇi* (wheat rust; Deśin. 5,5); *tambasiha*=*tāmraśikha* (cock; Pāiyāl. 125); M. *tambā*=*tāmra* (cow; Deśin. 5,1; Pāiyāl. 45; H.). — According to Mk. fol. 27 *kamra* also becomes *kamba*. — *mā* is treated in the same way. *amla* becomes either *ambila* or *amba*: AMg. *sehambadāli-jambehim* = *sedhāmladālikāmlaiḥ* (Uvās. § 40); A. *embaṇu* = *āmlatvam* (Hc. 4,376,2).

§ 296. III) If one of the sounds is *la* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19): *lka*=*kka*: M. *ukkā*=*ulkā* (G.R.); *kakka*=*kalā* (Vivāhap. 1025); M.Ś. *vakkala*=*valkala* (§ 62). — *kla*=*kka*: AMg. *kīsanti*=*kliśyanti* (Uttar. 576), *kesa*=*kleśa* (Uttar. 202,575), *kīra*=*klīra* (Thāp. 181); *viklava*=*viklava* (Bh. 3,3; Hc. 2,79). *śukla* forms beside AMg. *sukka* (Sūyag. 313; Thāp. 25 ff) and *suila*, AMg. *sukkila* (§ 136) according to Hc. 2,11 also *suṅga*. Provided this goes back to *śukla*, the more correct writing would be *suṅga*, corresponding to *sumka*=*śulka* (§ 74) with transition to the media — *lga*=*gga*: M. *phaggu*=*phalgu*, AMg. Ś. *phagguna*=*phalguna* (§ 62); AMg. *vaggai*, *vaggittā*=*valgati*, *valgitvā* (Vivāhap. 253), *vaggana*=*valgana* (Ovav.), *vaggu*=*valgu* (Sūyag. 245). — *lpa*=*ppa*: AMg. JM. Ś. *appa*=*alpa* (Sūyag. 371; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 150,18); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kappa*=*kalpa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 11,4); M. AMg. JM. *sippa*=*śilpa* (H.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), AMg. Ś. *sippi*=*śilpi* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 152,25; 153,3). In *jalp* and derivatives *l* becomes *m*: M. JM. *jampā*=*jalpati* (Vr. 8,24; Hc. 4,2; Kī. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *jampā* [sic], *jampanteṇa* (Kī. 8,15); AMg. *jampantā* (Sūyag. 50); JM. *paṇḍapae*=*prajalpate* (Erz.); Dh. *jampidum*, *jampasi* (Mṛcch. 34,24; 39,9); Ś. *jampasi* (Vikr. 41,11), *jampijjādi* (Lalitav. 568,6), *jampissam* (Mālatim. 247,2); *jampaṇa* (disgrace; mouth; Deśin. 3,51); JM. *ajampaṇa* (non-betrayal; Erz. 10,34); M.A. *jampira* (Hc. 2,145; H.; Hc. 4,350,1), AMg. *ajampira* (Dasav. 619,22; 631,13; 632,28); AMg. *pajampāvaṇa*=**prajalpāvaṇa* (teaching to learn; Ovav.); Mg. *yampideṇa* (Lalitav. 566,12), A. *pajampaha* (Hc. 4,422,10; so to be read). For *mā* there often occurs *ppa*: AMg. *jappanti* (Sūyag. 26); Ś. *jappemi* (Hāsy. 33,21), *jappasi* (Kāṇṣav. 49,7), *jappesi* (Hāsy. 25,10,12; 34,3,7), *jappissadi* (Pras. 144,2), *jappidum* (Hāsy. 33,13), *jappanti* (Prab. 44,1; so ed. Bomb. P.M.), **jappini* (Pras. 37,16; Vṛṣabh. 26,7), *jappida* (Pras. 120,1) etc. Probably everywhere it is to be read *mā*, as certainly in M. *jampieṇa* for *jappieṇa* (Ratn. 322,4), as rightly stands *jampie* (Karp. 38,4) as well as A. *jampiam* (Piṅgala 1,60; so GOLDSCHMIDT for *iṃ*, *aṃ*, *jaṃ*) — *pla*=*ppa*: M. *pavaṅga*=*plavaṅga*, *pavaṅgama*=*plavaṅgama* (R), *parippavanta*=*pariplavant* (G.R.), *pappua*=*prapluta* (G.); AMg. *povium*=*plavitum* (Sūyag. 508); *viṇṇava*=*viṇṇava* (Hc. 2,106). — *lpha*=*ppha*: AMg. *guppha*=*gulpha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Ovav.). *lba*=*bba*: M. *ubbaṇa*=*ulbaṇa* (G. 734; text *uvvaṇa*); AMg. *kibbisa*=*kilbiṣa* (Uttar. 156 [text **vvi*]; Dasav. 624,11,12), *kibbisiya*=**kilbiṣika* (Ovav.); *subba*=*śulba* (Hc. 2,79). — *lbha*=*bbha*: AMg. *pagabbhā*=*pragalbhate* (Āyār. 1,5,3,3[*ṛ*]; Sūyag. 134,150), *pagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 31,146,198), *pāgabbhiya*

(Sūyag. 596), *pagabbhittā* (Sūyag. 358), *vippagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 50), *pagabbhi-* (Sūyag. 332), *pāgabbhi-* (Sūyag. 268.296). Hence *pagambhai* (Uttar. 202) is a printing error for *pagabbhahai=pagabbhai*. — *lma=mma*: *kammāsa=kalmāsa* (Hc. 2,79; Pāiyal. 53); AMg. *kummāsa=kulmāsa* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4,13); AMg. *ś. Mg. gumma=gulma* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15; Nāyādh.; Mṛcch. 97,22; Muḍrar. 185,8;197,5; Priyad. 12,3;13,3;19,17;23,14; Karpas. 28,7; Subhadr. 12,5; Mg. Caṇḍak. 61,11), PG. *gumike=gulmikan* (5,5); M. *vammia*, AMg. *vammiya=valmika* (§80); *ś. vammii=vālmiki* (Bālar. 6,15). — *mīa=mma*: AMg. JM.Ś.A. *meccha=mleccha* (§ 84.105). — On *lya* see §286, on *rla* §287. — *lva=lla*: *ś. gallakka=gālvarka* (Mṛcch. 6,6); M. *paḷlala=paḷvala* (G.); AMg. *biḷa=bitva* (Hc. 1,85; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyal. 148; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 1530 [v°]; Dāsav. 621,5), according to Hc. and Mk. also *be'lla* (§119).

§ 297. IV) One of the consonants is *va* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *kva=kka*: M. *kaḍhai=kvathati*, *ś. kaḍhida*, AMg. *sukaḍhiya* (§221); M. *kaṇakkaniya=kaṇakvanita* (Karp. 55,7); M. AMg. *ś. pikka*, AMg. *ś. pakka=pakva* (§101). — *gva* has become *vva* instead of *gga* in *divvāsā=digvāsā* (Cāmunḍā; Deśin. 5,39). — *jva=jja*: M. *jalaf=jvalati*, *ujjala=ujjala*, *paḷjalaī=praḷvalati* (G.H.R.); M. *jara=jvara* (H.). — *nva=ṇṇa*: M. *kiṇṇa=kiṇva* (G.); *ś. kaṇṇa=kaṇva* (Śak. 9,10;14,1;15,1 etc.); *ś. rumāṇṇado=*rumāṇvataḥ* (Ra'n. 320,16). On *vya* see §286, on *roa*, *vra* §287, on *tva* §296.

§ 298. In conjunction with dental stops *va* may be assimilated to the dental. *tva=tta*: PG. M. AMg. JM. *cattāri*, Mg. *cattāli=catvāri* (§439); M. *ś. salta=sattva* (H.); Śak. 154,7); the suffix *tta* = *-tva*, as *piṇatta=piṇatva*; AMg. *bhaḷḷitta=bhaḷḷitva*; **-ttaṇa=-tvaṇa*, as M. *piṇattana=*piṇatvana*, *ś. niṇattana=nipunattana*, A. *paṭtattana=*paṭtratvana* (§597). — *dva=dda*: M. AMg. JM. *dāra=dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,70; 2,79,112; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 129; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); always M. Ś. A. *dia*, JM. *diya=dviya* (Hc. 1,94; Pāiyal. 102; G. ; Erz. ; Kī. 11 [dia]; Caṇḍak. 3,16; 52,6; 56,6; 93,13; Piṅgala 2,48), *diāhama=dviādhama* (the bird *bhāsa*; Deśin. 5,39), also *dviya* (Hc. 2,79); *ś. diṇa=dviṇa* (Śak. 140,13), *diṇadara=dviṇanata* (Mṛcch. 22,13), *diṇida=dviṇita* (Nāgān. 18,2); Mg. *diṇa* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *diraa=dvirada* (Hc. 1,94); AMg. *dāvara=dvāpara* (Sūyag. 136), *danda=dvandva*, *digu=dvigu* (Anuog. 358); AMg. JM. *jambuddiva=jambudvīpa* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); PG. *bharaddāyo=bharadōjāḥ* (5,2), *bhāradāya*, *bhāradāyasa* (6,16.19); M. *saddala=sādvala* (G.). — *dhva=ddha*: *dhattha=dhvasta* (Hc. 2,79), M. *uddhattha=uddhvasta* (G. 608; so to be read). If the prefix *ud* occurs before a word beginning with *va*, so *dva* becomes *vva*: M. *uvvaṭṭana=udvartana* (G. H. R.), AMg. *uvvaṭṭana* (Uvās.); JM. *uvvaṭṭiya* (Erz.); M. *uvvahaṇa=udvahaṇa* (G. R.); M. AMg. JM. *ś. uvviga=udvigna* (§ 276).

§ 299. Dialectically *tva* becomes *cca* through *tya*, *thva* becomes *cca* through *thya*, *dva* becomes *jja* through *dya* and *dhva* becomes *jja* through *dhya*. *tva=cca*: M. AMg. JM. *caccara=catvara* (Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H. ; Vivāgav. 103 f.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside M. *ś. cattara* (Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H. ; Mṛcch. 6,7; 28,20; Bālar. 147,20); AMg. JŚ. *tacca=*tāṭṭva* (§ 281); A. *pahuccaī=*prabhutvati* (§ 286); AMg. JM. JŚ. in the absolutes, as AMg. JŚ. *kiccā=kṛtvā*; AMg. JM. JŚ. *so cca=śrutvā*; AMg. *bhōccā=bhuktvā*; AMg. *ciccāṇa*, *cēccāṇa=*iyaktvāna*, *hiiccāṇa=*hitvānaṁ* (§587). — *thva=cca*: AMg. *picchi=prthvi* (Hc. 2,15). — *dva=jja*: AMg. *vijja=vidvān* (Hc. 2,15; Sūyag. 126.306). — *dhva=jja*: AMg. JM. *jha*

(Hc. 2,27; Nāyādh. § 47; Vivāgas. 61; Kappas. § 4,32; T. 5,10; Erz.); AMg. *isijjhaya*=*ṛsidhvaja* (Uttar. 630); *aruṇajjhaya* (Uvās. § 179; 277,5); *indajjhaya* (Samav. 97); *mohindajjhaya* (Thāp. 266; Jiv. 551 f.; Kappas. p. 96,26); *maṇḍalajjhaya* (Jiv. 552); *ūsiyajjhaya*=*ucchritadhva* (Nāyādh. 481; Ovav. § 40); *kaṇḍajjhaya* (Nāyādh. 1084); *cindhajjhaya*=*cihnadhva* (Nirayāv. § 5); *dhammajjhaya* (Ovav. § 16); *chattajjhaya*=*chattradhva* (Paṇhāv. 286); *tāḷajjhauvuddha*=*tāladhvajodvuddha* (Paṇhāv. 249); *sajjhaya* (Samav. 97; Rāyap. 128; Ovav. § 2. 42. 49); beside M. *dhaa* (Hc. 2,27; H. R.), JM. *dha* (Pāiyāl 68; Erz.), M. Ś. *maaraddhaa* (H.; Karp. 66,11; 76,9; 83,1; 110,5; Śak. 120,5; Bālar. 289,13; Viddhaś. 105,8); P. *makaraddhaja* (Hc. 4,323); but AMg. *majjarajjhaya* (Paṇhāv. 286); JM. *garuḷaddhaya* (Dvār. 507,37); but AMg. *garuḷajjhaya* (Paṇhāv. 235); AMg. *tāladhaya* (Samav. 236). — A. *jhuni* (Hc. 1,52; 4,432); beside Ś. *dhuni* (Pras. 14,10; Kāṁsav. 9,15; Vṛṣabh. 48,9)=*dhvani* from **dhvuni* with *u* according to § 104. — AMg. *bujjhā*=*buddhvā* (Hc. 2 15); *abujjha* (Sūyag. 504). — M. JM. Ś. *sajjhasa*=*sādhvasa* (Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,75; Mk. fol. 23; G.; Erz.; Jivān. 88, 14; Mālatim. 276,6; Pāvati. 12,14.23); beside *saddha* (Mk.). Nāgān. 27,14 stands *adisaddhasena*; the ed. Calc. 1873 p. 27,1 has *adisajjhasena*. — *māukka* is not=*mṛduta* (Hc. 2,2; Mk. fol. 26), but=**mārdukya* from *mṛduka* (cf. § 52), as JM. *garukka* (Ki. 13)=**gukukya* from *guruka* (§ 123).

§ 300. However, *va* behind *ta* shifts to *pa*, behind *da* to *ba*; dialectically *tva* becomes *ppa*, *dva* becomes *bba*¹. *tva*=*ppa*: M. *pahuppa*=**prabhutvati* (§ 286); A. *pa*=*tvām*, *tvayā* and *tvayi* (§ 421); A. *-ppaṇa*=*-tvana*, as *vaddappana* beside *vaddhattana*=**vaḍratvana*, *maṇusappana*=**maṇuṣatvana* (§ 597); A. absolute in *-ppi*=*-tvī*, as *jinēppi*, *jēppi*=**jitvī*; *gampi*=**gantvī*=Vedic *gatvī*, *gamēppi*=**gamitvī*, and *-ppiṇu*=*-tvinaṁ*, as *gamēppiṇu*, *gampiṇu*=**gamitvinaṁ*; *karēppiṇu*=**karitvinaṁ* (§ 588). This secondary *pa* becomes *va* as well, as *karevī* beside *karēppi*; *leviṇu* beside *lēppiṇu*; *ramevī* beside *ramēppi* (§ 184.588). On *ppa* from *tma* see § 277. — *dva*=*bba*: PG. M. AMg. *be*, A. *bi*=*dve*, *bēṇi*, *biṇṇi*=**dveni* (436.437); M. *biṇṇa*=*dviguṇa* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79; G. H. R.)²; but Ś. Mg. *diṇṇa* (§ 293); AMg. JM. *bāra*, A. *bāraha*=*dvādaśa* (§ 443), as generally AMg. JM. A. *bā*=*dvā* (§ 445 ff.); M. *biia*, *bia*, *biijja*, AMg. JM. *biīya*, *bīya*, A. *bia*=*dvitiya* (§ 82 91. 165. 449); M. A. *bāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,79; 2,79. 112; H.; Hc. 4,436); AMg. JM. *bāraṇi*=*dvāraṇi* (Nāyādh. 524. 1296 ff.; Nirayāv. 79; Dvār. 495,1 ff.); *bisāntava*=*dvīśāntava* (Hc. 1,177); M. *besa*=*dveṣa* (G.); M. AMg. =*doesya* (Hc. 2,92; G. H.; Paṇhāv. 397; Uttar. 33), metrically also AMg. *baissa* (Uttar. 961). *dhva*=*bbha*; JM. *ubbha*=*ūrdhva* (Hc. 2,59; Erz.); JM. *ubbhaya*=*ūrdhva* (Pāiyāl 234); M. *ubbha*, JM. *ubbhiya*=**ūrdhvoita* (R.; Erz.), *ubbheha*=**ūrdhwayata* (Erz. 40,15); beside M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha* (§ 83), AMg. JM. *uddha* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1,5,2,3; 1,2,5,4,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4 etc.; Sūyag. 215 273 288 304. 590. 914 931; Vivāhap. 11. 101. 105 f. 260 etc.; Erz.). — *nva*=*ṇna*: M. JM. *aṇṇesaṇa*=*anveṣaṇa* (G.; Erz.), Ś. *aṇṇesaṇā*=*anveṣaṇā* (Vikr. 32,3), *aṇṇesiadi*=*anviṣyate*, *aṇṇesidava*=*anveṣitavya* (Mṛcc. 4,4.21); Ś. *dhaṇṇantari*=*dhanvantari* (Bālar. 76,1); Mg. *maṇṇantala*=*manvantara* (Prab. 50,13; so correctly ed. Bombay. M. P.); Ś. *evam*, *ṇedaṁ*=*evam* *nv* *etat*; Ś. Mg. *kiṁ* *ṇedaṁ*=*kiṁ* *nv* *etat* (§ 174).

1. ASCOLI, Vorlesungen p. 59; Kritische Studien p. 197 ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f. — 2. The Indian editions and WEBER in H. mostly write *v* in lieu of *b*.

§ 301. If the first member of conjunct consonant is a sibilant and the consonant following it, a tenuis, as a rule, the sibilant is assimilated

to the tenuis which gets aspirated. If, however, the sibilant stands at the end of a member of a compound, generally the aspiration of the initial tenuis of the following member does not take place, particularly when the first member is a prefix¹. *śca*=*ccha* (Vr 3,40; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25); M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. AMg. *acchera*; *accharijja*; AMg. JM. *accheraja*, AMg. *accheraga*=*āścarya*, *āścaryaka* (§ 138. 176); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā*=*paścāt* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vivāhap. 101; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 150,18; Śak. 105,14; Karp. 33,8); A. *pacchi*=**paśce* (Hc. 4,388); M. AMg. JM. Ā. *pacchima*=*paścima* (Grr.; G. R.; Vivāhap. 63; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99,18); Ś. *pacchādūva*=*paścāttāpa* (Vikr. 33,11; 38,17); AMg. *pājacchitta*, AMg. A. *pacchitta*=*prāyaścitta* (§ 165); AMg. JM. *nicchaja*, A. *nicchaa*=*niścaya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,422,10), but M. *niccaa* (R.); AMg. JM. *nicchija*=*niścita* (Dasav. 642,7; Nirayāv.; Erz.), Ś. *nicchida* (Bālar. 87,1), but also Ś. *niccida* (Mudrār. 208,10 ed. Calc. Sarīvat 1926; Mahāv. 55,1 ed. Bomb.); M. Ś. A. *niccala*=*niścala* (Hc. 2,21,77; Mk. fol. 25; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 59,24; Mudrār. 44,6; Hc. 4,436), AMg. JM. *niccala* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. AMg. *niccēṭṭha*=*niścēṭṭa* (R.; Nirayāv.); M. *duccaria*, JM. *duccarija*, Ś. *duccarida*=*duścārita* (H.; Erz.; Mahāv. 118,11); AMg. *duccara*=*duścara* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2), *duccaraga* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6); JM. Ś. *tavaccaraṇa*=*taṭpaścaraṇa* (Dvār. 496,19; 502,36; 505,15,38; Mṛcch. 68,8,9; 72,6; Pārvaṭip. 24,3; 25,19; 26,23; 27,2,10). — *nahaara* is not=*nabhaścara* (Ki. 2,110), but=**nabhacara* (§ 347). M. JM. Ś. *harianda* (G.; Ki. 3; Karp. 58,4), JM. *hariyanda* (Dvār. 503,16) is not=*hariścandra* (Hc. 2,87; Ki. 2,110 [text *harianno*, LASSEN *hariando*]), which becomes Mg. *haliccanda* (Caṇḍak. 43,5), but=*haricandra* like M. *hārianda* (G.)=*hāricandra*. — *cuai* may be=**ścutdāti* (Hc. 2,77; cf. § 210, note 2), or=**cyutdāti*. — In M. *viṃchua*, *viṃchia* beside *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuya*, *vicchiya*=*viścika* (§ 50.118) the nasal vowel is to be explained as in M. *piṃcha*=*piccha*; *guṃcha*=*guccha*; *pumcha*=*puecha* (§ 74); *viṃcua* (§ 50) is treated according to the rule which holds good for compounds. — Corresponding to the change of old *ccha* to *śca* (§ 233), in Mg. *śca* remains unaltered: *aścalia*=*āścarya* (§ 138); *niścaa*=*niścaya* (Mṛcch. 40,4; text. °*cca*°); *niścala* (Mṛcch. 135,2); *paścādo*=*paścāt* (Venīś. 35,10 in Hc. 4,299; Bengal recension *paścādo*)²; *paścā* (Mudrār. 174,8 [text *pacchā*; cf. v.l.]; Caṇḍak. 42,12 [text *pacchā*]); *paścima* (Mṛcch. 169,22; text *pacchima*; v.l. *paccima* and *pakjima*); *śiṭaścālana*=*śiraścālana* (Mṛcch. 126,7). — *ścha* becomes *ccha*: M. *nicchallia*=*niśchallita* (G.); AMg. *nicchoḍḍija*=*niščoḍḍeyam* (Uvās. § 200); JM. *nicchoḷiṇa*=*niščoḍya* (Erz. 59,13).

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 261.264. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,299.

§ 302. *śka* and *śkha* become *kkha* as a rule (Vr 3,29; Hc. 2,4; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24). *nikkha*=*niśka* (Hc. 2,4), according to Mk. fol. 24 also *nikka*; Ś. *pōkkhara*, AMg. JM. *pukkha*=*puškara*, AMg. Ś. *pōkkharinī*, AMg. *pukkharinī* (§ 125); *mukkha*=*muška* (Bh. 3,29); M. AMg. *vikkhambha*=*viškambha* (Ki. 2,88; R.; Ovav.). In many cases, however, the aspiration does not take place, even outside the compounds, while it sometimes appears in compounds against the rule: M.Ś. *kikkindha*=*kiṣkindha* (R.; Anarghar. 262,5); M. AMg. JM. *caṭṭikka*=*caṭṭuška* (Deśin. 3,2; G.; Āyār. 2,11,10; Anug. 388; Paṇṇav. 702; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1294; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *cadukkiā*=*caṭṭuṣkikā* (Bālar. 136,16; Viddhaś. 52,4 [text *caū*]); AMg. JM. *turukka*=*tuṛuška* (Paṇḥāv. 258; Samav. 210; Paṇṇav. 96.99.110; Vivāhap. 941; Rāyap. 28.36.60.190; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Āv. 40,17 [read so]); Ś. *dhānukka*

= *dhānuṣka* (Mk fol. 24; Bālar. 86,15 202,16), *dhānukkadā* (Bālar. 261,1); *sakkaī=śvaṣkati* (Mk. fol. 55; WEBER or H. 608), *osakka=*apaśvaṣkna* (gone away; Deśin. 1,149; Pāiyāl. 178), AMg. *osakkai* (Pannav. 541), M. *osakkanta* (R.), AMg. *avasakkejjā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), AMg. *paccosakkaī=*pratyapaśvaṣkati* (Nāyādh. 1463; Vivāhap. 1035.1217.1248), M. *parisakkaī* (H. R. [text falsely *paḍi*°]), M. *parisakkaṇa* (G. R.); AMg. *sakkuli* beside *saṅkuli=śaṣkuli* (§ 74); AMg. JM. *sukka=śuṣka* (Hc. 2,5; Aṇuttar. 11.13; Nāyādh. 984; Vivāhap. 270; Uttar. 758 ff; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *sukkanti* (Deśin. 8,18,23), A. *sukkahī* (Hc. 4,427) = **śuṣkanti*, M. AMg. *parisukka=pariśuṣka* (G.; Uttar. 53); beside M. AMg. *ś. sukkha* (Hc. 2,5; H. R.; Dasav. N. 660, 16; Mṛcch. 2,15; 44,4), *ś. sukkhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 18,4) M. *sukkhanta* (H.), *osukkha, osukkhanta* (R.). Examples for compounds are : M. *nikkaīava=niṣkaitava* (H.); M. *ś. nikkampa=niṣkampa* (G. R.; Śak. 126,14; Mahāv. 32,21); M. JM. *nikkāraṇa=niṣkāraṇa* (G. R.; Dvār.); AMg. *nikkaṇa=niṣkaṇa* (Vivāgas. 102), *nikkaṇkada=niṣkaṇkata* (Pannav. 118; Ovav.); M. *ś. nikkiva=niṣkṛpa* (Pāiyāl. 73; H.; Śak. 55,16; Caṇḍak. 87,2); M. AMg. *ś. A. dukkara=duskara* (Hc. 2,4; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 817; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 77,14; Hc. 4,414,4,441), AMg. *dukkada, JM. dukkaya* (§ 49). *kram+nis* forms in M. *nikkhamai*, in AMg. *nikkhamai* (§ 481), AMg. *nikkhamma=niṣkramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.), *nikkhamisanti, nikkhamimsu, nikkhamittae* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *nikkhamta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2; Erz.); AMg. *paḍinikkhamai* (§ 481); AMg. JM. *nikkhamaya* (Kappas.; Erz.). M. has also *nikkamaī* (H.), *vinikkamaī* (G.) beside *vinikkhamai* (G.), a point on which the manuscripts vary. *ś.* has only *nikkamadi* (§ 481), *nikkamiduṇ* (Mudrār. 43,6), *nikkamanta* (Mudrār. 186,2), *nikkanta* (Mṛcch. 51,5,8,12), *nikkāmaissāmi* (Mṛcch. 52,9); Dh. *nikkamia* (Mṛcch. 36,23); D. *nikkamantassa* (Mṛcch. 105,24). — In Mg. *śka* becomes *ska* and *śkha* becomes *skha* (Hc. 4,289): *śuska=śuṣka*; *dhanuṣkhaṇḍa=dhanuṣkhaṇḍa*. According to Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷaṃkāra 2,12, *śka* and *śkha* appear, and thus the Lalitav. has *tuluśka=turuśka* (565,14,17), *śuśke=śuṣkaḥ* (566,12). The texts write *kkha, kka*. So Mṛcch. 21,17 *sukkhe*, but MS. A. *śuske*; 132,24; 133,17; *sukkha* without v. l.; 161,7 *sukkhā*, v. l. *śuskā=śuṣkaḥ*; 133,15.16 *sukkhāvaiś-śam* without v. l.; 112,11 *poṅkhalinīe*, 113,22 *pukkhalinīe* without v. l.; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22 *nikkamadi, nikkama* with the v. l. *niṣkama, nikkhama* 133, 21; 173,9 *nikkide*, 134,13 *nikkidaṃ=niṣkrītaḥ, niṣkrītaṃ* without v. l.; 43,4; 175,15 *dukkala=duskara* without v. l.; 125,14 *dukkida=duskrīta* with the v. l. *dukkhida, dukkhida, dukkida* etc. We should read *śuska, poṅkalinī, nikkamadi, nikkida, dukkala, dukkida* etc.

§ 303. *śta* and *śtha* become *ṭtha* (Vr. 3,10,51; C. 3,8,11; Hc. 2,34,90; Ki. 2,86,49; Mk. fol. 21,19): PG. *aggiṭṭhoma=agniṣṭoma* (5,1; cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2,484), *aṭṭhārasa=aṣṭādaśa* (6,34), *veṭṭhi=viṣṭi* (6,32); M. *iṭṭha=iṣṭa* (H.), *diṭṭhi=dr̥ṣṭi* (G.H.R.), *muṭṭhi=muṣṭi* (G.H.R.) — PG. *kaṭṭha=kāṣṭha* (6,33); *goṭṭhi=goṣṭhi* (G.), *niṭṭhura=niṣṭhura* (G.H.R.), *suṭṭhu=suṣṭhu* (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. In Mg. *śta* and *śtha* become *śta* (Hc. 4,289.290): *kaśta=kaṣṭa*; *kośtāgāla=koṣṭhāgāra*; *śuṣṭu=suṣṭhu*. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷaṃkāra 2,12 prescribes *ś* for *ṣ* in consonant groups (cf. § 302): *kośtāgāla* (MSS. *kosthā°*, *koṣṭhā°*; ed. *kāśya°*). The manuscripts of the dramas vary; the texts have *ṭtha* mostly falsely, STENZLER in Mṛcch., mostly has *śta*. Thus in Mṛcch. *kaśta=kaṣṭa* (29,18; 127,13); the MSS. have *kaṣṭa, kaṭṭha, kaṣṭa*; *duṣṭāna, pabbhaṣṭe=*dr̥ṣṭvāna, prabhraṣṭaḥ*; (29,21); the MSS. have *daṭṭhūna, pabbhaṭṭhe; duṣṭa=duṣṭa* (19,5; 20,17; 21,8; 40,9; 79,17,18; 112,14,21; 113,19; 133,19; 151,25); the MSS. have mostly *duṭṭha*, partly *duṣṭa, duṣṭha, dutṭha, duṭṭa, duha, duṣṭa, ducha; paṇaṣṭā*

=*pranaṣṭā* (14,11); the MSS. have °*ṭṭhā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭhā*; *palāmiṣṭā* = *parāmiṣṭā* (16,23); the MSS. have °*miṣcā*, °*miṣvā*, °*miṭṭhā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭhā*, °*miṣṭā*; *uvaviṣṭe*, °*paviṣṭā*, °*ppaviṣṭam*=*upaviṣṭah*, °*praviṣṭom* (14,10; 21,12.21.22), the MSS. have *viṣce*, °*viṣṭhe*, °*viṣṭe*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṣṭa*, °*viṣṭha*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṣṭhā*, °*viṣṭā*, °*viṣṭā*, etc.; *laṣṭia*=*rāṣṭrika* (121,12;125,21; 130,13; 138,14), the MSS. have *laṣṭhia*, *laṣṭia*, *laṣṭhia*, *laṣṭia*, *saṁṭṭhaṇam* (11,22), but *ṣaṁṭṭhaṇa* (127,12)=*saṁṭṭhaṇam*, °*nena*, the MSS. point to °*vedḥa*° (see STENZLER p. 242 301; GODBOLE p. 32.35 and §304), and so GODBOLE 32,9 rightly reads *ṣaṁṭṭhaṇom* etc.; Prab: *miṭṭham*=*miṣṭam* (46,17); *paṇaṭṭhaṣṣa*=*pranaṣṭaṣṣa* (50,14); *uvadiṭṭhe*=*upadiṣṭah* (51,2); *duṭṭha*=*duṣṭa* (51,10); *diṭṭhānde* (sic; 51,10; Bomb. *diṭṭhamdo*, M. *diṭṭhande*, P. *diṭṭhande*); so also Bombay M., whilst P, except 50,14, has always °*ṭṭhā*°. BROCKHAUS does not note any v.l. Venis.: *paṇaṭṭha*=*pranaṣṭa* (35,2.7) without v.l.; Mudrār.: *paveṭṭhum*=*praveṣṭum* (185,6), printed *paveṭṭhum* for which the best MSS. and the ed. Calc. 156,8 have *pavisidum* (read °*ṣi*°) etc.—*ṣṭha* Mṛcc.: *koṣṭake*=*koṣṭhaka* (113,15), the MSS. have *kogḥake* (?), *koṣṭake*, *koṣṭhake*. *koṣake*, *koṣṭhake*, while in Venis. 33,6 *gōṭṭhāgāle*, in the ed. Calc. p. 69,1 *koṭṭhāgāle* stand, and the MSS. have mostly *koṭṭhāgāle*, none of them has °*ṣṭa*, in the face of Hc.'s *koṣṭhāgālam*, apparently taken from here and Nām'sādhu's *koṣṭhāgālam*; *piṣṭi*, *puṣṭi*=*prṣṭha* (79,9;165,9), the MSS. *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, and so Venis. 35,5.10 *piṭṭhado*, °*nupiṭṭham*=*prṣṭhato*, °*nuprṣṭham*, where *piṣṭado* *anupiṣṭam* should be read; *suṣṭu*=*suṣṭhu* (36,11;112,9;115,16;164,25), the MS. *suṣṭhu*, *suṣṭu*, in the face of Hc.'s *suṣṭu*; for *ṣōṭṭhakam* (20,21) we should read *ṣōṣṭukam*=**suṣṭhukam*; the MSS. have *ṣonukkam*, *ṣonukam*, *ṣōṭṭhakam*, *ṣōṭṭhakam*, *ṣōṣṭakam*, the ed. Calc. has *ṣōṭṭhakam*, which it explains as=*svastikam*; *ṣeṣṭi*=*śreṣṭhi*- (38,1), the MSS. have °*ṭṭhā*°, as is printed in Mudrār. 257,5 (the ed. Calc. 212,10 °*ṭṭi*°) etc. *ṣṭha* is retained according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298 in Mg. *ciṣṭhadi*=*tiṣṭhati*. STENZLER in Mṛcc. writes throughout *ciṣṭadi* (pro ex. 9,22.24;10,2.12; 79,16;90,3;97,2 etc.), the MSS. mostly have *ciṣṭha*, *ciṣṭa*, *ciṣṭha*, only quite rarely *ciṣṭa*; Prab. 32,11; in Mudrār. 185,8;267,2 occurs °*ṭṭhā*°, °*ṭṭa*°, °*ṭṭhā*° in the different editions. In Ki. 5,95 the printed edition has *ciṣṭa*, LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *chitṭha*. P. also has the like-form according to Kī. In Sīrṇhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālatmākāra 2,2 *ciṣṭha* is edited.—In P., according to Hc. 4,313, the dental may enter into the ending °*ṣṭvāna* of the absol.: *ṇaṭṭhūna* beside *ṇaṭṭhūna*=**naṣṭvāna*, *tatṭhūna* beside *taṭṭhūna*=**drṣṭvāna*. On P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* see § 132. M. *vuttha* with its compounds, as *uvuttha*, *paūttha*, *paḍiuttha*, *parivuttha*; JM. *pavuttha* (§ 564) is not=**uṣṭa* (BÜHLER, Pāyāl. s.v. *vuttho*), which would have given **vutṭha* or **uṭṭha*, but=**vasta* with a secondary transition of *a* into *u* according to § 104. Like M. *vasia* and its compounds, such as *uvvasia*, *pavasia*, Ś. *uvavasida*=**vasita* (§ 564), so is also *vuttha*=**vasta*, formed from the present stem, beside the regular M. *usia*=*uṣita* (G.). Cf. § 337. *āleddhuam* (Hc. 1,24;2,164), *āleddhum* (Hc. 2,164), *ālidḍha* (Hc. 2,49; Pāyāl. 85; Deśin. 1,66), M. *ālidḍhaa* (Vikr. 51,6) are not to be derived with Hc. from *ṣliṣ*, but they belong to *ālihaī* (touches; Hc. 4,182; cf. BÜHLER, Pāyāl. s.v. *ālidḍham*), which=*āleḍhi* from *liḥ* of the 6th class with *ā*, and is=**ālihati*, and are=**ālegdhukam*, **ālegdhum*, **āligdha*, **āligdhaka*. *h* here is to be treated according to the analogy of roots in an old gh. So correctly already BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 364.

§ 304. In *iṣṭā* (Hc. 2,34), *uṣṭra* (Hc. 2,34; Mk. fol. 21) and *saṁdaṣṭa* (Hc. 2,34) the aspiration does not take place: M. AMg. JM. *iṣṭā*=*iṣṭā* (G.; Thāp. 478; Antag 29; T. 7,9.15 [so it should be read; cf. v.l. to 7,15]), AMg. JM. *iṣṭagā*=*iṣṭakā* (Antag. 28; Paṇhāv. 128

[^okā]; Āv. 16,10,13; 19,4), AMg. *iṭṭayagāni*=*iṣṭakāgni* (Jiv. 293).—*uṭṭa*=*uṣṭra* (Sūyag. 253,724 f.; 727; Vivāgas. 163; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 304; Paṇnav. 366, 367; Uvās.; Ovav.), *uṭṭiya*=*auṣṭrika* (Uvās.), *uṭṭiyā*=*uṣṭrikā* (Uvās.; Ovav.). According to Mk. fol. 21 there occurs also *uṭṭha*.—M. *saṃdaṭṭa*=*saṃdoṣṭa* (Deśin. 8,18; G.R. s v. *daṃś*, *daś*).—*daṃṣṭrā* becomes M.AMg.Ś. *dāḍhā*, CP. *tāḥhā*; *daṃṣṭrin*, AMg. Ś. *dāḍhi*. (§ 76).—*veṣṭate*, with the long vowel retained according to § 87, forms *vedhāi*=Pāli *veṣṭati* (Vr. 8,40; Hc. 4,221; Kī. 4,67). So M. *vedhia*, *āvedhia* (H.); AMg. *vedhemi* (Uvās. § 108), *vedhei* (Nāyādh. 621; Uvās. 110; Nirayāv. § 11; Vivāhap. 447), *vedheṇti* (Paṇhāv. 112), *uovadhējja vā nivedhējja vā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,2), *vedhittā* (Rāyap. 266), *vedhāvai* (Vivāgas. 170), *āvedhiya*, *parivedhiya* (Thāp. 568; Nāyādh. 1265; Paṇnav. 436; Vivāhap. 706 f. 1323); JM. *vedhēttā*, *vedhiya*, *vedhiuṃ*, *vedheuṃ* (Kk.), *parivedhiya* (Rṣabhap. 20), *vedhiyaya* (Pāiyāl. 199), *vedhāviya*, *parivedhāviya* (T. 7,15,17); Ś. *vedhida* (Mṛcch. 44,4; 79,20 [to be so read; see § 1.1]; M.AMg.Ś. *vedha*=*veṣṭa* (G.H.R.; Āṇuog. 557; Jiv. 862; Nāyādh. 1323,1370; Rāyap. 266; Bālar. 168,6; 267,1); M. *vedhāṇa*=*veṣṭana* (H.R.), M. *śavedhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 11,22; 127,12; so it should be read; see § 303). AMg. *vedhima* (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Āṇuog. 29; Paṇhāv. 490,519; Thāp. 339; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348,605; Rāyap. 186; Nandī. 507; Dasav. N. 651, 10; Ovav.); M. AMg. *āvedha* (R.; Paṇhāv. 185); M. *āvedhāṇa* (G.). Likewise formed are: AMg. *koḍha* from *kōṭṭha*, **kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha*, *koḍhi* from and beside *kōṭṭhi*, *kuṭṭhi*, *koḍhiya*=*kuṣṭika* (§ 66); AMg. *sedhi* from **seṭṭhi*, **siṭṭhi*=*śiṣṭi*, *sedhiya*, *anusedhi*, *paredhi*, *visedhi* (§ 66); AMg. JŚ. *loḍha*=*loṣṭa* (Dasav. 620,14; Pav. 389,10), beside Ś. *loṭṭhaka* (Mṛcch. 79,21), M. *loṣṭagudā* (Mṛcch. 80,5). Beside the regular AMg. *leṭṭhu*=*leṣṭu* (Paṇhāv. 502; Ovav.; Kappas.), JM. *leṭṭhuya*=*leṣṭuka* (Erz.); Ś. *leṭṭhūa*=*leṣṭukā* (Mṛcch. 78,12) stands *leḍhukka* (Deśin. 7,24; Pāiyāl. 153) with duplication of *k* according to § 194, further with dropping of the aspiration *leḍu* (Pāiyāl. 153), *leḍua* (Deśin. 7,24; Pāiyāl. 153), *leḍukka* (Deśin. 7,29)=Pāli *leḍdu*, and the AMg. *leḷu*, written *lelu* (§ 226; Āyār. 1,8,3,10; 2,1,3,4,5,2; 2,10,8; Sūyag. 647,692; Dasav. 616,14; 630,17), going back to *leḍu*. Instead of *ḍha* there occurs *ḷha* (written *ḷha*) in *kōḷhua*=**kroṣṭuka*, *kuḷha*=*kroṣṭr*, *kōḷhāhala*=**kroṣṭāphala* (§ 242). The same soundchange, without lengthening of the vowels, has taken place in M. *maradhī*=*māhārāṣṭri*; AMg. *adha*=*aṣṭa*, *ūadha*=*utsṣṭa*, *nisadha*=*niṣṣṭa*; M. *visadha*=*viṣṣṭa*; AMg. JM. *samosadha*=*samavasṣṭa* (§ 67). Cf. § 564.

§ 305. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 85,51; Hc. 2,53,90; Kī. 2,100,49; Mk. fol. 25,19); PG. *pupha* i.e. *puppha*=*puṣpa* (6,34), M.AMg. JM.Ś. *puppha* (H.R.; Āyār. 2,3,3,9; Uttar. 981; Kappas.; Erz.; Häs. 31,21), Ś. *pupphaka*=*puṣpaka* (Mṛcch. 68,9); Ś.A. *pupphakarandaa*=*puṣpakarandaka* (Mṛcch. 93,9; 107,2; 100,24); A. *pupphavai*=*puṣpavai* (Hc. 4,438,3); *sappha*=*śaṣpa* (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53). *bāspa* in the sense of "tear", according to § 87,188, becomes *bāha* through **bāpha*, in the sense of steam, however, it becomes *bappha* (Vr. 3,38; Hc. 2,70; Mk. fol. 25). Thus M. JM.Ś.A. *bāha* (tear: G.H.R.; Acyutaś. 60; Vikr. 51,8; 53,6; 54,10; Karp. 43,12; 44,6; Bālar. 156,16; Erz. 8,9 [vāha]; Dvār. 507,16; Sagara. 8,14; Rṣabhap. 12; Mṛcch. 325,15; Śak. 82,11; Mālatīm. 89,7; Uttarar. 78,5; Ratn. 298,26; Bālar. 281,3; Karp. 83,2; Mallikām. 161,11; 196,18 [vā°]; Cait. 38,10 [vā°]; Hc. 4,395,2; Vikr. 59,6; 60,17; 61,5; 69,21); Ś. *bappha* (steam; Jivān. 43,10). Instead of *bappha* Mk. fol. 25 has *bappa*, as in Pāli, and as taught by him in the section on Ś. fol. 68, that in Ś. in the meaning "tear" *bappa* also may be used. Whether *bappa* is not merely an error of MSS. for *bappha* cannot be said with certainty. In Venis. 62,13; 63,17; 76,4, *bappha* is edited; the ed. Calc. has *bāppa*, *bāṣpa*; in Mudrār.

260,4, there stands in the text *vāha*; but the best MSS. have *bāpā*, P. *bāppha*, the ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 214,6 has *bāppa*; at Rukminīp. 30,1, there stands *bappha*, likewise in Mallikām. 85,14; 124,22 [*vā°*]. The vv. ll. *vaspa*, *vāspa*, *vāppa*, *vāppha* in Śak. 140;13 also point to *bappa* or *bappha*; in Priyad. 42,4 there stands *bappha*, in the ed. Calc. 47,1 *vappa*; in Cait. 44,8 stands *vāspa*; in Śak. 82,11 Z has *bāppha*. Consequently for *Ś. bappha* too, perhaps *bappa* also, beside *bāha* in the meaning "tear" will be correct. In Pāiyāl. 112 *bappha* and *bāha* are given in the meaning "tear". — The compounds oscillate between *ppa* and *ppha*, yet *ppa* preponderates: AMg. JM. *caūppaya*, AMg. *caūpaya*, A. *caūpaa*=*catuspada* (§ 439); *Ś. caduppo dha*=*catuspatha* (Mrcch. 25,14; text *caūppaha*); AMg. *duppadham-saga*=*duṣpradharsaka* (Uttar. 286); M. *duppariia*=*duṣparicita* (R.); M. JM. *duppe ccha*, *Ś. duppekkha*=*duṣprekṣya* (R.; Erz.; Lalitav. 555,11; Prab.45,11); M. *niṣpacchima*, *niṣpatta*, *niṣpivāsa*=*niṣpaścima*, *niṣpattira*, *niṣpipāsa* (H.), *niṣpakkha*=*niṣpakṣa* (G.), *niṣpaampa*, *niṣpasara*, *niṣpaha*=*niṣprakampa*, *niṣprasara*, *niṣprabha* (R.); AMg. *niṣpaṇka*=*niṣpaṇka* (Paṇṇav. 118; Ovav.). Beside M. *niṣpaṇna*=*niṣpanna* (H.), one says more usually¹ M. *niṣpahaṇna*, JM. AMg. *niṣpahanna* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Thāp. 525; Das. v. N. 653,20; 657,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *niṣphesa*=*niṣpeṣa* (Hc. 2,53); AMg. *niṣpāva*=*niṣpāva* (Thāp. 398), but more frequently *niṣphāva* (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53; Sūyag 747, Paṇṇav. 34; JM. *niṣphāiṣya*=*niṣpādita* (Erz.)). One always says M. *Ś. niṣphanda*, AMg. *niṣphanda*, which should be equated as=*niṣpanda* (H R.; At. tag. 48; Nāyādh. 1383; Uvās.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 14,20; Mallikām. 85,14; 87,9; 124,6; 154,21; 221,12; Cait. 43,4). — *ṣpha*=*ppha*: M. *niṣphura*=*niṣphura* (G.), M. *Ś. niṣphala*, JM. *niṣphala*=*niṣphala* (H. R.; Dvār. 501,30; Rṣabhap. 14; Lalitav. 555,8; Mrcch. 120,7; Mudrār. 266,2; Caṇḍak. 8,11; Mallikām. 181,17; 224,5). — In Mg. *ṣpa* becomes *spa* and *ṣpha* becomes *spha* (Hc. 4,289); *śasapakavala*=*śasapakavala*, *niṣphala*=*niṣphala*. According to Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 *ṣpa* and *ṣpha* should be written in such words. In Mrcch. there stands *pupphakalaṇḍa*=*puṣpakaraṇḍa* (113,20), *pupphakalaṇḍa* (96,18; 99,4; 100,21; 158,22), *pupphakalaṇḍaka* (129,5; 132,2; 133,2; 140,8,14; 146,16; 162,18; 173,11). The MSS. have partly *puṣpa*, *puṣpha*. At 116,7, stands *duppe kke*=*duṣprekṣyaḥ*; the v.l. is *duppe cche*. One reads *puspa°* and *duppe ske*.

1. So correctly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho together with a translation 4,32; false FISCHER, GGA. 1880 p. 329.

§ 306. *ska* and *skha* become *kkha* (Vr. 3,29 51; C. 3,3; Hc. 2,4,90; Ki. 2,88,49; Mk. fol. 24,19): M. AMg. JM. *khandha*=*skandha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,1,8,11; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); PG. *khaṇḍako mḍisa*=*skandakuṇḍinaḥ* (6,19); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. A. khambha*=*skambha* (G. R.; Ac. utaś. 42,51; Sūyag. 961; Jiv. 448,481; Paṇḍav. 279; Samav. 101; Vivāhap. 658. 660. 823; Rāyap. 58. 144; Nāyādh. § 21,122; p. 1054; Ovav.; Erz.; Mrcch. 40,22; 68,18; Viddhaś. 60,2; Dhūr. as. 6,5; Hc. 4,399). The grammarians (Vr. 3,14; Bh. 3,50; C. 3,10,19; Hc. 1,187; 2,8,89; Ki. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21) derive *khambha* from *stambha*, since they make classical Skt. their basis. It is naturally=*Vedic skambha*. *avakkhandha*=*avaskanda* (Hc. 2,4); AMg. *amaṇakkha*, *samaṇakkha*=*amanaska*, *samanaska* (Sūyag. 842); *makkhara*=*maskara* (Ki. 2,88). In *skanda*, according to Hc. 2,5; Mk. fol. 24 aspiration may not take place; *khandha* and *kanda*. As a rule it does not occur in compounds (§ 301): *ekkāra*=*ayaskāra* (Hc. 1,166); AMg. JM. *naṃōkkāra*=*namaskāra* (Hc. 2,4; Āyār. 2,15,22; Erz.; Kk.), beside *naṃōyāra*, *naṃayāra* (C. 34 p. 51) and M. *namakkāra* (G.); cf. § 195; AMg. JM. *takkara*=*taskara* (Paṇḍav. 120; Nāyādh. 1417; Uttar. 289; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *tukkarattaṇa* (Paṇḍav. 147); *Ś. tirakkāra*=

tiraskāra (Prab. 15,1); Ś. *tirakkariṇī* = *tiraskariṇī* (Śak. 119,3). So reads also the Kashmir recension 112,14, whilst the Devanāgarī recension 77,9, ed. BÖHTLINGK and the South Indian recension 256,17 read *tirakkhariṇī*, as also BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. 24,4; 42,19 against his best MSS., which have °*kkā*°; the ed. Bomb. 1888 has at 41,6; 72,1 rightly °*kkā*°; the South Indian MS^s. of Śak. and Vikr. oscillate between °*kkha*° and °*kkā*°. M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada*=*saṁskṛta*, AMg. JM. *asakkaja*=*asaṁskṛta*, M. *sakkāra*=*saṁskāra*, JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṁskārita* (§ 76), AMg. *purakkaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (Sūyag. 692), *purekaḍa* (Sūyag. 284,540; Dasav. 627,7; 633,17; Ovav.), beside AMg. *saṁkhaḍa* (§ 49), *saṁkhaḍi*=*saṁskṛti* (Kappas.), *uvakkhaḍa*=*upaskṛta* (Uttar. 355), *purēkkhaḍa* (Paṇḍav. 796 ff.). Cf. § 49. 219. To it belong also *nakkha* (thief; Deśin. 4,47)=**niṣky*. AMg. *nakkha* (nose; Deśin. 4,46; Āyār. 2,3,2,5; Sūyag. 280,748) is=**nāska* from Vedic *nās* with a change of gender; to it belongs *nakkasirā* (nostril; Pāṇyāl. 114). — *skha* = *kkha*: M. JM. *khalai*, Ś. *khaladi*=*skhalati* (R.; Dvār 504, 34; Śak. 131, 6), Dh. *khalantaḍ* (Mr̥ch. 30,8); M. *khalia*, JM. *khalīya*, Ś. *khalida*=*skhalita* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,9); M. S. *parikkhalanta* (H. R.; Mr̥ch. 72,3), M. *parikkhalia* (G. R.). In Mg. *śka* and *skha* are retained according to Hc. 4,289; *maskali*=*maskarin*; *paskhaladi*=*praskhalati*. According to Nāmīśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra *s* becomes ś. The texts have *kkha*: *khalanti* (Mr̥ch. 10,15), *pakkhalanti* (Mr̥ch. 9,23; 10,15), *khandeṇa* (Mr̥ch. 22,8), without any v. l. *hatthikkhandam* (Śak. 117,4), where R. has °*skandham*. One reads *skhalanti*=*paskhalanti*, *skandheṇa*, *hastiskandham*. So in all the cases.

§ 307. *sta* and *stha* become *ttha* (Vr. 3,12,51; Hc. 2,45,90; Ki. 2,85,49; Mk. fol. 21,19); M. *thaṇa*=*stana* (G. H. R.); *thui*=*stuti* (G. R.), *thoa*=*stoka* (G. H. R.), *attha*=*asta* (G. R.) and=*astra* (R.), *atthi*=*asti* (§ 498), *patthara*=*prastara* (H.), *hattha*=*hasta* (G. H. R.); PG. *vattavāṇa*=*vāstavyāṇam* (6,8), *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51). Likewise the other dialects. In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule: AMg. JM. *duttara*=*dustara* (Āyār. 2,16,10; Sūyag. 213; Erz.), M. *duttāra*=*dustāra*, *duttāratṭha*=**dustāratvana* (R.), AMg. *suduttāra* (Ovav.); AMg. *niṭṭusa*=*nistusa* (Paṇḍav. 435). So also M. AMg. *saṁatta*=*saṁasta* (Hc. 2,45; R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside M. JM. S. *saṁattha* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Māhāv. 27,6; 28,1; where, however, the ed. Bomb. 59,4; 62,1 has *saṁatta*). *uraḍa*, which Ki. 2,110 equates as=*urastaṭa*, is explained, as already recognized by LASSEN¹, from the stem *ura-* (§ 407). Beside *theṇa*=*stena* (thief; Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29; Pāṇyāl. 72), *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32), *thūṇa* (§ 129), AMg. and JM. exclusively have *teṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; 2,3,1,9,10; 2,4,1,8; Paṇḍav. 412 f.; Samav. 85; Uttar. 228,990; Dasav. 623,36,40; 624,10; 627,34; Uvās.; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *ateṇa*=*astena* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), *teṇa* (Ovav.), *teṇija* (Jiyak 87; Kappas.)=*stainya*. *theṇa* is related to *teṇa*, as *stāyu* is to *tāyu*. *tena*(theft) has gone over also to Skt. of the Jainas.² According to Hc. 2,46; Mk. fol. 21 *tava* also may be used beside *thava*=*stava*; according to Vr. 3,13; Hc. 2,45; Mk. fol. 21 *stamba* becomes *tamba*. — *stha*=*ttha*: M. *thaūḍa*=*sthaṇa* (G.), *thala*=*sthala* (G. H.), *thira*=*sthira* (G. H.), *avattḥā*=*avasthā* (H. R.); Ś. *kāatthaa*=*kāyasthaka* (Mr̥ch. 78,13).

¹ Inst. § 82 p. 273. — ² E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 47.

§ 308. Instead of the dental *ttha*, sometimes the cerebral *ṭtha* too occurs for *sta* and *stha*. Sometimes both of them accompany one another, even in various forms and derivatives of the same roots and in the same dialect, without it being possible to find a rule, when one of the

other sounds must stand M AMg. JM. *Ś. aṭṭhi*=*asthi* (Vr.3,11; Hc. 2,32; Kī. 2,69; Mk. fol. 21; G. H.; Aṇuṭtar. 11,12; Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 2,1,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 594; Vivāg. 90; Vivāhap. 89.112 168.183 280 926; Ṭhāṇ 54 f 186.431; Uvās.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Candak 87,9); M. *aṭṭhia*, AMg. *aṭṭhiya*=*asthika* (H.; Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *Ś. aṭṭhia*=*asthija* (Mṛcc. 69,12; so should be read; cf. v.l.); AMg. *bahuaṭṭhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5,6). — *stambha* forms *thambha* and *ṭhambha*, when it means “immovability” and “stiffness” (Hc. 2,9). Mk. fol. 21 has *thambha* only, and so M. (R.), JM. *gaṭṭhambha*=*gatistambha* (Erz. 82,21), *muhathambha*=*mukhastambha* (Erz. 82,22), *Ś. ūrutthambha* (Śak. 27,1; Priyad. 17,12). In the meanings “pole” and “post” one says only *thambha* in M. AMg.Ś. (C. 3,11; Hc. 2,1; R.; Vivāhap. 1327; Mālav. 63,1; Viddh. 74,7). Beside *thambhijai*=*stabhyats*, Hc. 2,9 teaches also *ṭhambhijai*. Frequently there occurs in the text the dental *tha*, as M. *thambhia*, AMg. JM. *thambhiya* (G.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), M. *uttambhijai*, *uttambhijanti* (R. G.); M. *uttambhia* (H. R.), *Ś. uttambhida* (Priyad. 4,7); cerebral *tha* occurs in A. *uṭṭhabhai* (Hc. 3,365,3)¹. On *khambha*, see § 306. — Beside *thera* there occurs more frequently *ṭhera*=*sthavira* (§ 166). — Beside AMg. *tattha*=*trasta* (Uvās.), M. *utatttha* (H.), *saṃtattha* (G.), there occurs, according to Hc. 2,136, also *taṭṭha*. The grammarians (Vr. 8,62; Appendix A 37; Hc. 2,136; Deśin. 8,67; Pāyāl. 260; Triv. 3,1,132) refer M. *hittha* (H. R.) and *āhittha* (R.) also to *trasta*. S. GOLDSCHEIDT² refers *hittha* to *bhiṣ*, WEBER³ refers it to *dhvasta* or *adhastāt*, which in M. AMg. JM. forms *hēṭṭha*, *hiṭṭha* (§ 107) and HOFFER⁴ thought of aspiration of the initial of *trasta*. Dialectically there occur also *hittha* (noun — shame; Pāyāl. 167), *hitthā* (shame; Deśin. 8,67), *hiṭṭha* (ashamed; fearful; Gopāl in Deśin. 8,67; cf. Deśikośa on H. 386), *āhittha* (angry, confused; Deśin. 1,76; Pāyāl. 177), and with cerebralization *hiṭṭha*, *hiṭṭhahida* (confused; Deśin. 8,67). The interchange of *tha* and *ṭha* points to *sta*, and hence I consider the derivation from *adhastāt* as correct. — *Ś. pallattha*, beside the dialectical *pallaṭṭha*, *pallaṭṭai* (§ 285)=*paryasta*; *pallaṭṭha* has lost its aspiration, as *saṃattha* beside *samattā*=*samasā* (§307). M. *Ś. A. viṣamṭhula*=*viṣamsthula*, written in Skt. as *viṣam-ṣṭhula* as well (Hc. 2,32; Mk. f. l. 21; Pāyāl. 264; G. H. R.; Mṛcc. 41,10 v. l. 1; 117,19; Vikr. 60,18; Prab. 39,8; Mallikām. 13,3; Hc. 4,436).

1. FISCHER, BB. 15,122. — 2. Rāvaṇavaho s. v. *bhiṣ*. — 3. On Hāla 386. — 4. ZWS. 2,518.

§309. The oscillation between *ṭha* and *tha* is especially shown in the root *sthā* and its derivatives, without one being able, with OSRHOFF¹, to explain *tha* by false analogy. One says: PG. *anupaṭṭhāpeti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45; cf 184.189); M. JM. *thāi*=**sthāti*, M. *ṇiṭṭhāi*, *saṃthāi*, JM. *thāha*, AMg. *abhuṭṭhanti*; JM. *thāyanti*, but A. *thanti*; A. *uṭṭhāi*, JM. *uṭṭhaha*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhei*, JM.Ś. *uṭṭhehi*, but Ś. also *utthehi*, *utthedu*, (§ 483); M. *thia*, AMg. JM. *thiya*, Ś. *thida*=*sthita* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,6,5,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 42,18; 52,2), but also *thia*, Ś. *thida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 83,20); Mg. AMg. JM. *thavei*, A. *thavehu*, AMg. *thāvei*, JM. *thāveni*, A. *paṭhāviai*, Ś. *paṭṭhāvia*, beside Ś. *samaṇatthāveni*, *pajjaṇatthāveni* (§551), M. *uṭṭhia*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhiya* (Hc. 4,16; R.; Aṇuog. 60; Vivāhap. 169; Āyār. 1,5,2,2; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also *utthia*, Ś. *utthida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 75,15; v.l. °*ṭṭhi*°); *paṭṭhia*=*prasthita* (Hc. 4,16), but M. *paṭṭhia* (H. R.), Ś. *paṭṭhida* (Śak. 136,16; Vikr. 16,2; 22,17; Mālatim. 102,8; 104,2,3; 124,6; Mudrār. 228,5; 261,3; Prab. 17,9; Priyad. 8,16; AMg. JM. *upaṭṭhiya*=*upasthita* (Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.), but also Ś. *uṇatthida* (Śak. 13,79; Vikr. 6,19; 10,2; 43,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *thāna*=*sthāna* (Hc. 4,16; Pāyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 2,2,1,1 ff.; Sūyag. 688; Uttar. 37,5; Vivāhap. 1310; Uvās.; Nāyādh.;

Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 29; Pav. 313,44; Mṛcch. 70,25; 141,2; Śak. 123,7; 154,8; Vikr. 23,15; 44,7 etc.; Hc. 4,362), but also M. *thāṇa* (Hc. 4,16; R.); AMg. *thāṇijja* (respectable; Deśin. 4,5; Nirayāv. § 10), beside *thāṇijja* (Deśin. 4,5) = *sthāṇiya*; M. AMg. JM. *thii*, Ś. *thidi* = *stithi* (H. R.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also M. *thii*, Ś. *thidi* (R.; Vikr. 28,19; 72,16; at Śak. 107,12), and so many others. At the end of compounds *stha* always becomes *ṭtha*; M. *kamalatttha*, *karatttha* (H.), *dūratththa* (R.); AMg. *āgāratththa* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6), *gāratthijja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7); JM. *āsanatttha*, *jōvvaṇatttha*, *sahāvatttha*, *hiyaya-tththa* (Erz.), Ś. *ekatttha* (Mṛcch. 73,3; Śak. 26,14), *vaatttha* = *vayaṭsttha* (Śak. 141,9), *paḍitttha* = *prakṛittsttha* (Śak. 160,13); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhatttha* = *madhyasttha* (§ 214). Corresponding to Skt. *ṭtha*, *asvatththa* becomes AMg. *amsoṭththa*, *asoṭththa*, *āsatttha* (§ 74); *kapitttha* becomes AMg. Mg. *kavitttha* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,6; Mṛcch. 21,22), but mostly AMg. *kavitttha* (Nirayāv. 45; Paṇṇav. 31,482; Jiv. 46; Dasav. 623,8; Uttar. 983 f.). — *sthāṇu*, according to Vr. 3,15; Hc. 2,7; Kī. 2,78; Mk. fol. 21, becomes **thāṇu* in the meaning “Śiva”, but in the meanings “stump”, “flock” it becomes *khāṇu*. So M. *thāṇu* “Śiva” (Pāyāl. 21; G.); AMg. *khāṇu* “stump”, “flock” (Paṇḥāv. 509; Nāyādh. 335; Uttar. 439), but JM. also *thāṇu* “stump of a tree”, “flock” (Pāyāl. 259; Dvār. 504,9), *khāṇu*, beside which *khāṇṇu* also is said (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27) goes back to a side-form **skhāṇu*. *thāṇu* is related to *khāṇu* as *stubbh* to *kṣubbh*, *stambh* to *skambh*, Pkt. *duṭṭtha* to *dukkkha* (§ 90.120.306.311). — *sthaḡ* has in M. a dental in the beginning: *thaei* (R.), *thaesu*, *thāṭssam*, *thāṭum* (H.), *thāṭa* (H. R.), *utthaṭa*, *samutthaṭum* (H.), *ṭṭhaṭa*, *samoṭthaṭa* (R.), in JM. a cerebral: *thaiṭya*, *thāiṭṭa* (Āv. 30,4). The parallel root **sthak* forms in Pāli *thaketi*, in M. JM. Ś. Mg. *ḍhakkai*, *ḍdi* (§ 221). Yet there occurs also JM. *thakkissai* (T. 5,19).

1. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 18,8, p. 486.

§ 310. In Mgr. *sta* is retained (Hc. 4,289) and *stha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā. 2,12): *hasti* = *hastin*; *uvastida* = *upasthita*; *samuvastida* = *samupasthita*; *ṣustida* = *susthita*. According to Nāmisādhū *sta* becomes *ṣta*. The Lalitav. has: *tatthastehim* = *tatrasthaiḥ* (265,20); *uvastidāṇam* = *upasthitāṇam*; *kaḍastalāṇam* = *kaṭasthalāṇam*, *pāṣastide* = *pārśvasthitāḥ*, *niastāṇādo* = *nijasthānāt* (566,3.9.12.15); *stidā* = *stidāḥ*, *astāṇastide* = *asthānasthiṭṭhāḥ* (567,1.2). In the Mṛcch. STENZLER and GOPABOLE, who here, as in many other places, follows him, mostly write *ṣta* for *sta*, but *ttha* for *stha*. Thus *haṣṭa* = *hastā* (12,14; 14,1; 16,23; 21,12; 22,4; 121,25; 122,20; 126,24), but *hatththa* (32,18; 39,20; 134,1.2.3; 135,1.2; 160,3; 171,3) and *hatthi* = *hastin* (40,9; 168,4); as also at Śak. 117,4; Venṣ. 34,14 it stands. In the Mṛcch. the MSS. mostly have *ṭtha*, only at 16,25; 21,12 one of the MSS. has *ṣta*, at 21,22 one of the MSS. has also *hacche*, and once *haṣce*, against this one of them has at 14,1 *hastādo*, at 22,4 five of the MSS. have *haste*, at 126,24 two of them have *haste*, so that *ṣta* is better warranted than *ṣta*. Further pro ex. *thunṇu* = *stuhī* (113,12; 115,9), the MSS. however *stunṇu*, *stunṇa* (or *sunṇu*, *sunṇu* and so on = *śṛṇu*); *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* = *masta* and *mastaka* (12,17; 20,17; 21,22; 149,25; 151,24) but *matththa* (161,7); the MSS. mostly have *ṣta*, rarely *ṭtha* and only at 161,7 one of them has *ṣta*; A points to *ṣtha* at 12,17; 149,25, as STENZLER writes in *isthiā* = *itthiā* = *striā* (12,3.5; 119,23; 136,13; 140,10; 145,3.4; 146,4; 164,20), against *itthiā* (112,6; 135,1.25). The MSS. again have mostly *ṭthi*, only at 112,6 B, 140,10 E and 145,4 D have *ṣti*, on the other hand 112,6 H. has *isthiām*, C *stri*, 136,13 DE, 140,10 D *sti*, to which also points *ṣni* 136,13 of B, to *ṣthi* at the most A 119,23; 140,10. One reads *isthiā*. In Prab. at 62,7, there stands *itthiā* and so also in other

places here and always in Veṇis., Mudrār. in other words, and often in Mṛcch. °ttha° stands for °sta°. For *stha* stands *ttha* in Mṛcch. pro ex. in *thāvalaa*, °laka=sthāvaraka (96,17;116,4;118,10;119,11;121,9;122,9 etc.) and thus the MSS., except at 96,17, where ECD have *sthā°*; *thoam*=*stokam* (157,6); *avaththide*=*avasthitaḥ* (99,3); *uvaththida*=*upasthita* (118,23;138,13;175,17), and *ttha*, pro ex. *paṭṭhāvīa*=*prasthāpya* (21,12); *saṁsthā-vehi*=*saṁsthāpaya* (130,11); *saṁsthida* (v.l. °thi°)=*saṁsthita* (159,15); *āhalaṇaṭṭhāṇehim* (v.l. °tthā°)=*ābharanasthānaih* (141,2). So also in the other dramas with a few exceptions, as °*mastie*=°*mastike*, °*vastie*=°*vastrike* beside °*hatthie*=°*hastike* (Caṇḍak. 68,16;69,1), °*astam* (Caṇḍak. 70,14), beside *saṁutthide* (72,1); *pastide*=*prasthitaḥ*, *ṇivastide*=*ṇivastritaḥ* (Mallikām. 114,4,11). The vv. ll. furnish more information. We should, with Hc., everywhere write *st*.

§ 311. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 3,36.51; Hc. 2,53.90; Ki. 2,100.49; Mk. fol. 25.19). *spa*=*ppha*: M. Ś. *phamisa*=*sparśa*, Ś. *pariphamisa* (§ 74), M. AMg. *pharisa*, AMg. *pharisaga* (§ 135), AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa* (§ 62); *phandaṇa*=*spandana* (Hc. 2,53); *paḍipphaddhi*=*pratispardhin* (§77). The aspiration does not take place in AMg. *puṭṭha*=*spr̥ṣṭa* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6,7,4;1,6,2,3;1,8,3,6.4,1; Sūyag.65.111.122.144.170.350; Uttar. 48.51.61.106.126; Vivāhap. 97 f. 116.145; Paṇṇav. 134; Ovav.), *apuṭṭha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,1; Vivāhap. 97 f.), *apuṭṭhaja* (Sūyag. 104), very often immediately beside *pharisa* or *phāsa* and *phusaī*=*spr̥ṣati* (§ 186). In Āyār. 1,6,5,1 there stands *puṭṭho*. So also *phusaī* and *pusaī* (wipes; § 486). In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule (§301): M.A. *avarōppara*=*aparaspāra* (G.; Hc. 4,409); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraspāra* (Hc. 1,62;2,53; G.; Karp. 77,10;101,1; Paṇhāv. 68; Paṇṇav. 646; Vivāhap. 1099; Āv. 7,11; Erz.; Prab. 9,16; Bālar. 218,11; Mallikām. 124,8;158,19;160,8;223,12), Ś. also, probably falsely, *parappara* (Mālatim. 119,6;358,1; Uttarar. 108,1; Mallikām. 184,20). Cf. § 195. — AMg. *dupparisa*=*duḥsparśa* (Paṇhāv. 508). — *nippiha*=*niḥspr̥ṣṭa* (Hc. 2,23). From *bṛhaspati* there occurs, beside *bihapphadi* and *bahapphadi* also AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai* (§53), and numerous other forms in the grammarians (§212). Likewise stands in AMg. beside *vaṇapphaī*=*vanaspati* (Hc. 2,69; Paṇhāv. 341; Paṇṇav.35; Jiv. 213.316; Vivāhap. 93.144), JŚ. *vaṇapphadi* (Kattig. 401,336), also AMg. *vaṇassai* (Hc. 2,69; Mk. fol. 25; Āyār. 1,1,5,4;2,1,7,3,6;2,2,2,13; Sūyag. 792.857; Paṇhāv. 29; Jiv. 13.316 (beside °*ppha*°). 969f.; Paṇṇav.44.742; Uttar. 1039.1048; Vivāhap. 30,430.465 f.; Thāp. 25.26.52). The forms with *ssa* presuppose that *pati*, as after vowels, at the beginning of the second member of a compound, has become *vaī*, so that *ssa*=*sva*. Cf. § 195.407. The similar phonetic transformation occurs in *sihaī*=°*spr̥hati* (Hc. 4,34.192; Mk. fol. 25) for °*svihaī*. AMg. has *piṇḥajjā*=*spr̥hayet* (Thāp. 158). *chihā* is not=°*spr̥hā* (Hc. 1,128;2,23; Mk. fol. 25), but belongs like *chihā* (touches; Hc. 4,182), to a root **ksibh*, which is a parallel root to *kṣubh* (§ 66). — *spha*=*ppha*: M. AMg. Ś. *phaliṇa*=*sphaṭika* (§ 206), M. *phuda*=*sphuṭa* (G. H. R.); *phuliṇa*=*sphuliṇa* (G.R.); *apphodaṇa*=*āspḥoṭana* (G.), *apphāliṇa*=*āspḥālita* (G.R.); *papphuraī*=*prasphurati* (G. H.). *khoḍaa* is not=°*sphoṭaka* (Vr. 3,16; Hc. 2,6; Ki. 2,76; Mk. fol. 21), and *kheḍaa* is not=°*sphoṭaka*, *kheḍia* is not=°*sphoṭika* (Hc. 2,6), but the words presuppose side-forms with an initial *skha*. Cf. § 90.120.306.309. According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *phoḍaa* alone is permitted; thus *vipphoḍaa*=*visphoṭaka* (Sak.30,1). — In Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *spa* and *spha* are retained: *buhaspadi*=*bṛhaspati*; according to Nāmisādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 they become *spa*, *spha*: *bihaṣpadi*. At Mṛcch.133,24; Śak.115,11 stands *phulanti*=*spḥuranti*, Prab. 58,1, *phalasa*, 58,8 *phamisa*; ed. Bomb. P. have both times

phalasa, M. more correctly *phaliṣa*. One reads *sphulanti*, *spaliṣa* and so in all similar cases.

§ 312. If the consonant following a sibilant is a nasal the sibilant becomes *h* (§ 262–264) and the order of sounds is reversed. Thus *ṣṇa*, *ṣṇa* and *ṣṇa*, when they are not separated by a separation vowel (§ 131 ff.), uniformly become *ṇha*; *ṣma*, *ṣma*, *ṣma* become *mha* (Vr. 3,32,33; C. 3,6; Hc. 2,74,75; Kī. 2,90,94; Mk. fol. 25,26). — *ṣna*=*ṇha*: *aṇhā*, AMg. *aṇhā*=*aṇhā* (§ 512); AMg. JŚ. *paṇha*=*praṣṇa* (Sūyag. 523; Kattig. 399,311); *siṇha*=*śiṣṇa* (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 3,75). — *ṣma* becomes *mha*: *kamhāra*, Ś. *kamhāra*=*kāsmāra* (§ 120); *kumhāra*=*kuśmāra* (Hc. 2,74). *raśmi* always becomes *rassi* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 1,35; 2,74,78; Pāṇīy. 47); AMg. Ś. *sahassarassi*=*sahasraraśmi* (Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Ratn. 311,8; Prab. 14,17; Priyad. 18,15). In the anlaut *ś* is assimilated to *m*: AMg. *maṁsu*=*śmaṁsu*, *nimmaṁsu*=*niśmaṁsu*, JŚ. *maṁsuga*=*śmaṁsuga* (§ 74), also *massu* (Bh. 3,6; Hc. 2,86; Kī 2,53) and *māsu* (Hc.2,86); M. Ś. *maśāṇa*, Mg. *maśāṇa*=*śmaśāṇa*, whilst in AMg. JM. *susāṇa* *m* has been assimilated to *s* (§ 104). — *ṣṇa*=*ṇha*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (G. H. R.; Karp. 45,5; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; Uttar. 58; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 29,5,6; 74,9; Vikr. 48,11); Ś. *aṇuṇhādā*=*anuṣṇatā* (Mālav. 30,6), *uṇha*=*uṣṇaka*, *uṇhattaṇa*=**uṣṇatvana* (Hc. 4,343,1), AMg. *siṇha*=*śiṣṇa*, in AMg., however, usually *uṣṇa* (§ 133). — *uṇhisa*=*uṣṇisa* (Hc. 2,75); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha*, AMg. *kīṇha*, beside M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa*, AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kaṇha*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); JM. D. *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (§ 72.119). — *ṣma*=*mha*: M. *umhā*=*uṣman* (Grr.; G.), *umhavia*, *umhāla* (G.); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha*=*grīṣma* (§ 83); M. JM. Ś. *tumhārisa*=*yuṣmādṛṣa* (§ 245); M. JM. Ś. A. *tumhe*=*yuṣme* (§ 422). — *mahiṣmatī* becomes in Ś. *mahissadī* (Bālar. 67,14). — *bhīṣma*, according to Hc. 2,54, becomes *bhippha*, *śleṣman*, according to Hc. 2,55, Mk. fol. 25, becomes *sepha*- beside *silimha* and AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, AMg. *seṁmbha*- (§ 267). The forms presuppose the line of transformation **bhīṣva*, **bhīṣpa*, *śleṣman*, **śleṣpan* (§ 251.277). On *kohaṇḍī*=*kūśmāṇḍī*, AMg. *kohaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*=*kūśmāṇḍa* see § 127, on A *gimbha*=*grīṣma* § 267. — In the pronominal ending of the loc. sing. *-ṣmin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-i* and *-u*, *ṣ* is assimilated to *m*: M. *uāhimmi*, JM. *uāhimmi*=*udadhau*; AMg. *sahassarassimmi*=*sahasraraśmau*; AMg. *uāhimmi*=*ṛtau*; M. *pahummi*=*prabhau* (§ 366^a.379). In AMg. *-ṣmin* mostly becomes *-ṁsi*: *kucchiṁsi*=*kukṣau*; *pāṇiṁsi*=*pāṇau*; *leṣṁsi*=*leṣṭau* (§ 74.379), in A. it becomes *-hī* from *-ssim* (§ 263.313): *akkhihī*=*akṣṇi*; *kalihī*=*kalau* (§ 379). — *kṣṇa*, *kṣma* too are treated like *ṣṇa*, *ṣma*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa* (§ 315); M. AMg. *paṇha*=*paṣman* (Vr. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; Kī. 2,94; G.H.R.; Uvās.; Ovav.); M. AMg. Ś. *paṇhala*=*paṣmala* (Hc. 2,74; Mk. fol. 25; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 822; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mālatīm. 217,4; Mallikām. 249,10 [text *vahmala*]; Caṇḍak. 87,8); Ś. *paṇhalida* (Mahāv. 101,17). Beside *tiṇha*=*tikṣṇa* (Bh. 3,33; C. 3,6 p. 54; Hc. 2,75, 82; Kī. 2,90) the forms found in the text are M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *tikkha* (C. 2,3; 3,6 p. 48; Hc. 2,82; H.; Karp. 28,7; 38,11; 39,7; 65,2; Sūyag. 280,289; Uttar. 338; Dasav. 625,36; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 135,14; Prab. 4,4 [so correctly the ed. Bomb. M. P.]; Venīṣ. 61,14; Mahāv. 101,16; Bālar. 289,13; Mallikām. 82,14; Hāsy. 32,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,15; A. Hc. 4,395,1); AMg. *sutikkha* (Vivāhap. 424); Ś. *tikkhattaṇa* (Viddhaś. 99,9); A. *tikkhei* (Hc. 3,344); *tikkhālia* (sharpened; Deśin. 5,13; Pāṇīy. 200) only. According to Mk.fol.26 one says *tikkha* in literary sense, and *tiṇha* in a secondary sense, as *tiṇho raṭaro* “the sharp sun”. In Karp., however, *tikkha* is used also in a secondary sense — *lakṣmī* always becomes, even as

a proper noun, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. *lacchī* (Bh. 3,30; C. 3,6,36; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Mk. fol. 24; Pāyā. 96; G. H. R.; Karp. 31,2;49,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 12; Kattig. 399,319,320; 401,344; Śak. 81,11; Vikr. 35,6,11;52,5; Mālav. 33,17; Prab. 4,8; Mālatīm. 218,2; Karp. 22,5;35,3;110,8; Anarghar. 277,1; Mallikām. 73,6; D. Mṛcch. 99,25; A. Hc. 4,436); on the other hand, *lakṣmaṇa* always becomes M. JM. Ś. *lakkhaṇa* (C. 3,6; Mk. fol. 24; R.; Ki. 2; Uttarar. 32,5; 127,5;190,1;204,11; Mahāv. 52,14; Anarghar. 115,12;317,16; Unmattar. 6,2; Pras. 88,6).

§ 313. *sna=pha*, a'ways also in the anlaut in AMg. JM. JŚ., which otherwise mostly retain *n* (§ 224): *nhāi=snāti* (Hc. 4,14); JM. *nhāmo=snāmaḥ* (Āv. 17,7), *nhāittā* (Āv. 38,2), *nhaviṇṇa* (Erz.), *nhāvesu*, *nhāvinti* (T. 6,5); AMg. *nhānei*, *nhānittā* (Jiv. 610), *nhāñēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265), *nhāvei* (Nirayāv. 17), *nhāvēnti* (Vivāhap. 822), *nhāveha* (Vivāhap.1261); Ś. *nhāissam* (Mṛcch. 27,14), *nhādum* (Mallikām. 128,11), *nhāia* (Nāgān. 51,6; Priyad. 8,13;12,11); M. *nhāa*, AMg. JM. *nhā'a*, Ś. *nhāda=snāta* (Pāyā. 238; H.; Sūyag. 730; Vivāhap. 187,790 f.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,8; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,12); *nhāveanto* [text *vayando*]=*snāpayan* (Mallikām. 239,3); AMg. JM. *nhāviya=snāpita* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *nhāna=snāna* (Vr. 3,33; Ki. 2,90; Rāyap. 56; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,358; Mṛcch. 90,14; Vikr. 34,6; Mallikām. 190,16; Hc. 4,399); AMg. *anhāṇa=asnāna* (Paṇhāv.452), *anhāṇa* (Thān. 531; Vivāhap. 135); JM. *nhavaṇa=snāpana* (T. 6,1,3.6 [text *nhā'*]; Kk.); Ś. *nhavaṇa=snāpanaka* (Nāgān. 39,4,13); AMg. *nhāviyā=snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964). So also *nhāvia=*snāpita*; however, Ś. Mg. *nāvida* (§ 210). Ś. *paṇhuda=prasnuta* (Mahāv. 65,4; Uttarar.73,10). In *sneha* and *snigdha* in M. AMg. JM. A. *s* is assimilated to *n* as a rule (Vr. 3,64; Bh. 3,1; Hc. 2,77,102,109; Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26). Thus M. Ś. *neha* (G.H.R.; Hc. 4,332,1,406,2,422,6,8,426,1; Piṅgala 2,118), AMg. JM. *neha* (C. 2,27; Pāyā. 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.), in verses *neha* also in Mg. (Mṛcch. 157,6) and D. (Mṛcch. 105,16); M. *niddha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, *niddha* (H.R.; Āyār 1,5,6,4;2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Jiv. 224,351; Paṇhāv. 285; Uttar. 1022; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); *nehālu=snehavat* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,59 [ne°]); A. *niṇṇeha*, JM. *ninneha=niṇṇeha* (Hc. 4,367,5; Erz.). Beside these there occur *saṇeha*, A. *sasaṇehi*, *saṇiddha*, M. JM. Ś. *siṇiddha*, the forms which alone can be used in Ś. (§140). In *susā=snuṣā* (Hc. 1,261) beside AMg. *nhusā*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sunhā*, M. *so'nhā* (§ 148), P. *sunusā* (§ 139,148), *n* has been assimilated. — *sma=mha*: PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *amhe=asme* (§ 419); M. JM. Ś. *amhārisa=asmā-dṛṣa* (§ 245); M. Ś. A. *vimhaa*, JM. *vimhaya=vismaya* (G.R.; Erz.; Śak. 38,8; Hc. 4,420,4). — *bhasman*, according to Hc. 2,51 becomes also *bhappa*, which points to the transition steps **bhasvan*, **bhaspan* (§ 251.277.312), in addition to AMg. JM. *bhāsa*, Ś. *bhasa* (§65), JM. *bhasama* (§132). The pronominal ending *-smin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-a*, becomes either *-ssim*, Mg. *ssim*, as in Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taṣṣim=tasmin* (§ 425). *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, Mg. *edaṣṣim=etasmim* (§ 426); PG. *casi cāssim*, AMg. Ś. *assim=asmin* (§ 429), or M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *-mmi*, as *tammi*, *eammi*, *eyammi* (§ 425.426), M. *jōvvaṇammi=yauvane*, AMg. *bambhānammi kappammi=brāhme kalpe*, JM. *pāḍaliṇṇammi=pāḍaliṇṇammi* (§ 366^a), or AMg. mostly *-misi*, as *tamisi*, *imamisi* (§ 425.430), *logamisi=loke*, *dāragamisi=dārake* (§366^a), as AMg. also *amisi=asmi* says (§ 74.498). *-ssim*, through **-sim*, in all the dialects in the pronominal declension, and in Mg. A. also in the nominal declension, has become *-him*, as in *tahim*, *jahim*, *kahim=tasmin*, *yasmin*, *kasmin*; Mg. *kuḷāhim=kule*; *gharahi=ghare* (§264.366^a.425.427.428).

Instead of *-mmi* Hc. 1,23 permits also *-nmi*: *vaṇammi* and *vaṇanmi*=*vane*. This orthography is very frequent in AMg. in the MSS., and has often been retained in many editions, perhaps correctly. — *s* has been assimilated with *m* in AMg. *mi*=**smi*=*asmi*, AMg. JM. *mo*=*smaḥ*, beside the usual *mhi*, *mha*, *mho* (§ 498), on the other hand *m* has been assimilated to *s* in JM. *sarāmi*, *sarai*, AMg. *sarai*, JM. *sarasu*=*smarāmi*, *smarati*, *smara*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JS. *visarida*=*vismṛta*, beside JM. *vissariya*, dialectical *vimharaī*=*vismarati*, common *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaredi*, *visumarāmi*, Mg. *śumaledi*, *visumaledi* (§478); *seram*=*smeram* (Hc. 2,78). M. *bharai* (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53; G. s. v. *smṛ*; H. R. s. v. *smar*), JM. *bhariya*=*smṛta* (Pāṇyā. 194; Erz.), also *bhalai* (Hc. 4,74), M. *sambharaṇa* (G.) will stand for **mharai*, **mbharai* (§267). According to Mk. fol. 54 some taught also *marai*, *vibharai* (MS. *vimbharai*).

§ 314. In Mg. according to Hc. 4,289 *ṣṇa*, *sna* become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma*, *sma* become *sma*; only in *grīṣma*, *ṣma* becomes *mha*: *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu*; *usma*=*uṣman*; *vismā*=*vismaya*; but *gimha*=*grīṣma*. For *sma*, Śilārka too confirms this; while commenting on the readings of the text *akasmāt* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3), *akasmāddanḍa* (Sūyag. 682) and *asmākam* (Sūyag. 983) he notes that these words were spoken by all in the land of Magadha, even down to the wives of herdsmen, as Skt. So here too they should be pronounced. Similarly Abhayadeva on Thāp. 372 *akasmāddanḍa*. For AMg. the sole correct forms are the forms, such as *akamhābhaya* (Samav. 19; Thāp. 455); the forms with *sma* have been adopted from Skt. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 teaches *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu* and indirectly also *ś* for *ṣ*, *s* in other sound groups. For *ṣna*, *ṣma* the rules are wanting in Hc.; hence it remains uncertain, whether they become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma* or *sna*, *sma* or *nha*, *mha*. The manuscripts of the dramas do not have merely *gimha* (Mṛcch. 10,4), but also *paṇha*=*praśna* (Mṛcch. 80,18; 81,5); *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (Mṛcch. 116,17; Venis. 33,12); *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (Prab. 63,15); *tunḥia*=*tūṣṇika* (Mṛcch. 164,14); always *amhāṇam*, *amhe*, *tumha*, *tumhāṇam*, *tumhe* (pro ex. Mṛcch. 31,15; 158,23; Prab. 53,15,16; Mṛcch. 139,13; 16,19); *amhāṭisa*=*asmāḍṛsa* (Mṛcch. 164,5); *nhāmi*=*snāmi*, *nhāde*=*snātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 113,21; 136,11) etc. The ending *-smin* in the MSS. always becomes *-śsim*, and *-sma* always becomes *-mha*. So has also the Lalitav.: *edaśsim*=*etasmin* (565,6), *yāniśsamha*=*jñāyāmaha* (565,9), *amhadeṣiya*, *amhāṇam*, *tumhāṇam* (565,12,14; 566,9), *payāśmha* [sic]=*prakāśyāma* (567,1).

§ 315. In so far as a separation vowel does not appear a semi-vowel following a sibilant is assimilated (§ 131-140), according to the principal rules (§ 279.287.296.297). — *śya*=*ssa*; Mg. *śsa*: JM. Ś. *avassam*=*avaśyam* (Erz.; Lalitav. 555,5; Śak. 44,6; 128,9; Vikr. 53,12; Mudrār. 264,5; Karp. 103,6; M. *nāsaī*, AMg. *nassaī*, JM. *nāsaī*. Ś. *nassadi*=*naśyati*; JM. *nassāmo*=*naśyāmaḥ* Mg. *viṇaśsadu* (§ 63); Ś. *rāśāla*=*rājaśyāla* (Mṛcch. 23,19; 5,8,7; 151,16; 173,1) and M. *veśā*=*veśyā* (H.), Ś. *veśājāna* (Mṛcch. 57,15) and *veśājāna* (Mṛcch. 53,20); AMg. *veśsa*, *vaśsa*=*vaśyā* (§ 61). — *śra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. *mīsa*. Ś. *mīssa*, Mg. *mīssa*=*mīśra* (§64); M. JM. Ś. *viśamāi*=*viśrāmyati*, Ś. *vissamāidu* (§ 64.489); Ś. *sussūsidapuruwo* *sussūsidawoo*=*śuśrūsitapūroah* *śuśrūsitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śuśśūside*=*śuśrūsitah* (Mṛcch. 37,1); AMg. JM. Ś. *śeṣṭhi*=*śreṣṭhin* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Niraśyāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 28,20; 142,12; Śak. 139,5, Mudrār. 41,8; 43,1; 243,2; 248,7; 252,1; 254,4). On *aṇsu*=*aśru*, *maṇsu*=*śamśru* see § 74. — *śla* becomes *ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa*¹ (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 1,118; 2,75. 79; Mk. fol. 21,26; H.R.; Vivāhap. 424; Uttar. 1040; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *parisaṇha*=*pariślakṣṇa* (R.); but also with assimilation of *s* M. *laṇha* (Hc. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21; Karp. 88,2; 96,2), *laṇhaa* (Karp. 49,11).

In AMg. both the forms sometimes stand beside one another: *saṇha laṇha* (Savav. 211,214; Pannav. 96; Ovav. §166). AMg. *saggha*=*ślāghya* (Sūyag. 182); Ś. *sāhaṇīa*=*ślāghaniya* (Mālav. 32,5), but also *lāha*=*ślāghate* (Hc. 1,187); AMg. *seṃbha*; AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, dialectical *sepha*=*śleṣman* (§ 267,312), but also AMg. *lissanti*=*ślisyante* (Sūyag. 218). — AMg. *lesaṇayā* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN, to be equated as=(*saṃ*)*śleṣaṇatā*, but it is =*reṣaṇatā* (damage). Generally the group is separated either by *a* or *i*. — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. JM. *āsa*, AMg. JM. *Ś. assa*=*āsa* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. pāsa*=*pārśva* (§ 87), falsely *Ś. passa* (Priyad. 23,16); JŚ. *viṇassara*=*vinaśvara* (Kattig. 401,339); *Ś. viṣṭāvasu*=*viśvāvasu* (Mallikām. 57,1); Mg. *viśśāvasu* (Mṛcch. 11,9); M. *sasāi*, *āsasāi*=*śvasiti*, *āśvasiti*; M. *āsasāi*, AMg. *ussasāi*=*ucchvasiti*; M. *nisasāi*, AMg. *nissasāi*, *Ś. nisasadi*=*nihsvasiti*; Mg. *śasadi*, *ūśasadu*, *niśasadu*, *śamaśśasadu* (§496); M. *sāva*, JM. *sāvaya*, Ś. *ā. sāvada*=*svāpada* (G.R.; Erz.; Śak.32,7; Mṛcch.148,22). — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: *Ś. abhujissā*=*abhujisyā* (Mṛcch. 59,25;60,11;65,1); AMg. *ārussa*=*āruṣya* (Sūyag. 293), beside *ārusiṣyāṇam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *Ś. pussarā*=*puṣyarāga* (Mṛcch. 70,25; so we should read)¹; AMg. JM. *maṇṣa*, M. AMg. *Ś. maṇussa*, Mg. *maṇuśśa*=*manuṣya* (§ 63); AMg. JM. *śisa*, JM. *Ś. sissa*=*śiṣya* (§63); in future, as A. *karisu*=*karisyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4). *phuṭṭisu*=*sphuṭṭisyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12), JM. *bhavissai*, *Ś. bhavissadi*, Mg. *bhaviśśadi*, M. *hośsam*, A. *hosai* (§ 521). In M. AMg. JM. A. this *ssa*, after a long vowel, and often also after a short vowel, has become *ha* through *sa*, as *kāhimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*=**kāryāmi*=*karisyāmi*; *hohāmi*, *hohimi*=**bhoyāmi*; *kittaihim*=*kirtayisyāmi*; A. *pekkhihim*=**prekṣisyāmi* (§263.520 ff.). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: AMg. *osakkai*, *paccosakkai*=**apaśvaṣkati*, **pratyapaśvaṣkati*; M. *parisakkai*=**paṣvaṣkati* (§302); *Ś. parissaadi*=*paṣvajate* (Mālatim. 108,3; Mṛcch. 327,10=484,12 ed. GODABOLE), *parissaadha*=*paṣvajadhvam* (Śak. 90,8; Vikr. 11,2; Uttarar. 204,5), *parissaia*=*paṣvajaya* (Śak. 77,9; Mālatim. 210,7). On AMg. *piussiyā*, M. *piussīā*, AMg. *piussiyā*, M. AMg. *piucchā*=*pitṛvasā*, AMg. *māussiyā*, M. *māussīā*, *māucchā*=*māṭṛvasā*, dialectical *pupphā*, *pupphīā* see §148. — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. JM. *Ś. rahassa*=*rahasya* (G.H.; Karp. 66,11; Erz.; Mṛcch. 60,7; Vikr. 15,3,12;16,1,11,18; 79,9; Karp.67,1); M. *ś. vaassa*, M. *vaamśa*, JM. *vayamśa*=*vayasya* (§74); *Ś. hassa*=*hāsyā* (Mṛcch. 44,1); in the genitive sing. in *-śya*, as M. *Ś. kāmassa*=*kāmasya* (H. 2,148.326.586; Śak. 120,6; Prab. 38,12; Karp. 93,1). Dialectically there occurs *ha* from *sa* (§264), as Mg. *kāmāha* (Mṛcch. 10,24), A. *kāmaho* (Hc.4,446); beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. Dh. tassa*, Mg. *taśśa*, A. *tossu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, M. *tāsa*, also Mg. *tāha*, A. *taho*=*tasya* (§425). Likewise in future as AMg. *dāhāmo* beside *dāsāmo*=*dāsyāmaḥ* (§530); JM. *pāhāmi*, AMg. *pāham*=*pāsyāmi*, AMg. *pāhāmo*=*pāsyāmaḥ* (§524). — *śra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. *ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555,1); JM. *tamissā*=*tamisrā* (Kk.); M. *visambha*, *Ś. vissambha*=*visambha* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. sahassa*, Mg. *śahaśśa*=*sahasā* (§448). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: *bappasāmihi*=*bappasvāmibhiḥ* (6,11), *sakakāle*=*svakakāle* (7,44) *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51); JM. *Ś. tavassi*, Mg. *tavaśśi*=*tapasvin* (Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 22,7; 76,8), JM. *Ś. tavassiṇi*, Mg. *tavaśśiṇi*=*tapasviṇi* (Kk.; Śak. 39,4;78,11; 123,12; 129,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,6); M. JM. *sarassai*, *Ś. sarassadi*=*sarasvati* (G.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,5); M. *sinṇa*=*svinna* (G.H.); *Ś. sādām*, Mg. *śādām*=*svāgatam* (§ 203). On M. *maṇaṇsi*=*manasvin*, AMg. *oyamsi*=*ojasvin* and similar other forms see § 74; on *haṃsa*=*hrasva*, beside *hassa*, *rahassa* see § 354.

1. Hc. and with him JACOBI, KZ. 23,598 wrongly derive *saṇha* from *sūkṣma* and Hc. at 2,75 expressly separates *saṇha*=*sūkṣma* and *sapha*=*ślakṣya*. Correctly WEBER,

ZDMG. 28,402; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 68; CHILDERS s. v. *saṃho*. — 2. Aup. S. s. v. — 3. FISCHER, Rudrata's Śṛṅgāratilaka p. 102 f.; Mahāvīyutpatti 235,28.

§ 316. In the conjunction tenuis+sibilant, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the tenuis in Skt. : *khṣira* beside *ṣira*; *vathsa* beside *vatsa*; *aphsaras* beside *apsaras*¹. Pkt. presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of *tsa* and *psa*, in the case of *kṣa* originally only when it goes back to *śṣa*². The aspiration passed to the sibilant, which according to § 211 became *cha*. The phonetic groups thus originating, i. e. *ścha* (*kcha*), *tcha*, *pcha* regularly became *cca*. In the case of original *kṣa*, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Mg. *ska*, *hka* (§ 324) points, and *ṣka* for *kṣa* became *kkha* (§ 302). The assumption of ASCOLI³ that *ṣa* become *kha* has no support in Pkt. (§ 265), just as little as the theory of JOHANSSON⁴ that the different phonetic changes rest on pronunciation, division of syllables and the accent⁵.

1. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,21 f.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 113. — 2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 116. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 236ff. — 4. Shāhbāzgarhi 2,22. — 5. Cf. FISCHER, GGA, 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 317. The grammarians regard the transition from *kṣa* to *kha* as regular (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,3; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24), and they have grouped the words that show *cha* in the *ākṣtigāṇa akṣyādi* (Vr. 3,30; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Pkt. p. 60). Mk. fol. 24 groups the words that always have *cha* for *kṣa* in the *gaṇa kṣurādi*, and includes in it the words *kṣura*, *akṣi*, *makṣikā*, *kṣira*, *sadykṣa*, *kṣetra*, *kukṣi*, *ikṣu*, *kṣudhā*, and *kṣudh*. The words which have *cha* and *kha*, he gives in the *ākṣtigāṇa kṣamādi*. The statement of the grammarian, however, holds good only for M. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with *kha* beside those with *cha*, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case (§ 321). The Avestā shows best the original relation.

§ 318. If Skt. *kṣa* goes back to *śṣa*, so in the Avestā it becomes *s̥a*, in Pkt., originally through **śsha*, **scha* (§ 316) it became *cca* : *chaa* = Av. *śata* in *hus̥ata* = *kṣata* from *kṣan* (Hc. 2,17); in addition to AMg. *chapa* (murder) = *kṣapa* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,4; 1,5,3,5); *chape* = **kṣaṇet* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; 1,7,8,9), *chanāvae*, *chanantam* = **kṣanāpayet*, **kṣanantam* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); bui M. *khaa* = *kṣata* (G.H.R.), *parikkhaa* (R.); AMg. *khaṇaha* = **kṣanata* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); AMg. *akkhaja*, JŚ. °da (Sūyag. 307; Pav. 385,69); Ś. *parikkhada* (Mycch. 53,25; 61,24; Śak. 27,9), *aparikkhada* (Vikr. 10,4), *avarikkhada* (Mycch. 53,18,24). — M. AMg. JM. *chuhā* = Av. *s̥uḍa* = *kṣudhā* (Grr.; H.; Thān. 328; Vivāhap. 40,647; Rāyap. 258; Nāyādh. 348; Ovav.; Dvār. 500,7; Erz.), *chuhāiya* (hungry; Pāiyal. 183); but also AMg. JM. Ś. *khuḥā* (Thān. 572; Vivāhap. 162,493.816; Panhāv. 200; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Dasav. 635,16 [*khuppivāsāe*]; Dasav. N. 662,1,2; Erz.; Karp. 76,9 ed. Bomb., whilst KONOW 75,6 reads *chuhā*); AMg. *khuḥiya* = *kṣudhita* (Panhāv. 340). — M. *chetta*, AMg. *chitta* = Av. *s̥oiθra* = *kṣetra*, but also AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khētta*, AMg. *khitta* (§ 84). M. AMg. JM. JM. Ś. *acchi* = Av. *as̥i* = *akṣi* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; 1,8,1,19; 2,2,2,1,7; 2,3,2,5; Vivāgas. 11; Vivāhap. 1152; Āv. 8,20; 30,4; Śak. 30,5; 31,13; Vikr. 43,15; 48,15; Ratn. 319,18; Karp. 11,2; Nāgān. 11,9; Jivān. 89,3); but also AMg. JM. Ś. A. *akkhi* (Sūyag. 383; Erz.; Vikr. 34,1; Anarghar. 305,13; Hc. 4,357,2). — AMg. *accha* (§ 57), M. AMg. Ś. *riccha* (§ 56) = Av. *arēśa* = **kṣa*; but also M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (§ 56). — M. *kaccha* = Av. *kaśa* = *kakṣa* (H.); but also AMg. JM. *kakkha* (G.R.; Nāyādh. 434). — *taccha* (Hc. 4,194),

AMg. *taecchiya* (Uttar. 596 [text °tthi°]) = Av. *tas'a* = *takṣati*, **taṣkita*, but also *takkhaī* (Hc. 4,194); *takkhāṇa* = *takṣan* (§ 403).

§ 319. Original *kṣa* becomes *hṣ'a* in the Avestā, *kkha* in Pkt.: AMg. *khattiya*, Ś. *khattia* = *kṣatriya* (Sūyag. 182.373.495.585; Samav. 232; Uttar. 155 f. 506.754; Vivāgas. 152 f.; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 28, 14; 29,22; 64.21; Uttarar. 167,10; Anarghar. 58,8; 70,1; 155 5; 157,10; Hāsy. 32,1; Pras. 47, 7; 48,4.5); JM. *khattiā* (sic.; KI 3); AMg. *khattiyāṇi* = *kṣatriyāṇi* (Kappas.), *khatti* = *kṣatrin* (Sūyag. 317); Ś. *nikkhattikada* = *nikṣatrikṣta* (Mahāv. 27,6), to Av. *hṣ'a θra*. — AMg. JM. *khira* = Av. *hṣ'ira* = *kṣira* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 817,822; Vivāhap. 660.942; Pannav. 522; Uttar. 895; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 28,23; 42,2); *khiri* = *kṣiri* (Pāiyāl. 240); M. *khiroa*, JM. *khīroja* = *kṣiroda* (G.H.; Erz.); AMg. *khirodaya* (Ovav.); Ś. *khirasamudda* = *kṣirasamudra* (Prab. 4,7); but also M. *chira* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 123; G.H.); AMg. *chirabirālī* = *kṣirabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532; [text °vi°]). For Ś. Mk. for 67 expressly prescribes *khira*. — *khivai* = *kṣipati* to Av. *hṣ'viv* (Hc. 4,143); M. *akkhivai* = *ākṣipati* (R.); *ukkivai* = *utkṣipati* (H.); *samukkhivai* (G.); JM. *khivasi* (Erz. 83,18), *khivei* (Erz.); AMg. *khivāhi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,16), *pakkhivaha* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3), *pakkhivējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Vivāhap. 270), *nikkhitiyava* (Panhāv. 373); *pakkhippa* (Sūyag. 280.282.288.378); Ś. *khividum* = *kṣeptum* (Vikr. 25,16), *khitta* = *kṣipta* (Mṛcch. 41,6.22), *akkhitta* = *ākṣipta* (Vikr. 75,12 so we should read); *uvakkhiva* = *upakṣipa* (Mṛcch. 72,14), *ukkhiyia* = *utkṣipyā* (Mṛcch. 3,17), *nikkhividum* = *nikṣeptum* (Mṛcch. 24,22), *nikkhitta* (Mṛcch. 29,13; 145,11; Śak. 78,13; Vikr. 84,8), *nikkhiva* (Vikr. 75,10), *parikkhiviāmo* = *parikṣipyāmahe* (Caṇḍak. 28,11) etc.; but also *ucchitta* = *utkṣipta* (Bh. 3,30; Deśin. 1,124; Pāiyāl. 84) and M. *chivai* (touches; Hc. 4,182; G.H.R.); *chitta* (touched; Hc. 4,258; Pāiyāl. 85; H.). — AMg. JM. *khudda* = *kṣudra*, *khuddaja*, AMg. *khuddaga* = *kṣudraka* (§ 294) = Av. *hṣ'udra* (temen). — M. *khunṇa* = *kṣuṇṇa* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 222; H.) from Av. *hṣ'usta*; but also *ucchunṇa* = *utkṣuṇṇa* (Pāiyāl. 201). — M. *khubbhai* = *kṣubhyati* (Hc. 1,154; R.); *samkhuhia* (G.), AMg. *khobhāiṇum* = *kṣobhayitum* (Uttar. 921), *khobhittae* (Uvās.), *khubhiya* (Ovav.), *kokhubbhamāna* (§556); Ś. *samkhohida* = *samkṣobhita* (Śak. 32,8); A. *khuhia* (Vikr. 67,11); M. *khoha* = *kṣobha* (R.); JM. *mohakkhoha* (Pav. 380,7), but also PG. °*chobhān* °*kṣobham* (6,32); *vicchuhire* = *vikṣubhyanti* (Hc. 3,142); AMg. *chubhanti*, *ucchubhai*, *nicchubhai*, JM. *chubhai*, *chuhai*, M. *vicchuhai* etc. (§66). — M. *sikkhai* = *śikṣati* (H.); M. A. *sikkhia*, JM. *sikkhiya*, Ś. *sikkhida* = *śikṣita* (G.H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 37,5; Vikr. 62,11), JM. Ś. *sikkhanta* (Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,21), Ś. *sikkhiadi*, *sikkhidukāma* (Mṛcch. 39,22; 51,24), *sikkhāvemi* (Priyad. 40,4) to Av. *asiḥsanti*.

§ 320. Sometimes Pkt. and Av. go asunder. *uccha* = *ukṣan* (Bh. 3,30; Hc. 2,17; 3,56); *ucchāṇa* (Hc. 3,65), but Av. *uḥs'ān*. Mk. fol. 24 permits, however, also *ukkha*, beside *uccha*. — PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* = *dakṣiṇa* (§65), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* = *dakṣiṇā* (Mṛcch. 5,1; Karp. 103,6), but Av. *daśiṇa*. Yet AMg. has *daccha* (Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *dakkha* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.). — M. *macchiā* (Grr.; H.); AMg. JM. *macchiyā* (Vivāgas. 12; Uttar. 245.1036.1064; Ovav.; Dvār. 503,6), AMg. *macchiḡā* (Panhāv. 72) = *maḥṣ'i* = *makṣikā*; but also Ś. *ṇimma-kkhiā* = *nirmakṣika* (Śak. 36,16; 124,7; Viddhaś. 62,2). M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rakkhasa* = *rākṣasa* (R.; Sūyag. 105.339.468; Uttar. 996.1084; Thāp. 90; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68,8; Śak. 43,6; 45,1; Mahāv. 96,12; 97,7.15; 99,2; Bālar. 221,5), AMg. *rakkhasi* = *rākṣasi* (Uttar. 252) to Av. *raś*, *raś'anih*. — M. JM. *vaccha* = *vṛkṣa* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 54; G.; Karp. 64,2; Erz.; Dasav. N. 645,5 in an enumeration, of words which mean "tree") to Av. *urvāḥs* (to grow). Besides *vaccha*, according to Vr. 3,31; Hc. 2,127; Ki. 2,83; Mk.

fol. 24 *vrkṣa* can form also *rukṣha*, and according to Rāmārkavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 66 only *rukṣha* is used in Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,153;2,17). AMg. Ś. employ only *rukṣha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1; 1,8,2,3; 2,1,2,3; 2,3,2,15; 2,3,3,13; 2,4,2,11,12; Sūyag. 179.314.325.425.613; Vivāhap. 275.445; Samav. 233; Paṇṇav. 30; Rāyap. 154; Jiv. 548.550 f.; Dasav. N. 645,5; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mrcch. 40,24; 72,8; 73,6,7; 77,16; 87,11.12; Śak. 9,10; 10,2; 12,2,6; Mālav. 72,3); AMg. Ś. *kapparukṣha*=*kalpa-vrkṣa* (Āyār. 2,15,20; Mallikām. 291,2); M. JM. have *rukṣha* (H. R.; Āv. 47,11 ff; Rṣabhap. 29; Erz.), JM. *kapparukṣha* (Erz.) beside *vaccha*. The word *rukṣha* has nothing to do with *vrkṣa*, but is=*rukṣa*, for which ROTH (Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda p. 3) has shown the meaning "tree" in the Veda.

§ 321. Variation between *kkha* and *ccha* is found also in the words, other than those already mentioned. The M. AMg. JM. *ucchu* beside AMg. Ś. *ikkhu*=*ikṣu*, AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (§ 117.84). — M. AMg. JM. *kucchi*=*kukṣi* (G.; Āyār. 2,15,2,4,10,12; Paṇḥāv. 281; Vivāhap. 295.1035.1274; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); *kucchimai*=*kukṣimati* (pregnant; Deśin. 2,41), beside AMg. Ś. *kuṣkhi* (Nāyādh. 308; Paṇḥāv. 217; Mālav. 65,16), which Hc. Deśin. 2,34 declares as provincial. — *chura*=*kṣura* (Grr.), *churamaḍḍi*-, *churahattha*=*kṣuramardī*-, *kṣurahasta* (barber; Deśin. 3,31), beside M. AMg. *khura* (Karp. 94,4; Sūyag. 546; Vivāhap. 353.1042; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *khurapatta*=*kṣurapattra* (Thāṇ. 321). — AMg. A. *chāra*=*kṣāra* (saltpetre; potash; Grr.; Uvās.; Hc. 4,365,3), *chāribhūya*=*kṣāribhūta* (Vivāhap. 237), *chāriya*=*kṣārita* (Vivāhap. 322 f. 348), beside AMg. JM. *khāra* (Sūyag. 520.281; Ovav.; Kk.). — Cf. § 326. — M. AMg. JM. *pe cchai*, but Ś. *pekkhadi*=*prekṣate* (§ 84). — M. AMg. JM. *vaccha*=*vakṣas* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Karp. 84,4; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *vakṣhatthala*=*vakṣaṣṭhala* (Mrcch. 68,19; Dhanamjayav. 11,9; Hāsy. 40,22), against the dialect *vacchatthala* (Bālar. 238,9; Mallikām. 156,10 [text °tṭha°]; 201,13 [text °tṭa°]; Cait. 38,11; 44,9). — M. JM. JS. *sāriccha*, but AMg. Ś. A. *sārikṣha*=**sādykṣya* (§ 78.245). The variation shows that on the Indian soil, even in the same dialect, without regard to the different origin of *kṣa*, both the pronunciations proceeded side by side.¹ One says for example *akhṣi* and *akṣi*, and their contaminations in Pkt. are *acchi* and *akkhi*.

1. Thus correctly ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 238 f.; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,20. Cf. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 322. With the different treatments of *kṣa* in *kṣaṇa* and *kṣamā* is connected the difference in meaning. *kṣaṇa* becomes, according to Bh. 3,31; Hc. 2,20; Mk. fol. 24, *chaṇa* in the meaning "festival", on the other hand it becomes *chaṇa* in the meaning "moment". Thus M. AMg. JM. *chaṇa* "festival" (Pāyāl. 284; G. H.; Śak. 119,7; Nāyādh. 266; Vivāhap. 822; Kk. 271,24), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khāṇa* "moment" (G. H. R.; Nāyādh. § 135.137; p. 300; Dasav. 613,39; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 2,14; 126,6; Viddhaś. 99,1; Karp. 58,3; 59,6; 105,4). According to Mk. fol. 67 *cha* never enters into Ś. Hence in Śak. 118,13, with three MSS., we should read *uwaṭṭhakkhaṇe*. Kī. 2,83 teaches *khāṇa* and *chaṇa* with a difference of meaning. — *kṣamā* becomes, according to Hc. 2,18, *chamā* in the meaning "earth", but *khamā* in the meaning "patience". Vr. 3,31; Kī. 2,83; Mk. fol. 24 place *khamā* and *chamā* beside one another without distinguishing between their meaning; C. 3,4 has only *khamā*. In AMg. *chamā*= "earth" (Dasav. 641,13), in M. AMg. JM. *khamā*= "patience" (H.; Vivāhap. 162; Dvār. 502,19), AMg. *khamāsamaṇa*=*kṣmāśramaṇa* (Kappas.).

§ 323. In AMg. JM. sometimes a long vowel is retained before *kṣa*. Then *kkha* becomes *ha* (§ 188) through *kha* (§ 87). Especially frequent it is the case in the root *ikṣ* and its derivatives: AMg. *ihā=ikṣā*¹ (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *anuppehanti=anuprekṣante* (Ovav. § 31), *anupehāe* (Āyār. 2,1,4,2), *anuppehā=anuprekṣā* (Thān. 211.213; Uttar. 899; Ovav.), *uvehējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5,9,2; 2,3,1,16.18; 2,3,2,1,3,8), *uvehamāna=upekṣamāna* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,4,4,4; 2,16,4), *pehe=prekṣeta* (Uttar. 726), *peha=prekṣa-sva* (Sūyag. 139), *pehamāna* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; 1,8,4,7; 2,3,1,6); JM. *pehamāno* (Āv. 17,10); AMg. *pehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,8,1,20; 1,8,4,10; 2,1,1,3; 2,1,4,1,4 ff.; 2,1,9,2; 2,4,2,6; Uttar. 33), *pehiya* (Uttar. 919), *pehiyā* (Sūyag. 104), *pehiyam* (Dasav. 633,3), *pehā=prekṣā* (Dasav. 613,21), *pehu=prekṣin* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; Uttar. 30), *pehiñi* (Uttar. 663), *samuppehamāna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4), *samuppehamāna* (Sūyag. 506), *samupehiyā* (Dasav. 629,39), *sampehei* (Vivāhap. 152.248.841.916; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *sampehai* (Dasav. 643,10), *sampehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,5,3,2; 1,6,1,3[sā^o]; Sūyag. 669), *sāpehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,23), *sāmpheittā* (Vivāhap. 152,248). Further AMg. *lūha*. beside *lukkha=rūkṣa*, *lūhei*, *lūhiya=rūkṣayati*, *rūkṣita*² (§ 87.257); AMg. JM. *seha=Pāli sekha=Skt. śaikṣa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24; Sūyag. 165.511.520; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); AMg. *sehanti=śaikṣanti* (Sūyag. 115), *sehāvei=śaikṣāpayati*³ (Vivāhap. 797; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). *sehāviya* (Vivāhap. 1246). — The same phonetic change has taken place in secondarily shortened vowels in AMg. *suhuma*, *suhama=sūkṣma* (§ 82.131.140), and in secondarily lengthened vowels in M. AMg. JM. *dāhiṇa=dakṣiṇa*; AMg. *dāhiṇilla*, *āyāhiṇa*, *payāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa* (§ 65) and AMg. *dehai*, *dehae=dṛkṣati*, **dṛkṣate*, *A. drehī* (§ 66.554).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.; falsely equated as *ihā* by JACOBI, Kalpas. s. v. and STEINTHAL, Specimen s. v. — 2. So rightly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.; falsely equated as *lūṣita* by JACOBI and STEINTHAL l. c. — 3. So rightly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.; falsely STEINTHAL l. c. = *sedhayati*.

§ 324. In Mg., according to Vr. 11,8 *kṣa* becomes *skā*: *laskāse=rākṣasah*; *daske=dakṣah*. Hc. 4,297 and Nāmīsādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 teach this phonetic change only for *prekṣ* (that is to say *ikṣ* with *pra*) and *ācakṣ* (i. e. *cakṣ* with *ā*): *pēṣkadi=prekṣate*; *ācakṣadi=ācakṣe*. In all other words, according to them (Hc. 4,296) *kṣa* becomes *hka*¹ in the anlaut; *yahke=yakṣah*; *lahkase=rākṣasah*; *pahka=pakṣa* (Hc. 4,302). In the anlaut *kṣa* is treated according to the rules that hold good for the other dialects: *khaṇyalahalā=kṣayajaladharāḥ*. Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report p. 344 teaches *śka*: *paśka=pakṣa*; *laśkā=lākṣā*; *paśkāladu=prakṣālayatu*, for which C. 3,39 p. 52 and Hc. 4,228 have *pakkhāladu* in the same verse with *kṣa* treated as in the anlaut. Lalitav. has throughout *śka*: *alaskiyyamāna=alokṣyamāna* (565,7); *laśikidaṁ=lakṣitaṁ* (566,4); *bhiśkaṁ=bhikṣām* (566,8); *yujjhaśkamānaṁ=yuddhakṣamānāṁ* (566,11); *laśkaṁ*, *laśkāṁ=lakṣam*, *lakṣāṇi* (566,11). Likewise also *pēśkiyyamādi*, *pēśkiyyaśi* [so to be read], *pēśkiduṁ=prekṣyante*, *prekṣyase*, *prekṣitum* (569,13.15.19; 566,7). Against the dialects offends *pac[c]akkhikadaṁ=pratyakṣikṣtam* (566,1). The MSS of the dramas and the editions based on them treat *kṣa* in Mg. exactly in the same way as in the rest of the dialects, not merely in the anlaut, as *khaṇa=kṣaṇa* (Mrch. 136,15.16; 160,11; Prab. 50,9), but also throughout in the anlaut. From quite isolated variants of some of the MSS, like that of Mrch. 13,6 *peṣa*, *peṭṭha*, 21,15, *pēścha*, 132,20, *laścide*, *laśchide*, 132, 21 *pēścāmi*, *peścāmi*, the rules of the grammarian cannot be established. Nevertheless they are to be framed out. For *jeṇa attāṇo pakkhaṁ ujjhiā parapakṣho pamāṇikariadi* (Mudrār. 178,6)² Hc. 4,302 read *ye appaṇo pahkaṁ ujjhiā palaśśa pahkaṁ pamāṇikaleśi*³ and for *amaccarakkhasaṁ pekṣhiduṁ ido*

eva āacchadi (Mudrār. 154,3)⁵ he read *amaccaloḥkaṣaṁ pēṣkiduṁ idō yyeva āaṣcadi*. Hence, for example in Mṛcch. 120,3 instead of *akklāhiṁ bhakkhiādi dantehiṁ pēkkhiādi*=*akṣibhyāṁ bhakṣyate dantaiḥ prekṣyate* we should read *aḥkihiṁ bhakkhiādi dantehiṁ pēṣkiādi*. The MSS. give no variant.

1. In the edition at p. 14,2 they have printed *kṣasya ṣko 'nādaul yathā yaṣke laṣkase yakṣo rākṣasa iti*. The best MS. (KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 34 Nr. 53), however, reads *ḥko, yakṣe, laḥkase* [sic]. — 2. From the words of Kṣṇapāṇḍita: *jihvā-mūlīyaṣca kvacicchaursenyaḍau vakṣyate* [takṣaḥ taḥko] *śakāraṣca māgadhyāṁ vakṣyate* [pakṣaḥ paṣko] [sic] *tlāksā lāṣkā* [sic] indeed does not necessarily follow, that he supported *taḥka* for Ś., at times the manuscript gives *o* in the nom. sing. in Mg. too; however, the following words make it apparent that *taḥka* cannot be Mg. Triv. and Sr. agree with Hc. here also. — 3. So TELANG. From the manuscripts it is not possible to ascertain whether *pala* or *palāṣa*, and *kaliadi* or *kaleṣi* are to be inserted here rightly. — 4. Correctly there would be *vyhia* (§ 236). — 5. So TELANG. The MS. E correctly has *yyeva*, elsewhere quite false *eva* or *ijēva* and *rakkhasaṁ*, as also the edd. Calc.

§ 325. As in Pāli, in AMg. JM. also *kṣulla*, with loss of the aspiration, becomes *culla* (Deśin. 3,22; Pāiyāl. 58); JM. *cullatāya*=*kṣullatāta* (uncle; Erz.); AMg. JM. *cullapiu*=*kṣullapitr* (uncle; Dasav. 628,5; Erz.); AMg. *cullamāyā* (aunt; Antag. 70; Nāyādh. §84-87.95 96; Nirayāv.); AMg. *cullasāyaya*, *ga*=*kṣullaṣataka* (Uvās.), *cullahimavanta*=*kṣullahimavat* (Thān. 72.74.176.177); *culloḍa* (the eldest brother; Deśin. 3,17). *cullaka* has been taken also into Skt. of the Jainas (BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v. *cullo*).

§ 326. If *kṣa* goes back to early *z'za*, through *z'zha*, *z'jha*, it becomes *jīha*¹ in Pkt.: *jharai*=*kṣarati* (Hc. 4,173); JM. *jharei* (Erz.); *nijjharai*=*niḥkṣarati* (Hc. 4,20); M. *ojjhara*=**avakṣara* (Hc. 1,98; Deśin. 1,160; Pāiyāl. 216; H. R.), equated by Hc. as=*nirjhara*, which itself arises from Pkt.², and becomes M. Ś. *nijjhara* (G. H.; Pras. 124,7; Ś. Mallikām. 134,7; Bālar. 241,6; 263,22 [text *oja*°]), AMg. JM. *nijjhara* (Pāiyāl. 216). Beside one another stand *ojjhara* and *nijjhara* in AMg. (Paṇṇav. 80.84 ff. 94 [text *ujjhara* and several times *nijjara*]). A. *pajjharai*=*prakṣarati* (Hc. 4,173; Piṅgala 1,102); *pajjharia* (Kī. 2,84); Ś. *pajjharāvedī* (Karp. 105,8). To it probably belongs also *jharaa* (goldsmith; Deśin. 3,54). — AMg. *jhiyāi* for **jhāi*=**kṣāti*=*kṣāyati*³ (burns [intransitive]; Sūyag. 273; Nāyādh. 1117; Thān. 478), *jhiyāyanti* (Thān. 478); M. *vijjhāi* (Hc. 2,28; H.), *vijjhāanta* (H.); M. *vijjhāa* (G. H. R.), AMg. JM. *vijjhāya* (Nāyādh. 1113; Dasav. 641,29; Āv. 25,3); M. *vijjhavaṭi* (G.), *vijjhavei* (H. R.), *vijjhavia* (H. R.); AMg. *vijjhavējja*, *vijjhavēntu* (Āyār. 2,2,1,10), *vijjhāviya* (Uttar. 709). *samijjhāi* (Hc. 2,28) is an analogical formation in connection with *vindhā*⁴. — AMg. *jhāma*=*kṣāma* (scorched; ashes; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,10,22), *jhāmei* (Sūyag. 722; Vivāhap. 1257), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 1251), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 321.1251; Āv. 25,1; 26,17); JM. *nijjhāmemo* (Dvār. 505,9), beside M. Ś. *khāma* (meagre; G.; Karp. 41,1). — M. AMg. *jhiijai*=*kṣiyate* (Vr. 8,37; Hc. 2,3; 4,20; H. R.; Lalitav. 562,21; Uttar. 633); M. *jhiijae*, *jhiijāmo* [so to be read], *jhiijihisi* (H.), *jhiijanti* (G. H.); JM. *jhiijāmi* (Rṣabhap. 35 [so to be read with ed. Bomb.]); A. *jhiijāu* (Hc. 4,425,1); M. JM. *jhiijanta* (G. H. R.; Kk. III, 68); Ś. *jhiijanti* (Viddhaś. 99,2); M. Ś. A. *jhīṇa*=*kṣīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; Kī. 2,84; Pāiyāl. 181; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 29,5; 69,23; 74,20; A. Vikr. 56,21), beside M. AMg. Ś. *khīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; H.; Aṇuog. 282 ff.; Sūyag. 212; Samav. 88; Kappas. Anarghar. 293,10, where, however, the ed. Calc. 216,6 has *jhiṇa*), and *chīṇa* (Hc. 2,3). — *jhoḍai*=*kṣoṭayati* (throws; hurls; Dhātupāṭha 35,23) in *jhoḍia* (hunter; Deśin. 3,60); *nijjhoḍai*=**niḥkṣoṭayati* (tears asunder; splits; Hc. 4,124), perhaps also in *jhoṇḍaliā* (a game analogous to the shepherd's dance; Deśin. 3,60). — Apparently *jhampai* (wanders about; Hc. 4,161) also belongs to it, however, it might have developed from *kṣap* (to send off; Dhātupāṭha 35,84c), a root which occurs also in AMg.

jhampittā=*aniṣṭavacanāvakaśaṁ kṛtvā* (having blamed; Samav. 83) and *jhampia*, JM. *jhampiya* (torn; shaken; Deśin. 3,61; Erz. 85,28) and *jhampaṇi* (eye-brow; Deśin. 3,54; Pāṇyāl. 250)⁸. — *jharia* (midge; Deśin. 3,54), will be derived from the root *kṣar* with the suffix *-uka* (§ 118. 596), to which belongs *kṣāra* (sharp; pricking; biting) which forms AMg. A. *chāra*, AMg. JM. *khāra* in the meaning "saltpetre", "potash" (§ 321). — Hc. 4,181 mentions also *evaajjhaī* beside *avacchaī*=**avacakṣati* (§ 499).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie 3,54; Altind. Gr. § 209. — 2. JACOBI in ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 59. — 3. Not to be interchanged with AMg. *jhīdī*=*dhyāti* (§ 131. 280. 479). — 4. WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 376. 428; on H. 109. 333. 407; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 16 f. *vijjhā* as *vidhyā* has entered also into Skt. of the Jains (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Anekārthasamgraha, Wien, 1893 p. 1 ff. — 5. BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl., s. v. *jhampayū*.

§ 327. *tsa* becomes *ccha* (Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kī. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25), Mg. *śca* (§ 233), through *thsa*, *tsha*, *tcha* (§ 316): AMg. *kucchañjja*=*kutsaniya* (Paṇhāv. 218); *kucchia*=*kutsita* (Kī. 2,92); *ciicchaī*=*cikitsati*, Ś. *cikicchidavva*, AMg. *tigicchaī*, *vitigicchāmi* (§ 215. 555); AMg. *tiicchā*, *tigicchā*=*cikitsā*, *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (§ 215), Ś. *ciicchaa* (Mālav. 27,12; so to be read with the Pengal MSS. and with the Telugu manuscript of BOLLENSEN for *cikissaa*, *ciissaa* ed. PAṆDIT 52,2); AMg. JM. Ś. *bibhaccha* (Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,19; Dvār. 506,21; Kk. 264,26; Mālatīm. 215,1), Ś. *bihaccha* (Prab. 45,11; so to be read), Mg. *bihaśca* (Mṛcch. 40,5; so to be read)=*bibhatsa*; M, JM. Ś. A. *macchara*=*matsara* (C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; G. H. R.; Erz.; Śak. 161,12; Mālav. 64,20; Hc. 4,444,5); JM. Ś. *vaccha*=*vatsa* (Bh. 3,40; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 94,15; 150,12; Vikr. 82,6.8.13; 87,17), Mg. *vaśca* (Hc. 4,302); AMg. JM. *śirivaccha*=*śrivatsa* (Paṇhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Ovav.; Erz.); M. JM. Ś. *vacchala*=*vatsala* (G. H.; Dvār. 501,3; 503,38; 507,30; Erz.; Śak. 158,12), Mg. *vaścala* (Mṛcch. 37,13; so to be read). — Beside AMg. *charu*=*tsaru* (Pāṇyāl. 121; Deśin. 5,24; Paṇhāv. 266; Samav. 131; Ovav.; Nāyādh), dialectically was used also *tharu*=**staru* (Deśin. 5,24). In Paṇhāv. 322, the text has *ccharu* and the commentary, *ttharu* —.

§ 327^a. In compounds, in which *t* stands at the end of a syllable and the following syllable originally begins with *śa* or *sa*, the phonetic groups **tśa*, *tsa* become *ssa*, or with lengthening of the vowel standing before *t* they become *sa*. *t+śa*: AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrapayata*, *ūsaviya*=*ucchrāpita*; AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta*, AMg. also *ussiya*, *samussiya*, *ussaviya*; Ś. *ussāvedī* (§ 64); M. *ussūṇa*=*ucchūṇa* (G.); AMg. *ussūṇka*=*ucchulka* (§ 74); M. *ūsarai*=*ucchvasīi*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūsasadu*; AMg. also *ūsasai* (§ 64. 496); AMg. *ussāsa*=*ucchvāsa* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.), M. A. *ūsāsa* (G. R.; Hc. 4,431,2); *ūsasira*=**ucchvasira* (Hc. 2, 145); M. *ūsasia*, JM. *ūsasiya*, Ś. *ūsasida*=*ucchvasita* (G. H. R.; Śak. 119,6; Kk. III, 513,1; Śak. 132,13; Vikr. 7,12); *sūsāsa*=*socchvāsa* (Hc. 1,157); *ūsisa* (Pāṇyāl. 118, JM. *ūsisya* (Āv. 16,8)=*ucchīrṣaka*; the synonymous *ūsaa* (Deśin. 1,140) is=**ucchaya* from *ud+śaya*; *ūsua*=**ucchuka* from *ud+śuka* (Hc. 1,114); AMg. *tassanṅko*=*tacchanṅkinali* from *tad+śanṅkinali* (Sūyag. 936). — *t+sa*: AMg. *ussagga*=*utsarga* (Bhag.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *ussappiṇi*=*utsarpiṇi* (Kappas.; Rābhap.); AMg. *usseha*=*utsedha* Pāṇyāl. 168; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *tassanni*=*tatsañjñin* (Āyār. 1,5, 4,2), *tassamdhicāri*=*tatsamdhicārin* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); *ūsarai*=*utsarati* (Hc. 1, 114), *ūsāria*=*utsārita* (Hc. 2,21), JM. *ussāritā* (Erz. 37,28; v. l. *ūsā°*); AMg. *ūsatta*=*utsakta* (Kappas.); *ūsitta*=*utsikta* (Hc. 1,114; Pāṇyāl. 187), but also *ussikkai*=**utsiknati* (lets loose; throws up; Hc. 4,91.144). —

According to Hc. 1,114 *tsa* in *utsāha* and *utsanna* becomes *ccha* only: M.Ś. A. *ucchāha* (G. R.; Śak. 36,12; Mālav. 8,19 [to be read with v. l.]); Piṅgala 1,96^a; *ucchanna* (Hc. 1,114); Dh. *ucchādida*=*utsādita* (Mṛcch. 38, 18;39,1). In *utsuka* and *utsava*, according to Vr. 3,42; Kī. 2,93; Mk. fol. 25 *ccha* never appears: Hc. 2,22 per^o its it beside *s*. So M. *ucchua* (Hc.; on H. 984), but mostly M. Ś. *ūsua* (Grr.; G. H. R.¹; Śak. 87,14; Karp. 58,2), Ś. also *ussua*, AMg. JM. *ussuṣa* (Śak. 84,13; Mālav. 35,1;37,20; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *pajjussua*=*paryutsuka* (Śak. 19,6;57,11) and *pajjūsua* (Vikr. 21,19); Ś. *samūsua*=*samutsuka* (Śak. 142,4; Vikr. 67,12); M. *ūsua*=*utsukita* (H.); AMg. *osuṣa*=*autsuka* (Ovav.). — M. Ś. *ūsava*=*utsava* (G. H. R.; Śak. 121,12; Cait. 244,18); AMg. *ussava* (Vivāhap. 822) and *ūsaa* (Nirayāv.); M. *gāmūsava*=*grāmotsava* (G.); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava*=*mahotsava*; Ś. *vasantūsava*=*vasantotsava* (§ 158), beside M. Ś. *ucchava*= (H. 369; Mallikām. 209,18), Ś. *ñirucchava* (Śak. 118,13)². — *utsaṅga* always becomes M. AMg. JM. A. *ucchaṅga* (G. H. [read 422] R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Hc. 4,336; Vikr. 51,2). — I would prefer, with the Indians, to derive M. CP. *ucchallā* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,326), JM. *ucchalliṣa* (Erz.) beside *ūsallā* (Hc. 4,202), *ūsalia* (Deśin. 1,141), *ūsaliṣa* (Pāṇīal. 79) from *śal* with *ud* than to derive it, with ZACHARIAE³ from **śal* with *ud*. — *utthallā* (Hc. 4,174; cf. Kī. 4,46), *utthalliṣa* (Pāṇīal. 179) *utthalia* (Deśin. 1,107) is with BÜHLER⁴ to be derived from *sthala*+*ud*. Like *t+śa* is treated *t+śa* too in AMg. *chassaṣa*=*śaśṣata* (Kappas.).

1. The v. l. to H. 479 points, as that on Vr. 3,42, rather to *ūsua* than to *ussua*.
 — 2. Wrongly doubted by LASSEN, Inst. p. 151 and rejected by BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 77,6. — 3. KZ. 33,444 ff. — 4. Pāṇīal. s. v. *utthalliṣa*.

§ 328. *psa* through *phsa*, *psha*, *pcha* becomes *ccha* (§ 316; Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kī. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25)¹: *chāa*=Pāli *chāta*=*psāta* (hungry; Deśin. 3,33; Pāṇīal. 183). In the meaning "meagre" (Deśin. 3,33; Pāṇīal. 87), *chāa* is = **kṣāta*². — *accharā*, *accharasā* = Old Hindi *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*³=*apsarā*, *apsarāḥ* (§ 410), from *chara*=*psaras* (form) in M. *samacharehiṃ*=*samarūpāḥ* (R. 7,62) and AMg. *uttarakurumāṇusaccharāo*=*uttarakurumāṇusarūpāḥ* (Paṇḍāv. 288)⁴. — *jugucchā*=*jugupsā*; M. *juucchā*, AMg. *dugucchā*, Ś. *jugucchedi*=*jugupsati* (§ 215.515). — JM. *ghēcchāmo*=**ghēpsāmaḥ* (Āv. 23,6). — *licchā*=*lipsati* (Hc. 2,21); *licchā*=*lipsā* (Bh. 3,40; Mk. fol. 25); AMg. *licchu*=*lipsu* (Uttar. 961).

1. Wrongly the transition to *ppa* too has been assumed by WEBER, Bhag. 1,414 and to *ppha* by FISCHER, Ved. Studien 1,79. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāṇīal. s. v. *chāyam*, FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,96. As *chāta* (the word has entered into Skt. too (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena to his edition of the Anekārthasamgraha, Wien 1893, p. 15 note 2). — 3. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,309. The form *abbharā*, which LASSEN, Inst. p. 267 mentions, and of which the etymology has been given by ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 262 and Bartholomae, ZDMG. 50,722, is a false reading, as shown by FISCHER, ZDMG. 51,589 ff. — 4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,93 ff.

§ 329. *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, according to Hc. 2,77 more correctly *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, are treated like the corresponding phonetic groups with a sibilant (§ 301 ff.), therefore, become *kha* (in compounds), *kkha*, *ppa* (in compounds), *ppha*: Ś. *antakkarāṇa*=*antahkarāṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); Ś. *nikkha-ttikada*=*niḥkṣatrikṣṭa* (Mahāv. 27,6); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. D. A. *dukkha*=*duḥkha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,3,3,5,6,2 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 9,6;10,20; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 380,12; 381,14, 20; 383,75; 385,67, 69; Mṛcch. 28,11; 78,12; Śak. 51,14; 84,14; 136,13; Vikr. 9,19; 51,12; 53,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,12; Prab. 28,17; 29,7; D. Mṛcch. 101,12; A. Hc. 4,357,4; Vikr. 59,6; 60,18); Ś. *niddukkha*=*nirduḥkha* (Śak. 76,8); Ś. *dukkhida*=*duḥkhita* (Vikr. 16,6;34,1).

—In AMg. JM. JŚ. is found beside *dukkha* also *duha* (Sūyag. 126.156.259.406; Uttar. 505.574.599.626; Pañhāv. 504; Dasav. N. 646.6.14; Nāyādh. 478; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 401.349). Likewise M. *duhia* (Hc. 1.13 [so to be read]; Ki. 2.113 [so to be read]; H. R.), AMg. JM. *duhiya* (Uttar. 599; Vivāhap. 116; T. 6.10; Dvār. 501.10; Kk.), JŚ. *duhida* (Pav. 383.75) = *duhkhita*; M. *duhāvia* (G.); AMg. *duhi* = *duhkhin* (Sūyag. 71; Uttar. 577). The forms with *h* are found almost exclusively in verses, and *duha* often stands directly beside or in parallel with *suha* = *sukha*, which has influenced its form¹. Conversely *sugga* (comfort; well-being; Deśin. 8.56) is formed according to *dugga* = *durga* (pain; Deśin. 5.53; Triv. 1.3.105)². — *punapunnakarāṇa* = *punaḥpunahkarāṇa* (Deśin. 1.32); *antappāa* = *antahpāta* (Hc. 2.77). Whether in Mg. the phonetic groups have been rightly treated in the MSS. is doubtful. Cf. also § 342.347. *ḥṣa*, *ḥṣa*, *ḥsa* become *ssa*, Mg. *śsa*, or with lengthening of the preceding vowel *sa*, Mg. *śa* (§ 64): Ś. *cadussāla catuḥśāla* (Mallikām. 209.19; 215.5; text *cau*^o), *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśālaka* (Mṛcch. 6.6; 16.11; 45.25; 93.16.18; Dhūrtas. 6.5); Ś. *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55.16; 78.3; 147.17); Mg. *niśśalida* = *niḥśṛta* (Lalitav. 566.15); M. *niśaṅka* = *niḥśaṅka*, JM. *nissāṅka* (§ 64); M. Ś. *niśaha* = *niḥśaha*, beside *nissaha* (§ 64); JM. *niśesa* = *niḥśeṣa* (KI.1); Ś. *dussanta* = *duḥśanta* (Śak. 16.12; 76.10), Mg. *duśśanta* (Śak. 160.10); *dussamāra* and *dūsamāra* = *duḥsamāra* (Ki. 2.113); Ś. *dussiliṭṭha* = *duḥśliṣṭa* (Mahāv. 23.19); M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha* beside Ś. *dussaha* = *duḥśaha* (§ 64); Ś. *suṇasseha* = *suṇaḥśeṣha* (Anarghar. 58.5; 59.12); *dussila* — *duḥśila* (Deśin. 6.67). Cf. § 340.

1. Cf. JACOBI, KZ. 25.438 ff.; where, however, there are many errors.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 6.95.

§ 330. The phonetic combinations *hṇa*, *hna*, *hma*, *hla* become *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha* (Vr. 3.8; Hc. 2.74.75.76; Ki. 2.95.96.99; Mk. fol. 21) through transposition of the consonants. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *avaraṇha* = *aparāṇha* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.75; G.H.; Aṇuog. 74; Bhag.; Erz.; Kattig. 402.354; 403.373; Vṛṣabh. 41.2); AMg. JŚ. *puvvaṇha* = *pūvvaṇha* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.75; Mk. fol. 21; Thāṇ. 244; Aṇuog. 74; Bhag.; Kattig. 402.354); AMg. *puvvaṇha* (Nāyādh. 332.481; Thāṇ. 244; Kappas. § 212.227; Nirayāv. 53.55; Vivāgas. 124 [text *pacca*^o]); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhaṇha* = *madhyāṇha* (Hc. 2.84; H. 494; Karp. 94.6; 96.2; Thāṇ. 243; Āv. 46.6; Erz.; Kattig. 402.354; Ratn. 321.32; Dhūrtas. 7.20; Karp. 59.4; Viddhaś. 40.5; Cait. 92.13; Jivān. 46.10.17). On *majjhaṇṇi* = *madhyāṇḍina* see § 148.214. — M. AMg. JM. A. *geṇhaī*, JŚ. *giṇhadi*, Ś. Mg. *geṇhadi* = *grhṇāti* (§ 512). — M. Ś. Mg. A. *ciṇha* = *cinha*, beside M. AMg. JM. *cindha* (§ 267). — *janhu* = *jahnu* (Bh. 3.33; Hc. 2.75). — *niṇhavaī* = *nihnute*, AMg. *niṇhavaījja*, *niṇhava*, *aniṇhavamāṇa*, M. *niṇhuvijjanti*, Ś. *niṇhuvīdi*, *niṇhuvīda* (§ 473). — AMg. JM. Ś. *vaṇhi* = *vahni* (Bh. 3.33; Hc. 2.75; Ki. 2.99; Vivāhap. 417; Erz.; Mudrār. 253.8). — M. D. *bamha* = *brahman* (Hc. 2.74; H.; Mṛcch. 105.21; PG. Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 287); Ś. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 282); *bamhacera brahmācarya* (§ 176); beside dialectical *bambha*, *bambhaṇa*, *bambhacera* (§ 250.267). — *sumhā* = *suhmāḥ* (Hc. 2.74). — *alhāda* = *āhlāda* (Bh. 3.8); AMg. *kalhāra* = *kahlāra* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.76; Ki. 2.95; Mk. fol. 21; Paṇṇav. 35; Sūyag. 813); *palhāa* = *prahlāda* (Hc. 2.76); AMg. *palhāyaṇijja* = *prahlādaniya* (Jiv. 821; Nāyādh. § 23), AMg. *palhāyaṇa* = *prahlādana* (Uttar. 838); M. AMg. Ś. *palhattha* = **prahlasta*, M. *palhatthai*, AMg. *palhatthiya* (§ 285); AMg. JM. *palhava* = *pahlava* (Pañhāv. 42 [text **hla*^o]; Dvār. 498.17), AMg. *pahlavī* (Nāyādh. § 117), *palhaviyā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav. § 55); *lhasai*, *parilhasai* = *hlāsati*, *parihlasati* (Hc. 4.197), A. *lhasi* (Hc. 4.445.3).

§ 331. Through transposition of the sounds, according to Hc. 2,124, *hya* may become *yha*: *guyha*=*guhya*; *sayha*=*sahya*. The grammarians teach the same for the stem of the pronoun of the second person *tuyha*, *uyha* (§420ff.). This phonetic alteration, which is common in Pāli, has not as yet been authenticated in Pkt. It is apparently to be assumed for Mg.P CP. in correspondence with the phonetic rules otherwise valid for these dialects (§236 252.280.287). The editions write *jja* in Mg.; yet in Mṛcch. 170,18 = 463,8 ed. GODBOLE, the MSS. have *sahya*, *sattha*, *ṣattha*, *ssattha* for *saijha* of the text, so that *ṣajha* will have to be written. So in spite of § 252, in all other dialects, *ya* after its transposition has become *ja*, so that *hya* appears as *jha*, and in the inlaut, as *jja* (Vr.3,28; C. 3,20; Hc. 2,26.124; Kī. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). *Ś. anugējjhā*=*anugrāhyā* (Mṛcch. 24,11); AMg. *abhirujjha*=*abhirukhya* (§ 590), *abhinigijjha*=*abhinigrhya*, *parigijjha*=*parigrhya* (§ 591); *najjhai*=*nahyate* (Hc. 2,26), M. *samnajjhai* (R.); JM. *gujjha*=*guhya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Erz.); *gujjhaa*=*guhya* (Bh. 3,28); *dujjha*=*dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); *vajjha*=*vāhya* (C. 3,20; Kī 2,87), *vajjhaa*=*vāhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); *Ś. sajjha*=*sahya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Śak. 51,15); M. *sajjha*=*sahya* (R.). On *hijjo*, *Ś. hio*=*hyas* see § 134.

§332. *hra* and *rha* are mostly separated by a partition-vowel (§132-140). *daśārha* becomes AMg. *daśāra* (Hc.2,85; Antag. 3; Ṭhāṇ. 80.133; Nāyādh. 528.537.1235.1262.1277; Nirayāv. 78 ff.; Samav. 235; Uttar. 665.671). *hrada* becomes AMg. *haraya* (§132), or with transposition of the consonants AMg. A. *draha*, AMg. *daha* (§268.354). — *hva*, as in Pāli, is firstly transposed as *vha*, which becomes *bha*, in the inlaut -*bbha*- (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Ki. 2,97; Mk. fol. 26). *gabbhara*=*gahvara* (Ki. 2,97). — AMg.JM. *jibbhā*=*jihvā* (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Mk.fol. 26; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; p. 137,1; Sūyag. 280.639; Uttar. 943.986; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 42,3); AMg. *jibbhindīya* (Vivāhap. 32.531; Ṭhāṇ. 300; Paṇhāv. 529), A. *jibhindiū* (Hc.4,427.1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *jihā*, Mg. *yihā* (§ 65). — *vibbhala*=*vihvala* (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Ki. 2,72), AMg. *vēbbhala* (Bh. 3,47; Paṇhāv. 165), beside M. JM. *vihala* (Grt.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JM. *vihaliya*=*vihvalita* (Erz.). On *bhibbhala*, *bimbhala*, M. *bhēmbhala*, Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* see § 209

§ 333. As in the case of simple consonants (§ 218 ff.), so also in the case of conjunct explosives of the same class we find here and there cerebrals in place of dentals of Skt. — *tta*=*t̥ta* : Ś. *maṭṭiā*, AMg. JM. *maṭṭiyā*=*myṭṭikā* (§49). — AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṭta* (round; §49); AMg. *oniyaṭṭa*=*avanivṭta* (Kappas.), *viyaṭṭa*=*vivṭta* (Ovav), beside AMg. *vatta* (Ovav.), *nivatta* (Ovav.); JM. *jahāvatta*=*yathāvṭta* (Erz.), and throughout *tt* in the rest of the dialects — From both *paṭtana* and *paṭṭana*, the words that occur side by side in Skt., AMg. JM. A. have only *paṭṭana* (Vr. 3,23; Hc. 2,29; Mk. fol. 23; Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,11,7; Thāp. 347; Paṇhāv. 175.246.406.486; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40.295; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,407) — *ttha*=*t̥tha*: AMg. JM. *uṭṭhei*, A. *uṭṭhāi* **utthāti*, M. *uṭṭhia*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhiya*, beside Ś. *utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthida*; AMg. *kaviṭṭha* beside AMz Mg. *kaviṭṭha*=*kapitṭha* (§309). — *ddha*=*ḍḍha*: AMg. JM. *iddhi* beside usual *riiddhi* (§57). — AMg. *vaddhi*, *vuddhi*=*vṛddhi*, M. *parivaddhi*=*parivṛddhi*: M. AMg. JM. S. Mg. *vuddha*=*vṛddha* (§ 53). — AMg. *saddha*=*śraddha* (Hc. 2,41; Sūyag 603.611.620; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *jāyasaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 11.101.115.191), *uppannasaddha*, *saṃjāyāsaddha* (Vivāhap. 11.12); AMg. JM. *saddha*=*śraddha* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,2,2,8.10: Erz.); AMg. *saddhi*=*śraddhin* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 71; Kappas.); AMg. *mahāsaddhi*— (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), *saddhiyā*=*śraddhika* (Thāp. 152), *saddhai*=*śraddhakin* (Ovav.), beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *saddhā* (Hc. 1,12; 2,41; H.

Āyār.1,1,3,2; Uvās.; Erz.; Śak. 38,5; Prab. 42,2,8;44,11;46,8;48,1,2 etc.), Mg. *saddhā* (Prab.47,2;63,4), M. *saddhālua* (H.) and always AMg. *saddahāi* (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Mk.fol.54; Vivāhap. 845,1215; Uttar. 805), *saddahā* (Uttar. 804), JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399,311); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134; Nāyādh. § 133); M. *saddahimo* (G. 990); AMg. *saddahanti* (Vivāhap. 841 f.), *saddahe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Uttar. 170), *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151), *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *asaddahanta* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahāna* (Hc. 4,238; Sūyag. 322), *asaddahāna* (Sūyag. 504); AMg. JŚ. *saddahamāna* (Hc. 4,9; Sūyag. 596,625; Pav. 388,6); AMg. *asaddahamāna* (Vivāhap. 1215); M. *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; R. 1,38); JŚ. *saddahāna* (Pav. 388,6). — *nta=ṇṭa*: AMg. *viṇṭa*, *tālavṇṭa*, M. *vēṇṭa*, M.AMg. Ś. *tālavēṇṭa*, AMg. *tāliyaṇṭa=vrnta*, *tālavrnta* (§ 53). — *ntha=ṇṭha*: *gaṇṭhāi=grathnāti* (Hc. 4,120), beside *ganthoi* (Mk. fol 54); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. *gaṇṭhi=granthi* (Hc. 4,120; G. H.; Karp. 10,2;76,4; Sūyag. 719; Vivāhap. 104; Uttar. 877; Ovav.; Erz.; Pav. 385,69; Śak. 144,12; Prab. 18,1; Bālar. 36,3;130,6;148,16;297,16;299,1;Viddhaś.71,1;83,1; Karp. 23,2;76,10;112,5; Karpas. 11,1; D. Mṛcch. 104,7); AMg. *gaṇṭhilla* (Vivāhap. 1308); AMg. *gaṇṭhiga=granthika* (Sūyag. 869); AMg. *gaṇṭhibheya* (Vivāgas. 100; Uttar. 289; Paṇhāv. 151 [°da]); but *ganthibheya* (Paṇhāv. 121); *gaṇṭhicchea=granthiccheda* (Deśin. 2,86;3,9); AMg. *gaṇṭhicchedaya* (Sūyag. 714), *gaṇṭhiccheda* (Sūyag. 719); Mg. *gaṇṭhicceda* (Śak. 115,4,12; so to be read); Ś. *niggaṇṭhidagaṇṭhira* (Bālar. 131,14); JŚ. *duggaṇṭhi* (Pav. 385,68); AMg. *niyaṇṭha=nirgrantha* (Sūyag. 962,986,989,992; Vivāhap. 149 ff.), *mahāniyaṇṭha* (Uttar. 635), but AMg. *ganthima* (Āyār.2,12,1;2,15,20; Paṇhāv. 519; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Dasav. N. 561,10; Aṇuog. 29, Nandis 507; Ovav. § 79 XI [so to be read]), seldom *ganṭhima* (Nāyādh. 269); AMg. JŚ. *gantha=grantha* (Āyār.1,7,8,11; Paṇhāv. 506; Kappas.; Kattig. 399,317. 318; 404,386. 387); AMg. *saṁgantha* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); AMg. JŚ. *niggantha=nirgrantha* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1; 2,6,1,1; 2,15,29; p. 132,4 ff.; Sūyag. 938,958,964,992; Vivāhap. 381; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.; Kattig. 404,386); AMg. *niggaṇṭhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1). — *nda=ṇḍa*: *kandaliā=kandarikā* (Hc. 2,38), of uncertain meaning. Cf. *kaṇḍali vva* as v.l. for *visalaa vva=viśalateva* at H. 410.—AMg. *bhiṇḍimāla* beside usual *bhiṇḍivāla=bhindipāla* (§ 248). — In the case of consonants of different classes, in cases other than those mentioned in § 289 ff. 308 f., the cerebralization is present in the sound-group *gdha* in *thaddha* (Pāiyāl. 75), M. *ṭhaddha* (Hc. 2,39; H. 537) = **staggdha* from **vstagh*, to which belong Pāli *ṭhahati* (stands), Pkt. *thāha* (ground; bottom), *thaha* (residence), *thaggha* (deep), *atthāha*, *atthaggha* (bottomless, deep; § 88), and *utthaṅghai* (throws up), M. *utthaṅghia* (§ 505), *utthaṅghaṇa*, *utthaṅghi-* (G.). — *chūḍha* with its compounds = *kṣubdha*, is a formation of analogy (§ 66).

§ 334. The rules given in the preceding paragraphs hold good for conjuncts of more than two consonants: pro ex. *upṭāvei=utplāvayati* (Hc. 2,106); M. *uppua=utpluta* (H.); *utthola=utsthalā* (R.); M. *ucchevaṇa=utkṣepaṇa* (R.); AMg. *niṭṭhāna=niṭṭsthāna* (Vivāgas.102); AMg. *kaṇṭasāvattā=kṛtasāpatnyā* (Deśin. 1,25); M. *māhappa=māhātmya* (G. R.); M. AMg. Ś. *maccha=matsya* (R.; Sūyag. 71,166,274; Uttar. 442,595,944; Vivāgas. 136; Vivāhap. 248,483); Mg. *maśca* (§ 233); AMg. *macchattāe* (Vivāgas. 148); *macchabanda* (Erz.); M. *ujjoa=uddyata* (G. H. R.); M. Ś. *aggha=arghya* (H.); Śak. 18,3;72,3); M. *sāmagga=sāmagryaka* (R.); M. AMg. *taṁsa=tryasra* (§ 74); JM. *vaṭṭā=varitman* (path; Deśin. 7,31; Erz.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṁti=paṁkti* (§ 269); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vinjha=vindhya* (§ 269); M. *attha=astra* (R.) etc. Numerous examples have been quoted in appro-

prate places. *jyotsnā* forms M. AMg. JM. Ś. D. A. *jōṇhā* (Hc. 2,75; G. H. R.; Karp. 1,4; 2,5; 29,1; 88,2; Mallikām. 29,3; Jiv. 787; Kk.; Śak. 55,2; Mālav. 28,10; Bālar. 292,15; Anarghar. 277,3; Mallikām. 124, 7; 243,15; 252,3; Kārṇas. 16,8; D. Mṛcch. 101,9; A. Hc. 4,376,1), *jōṇhāla* = **jyotsnāla* (Hc. 2,159), Ś. *jōṇhā* = *jyautsnikā* (Mallikām. 238,9), or AMg. *dosinā* (§ 215), Ś. *dosinī* = *jyautsnī* (§ 215). M. JM. *sāmattha* (Hc. 2,22; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); presupposes one **sāmartha* (§ 281); *sāmarthya* regularly becomes *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22). — Pāli *disvā* makes it apparent that in AMg. *dissā* (Sūyag. 728; Vivāhap. 1414), *padissā* = **pradiṣṭvā* (Vivāhap. 1415) too the long is original and the short is metrical. There-to points also AMg. *dissam āgayaṃ* = *drṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695), where *dissam* stands, according to § 349 for *dissam*, and this again stands for *dissā* according to § 114. The regular form from *drṣṭvā* would be **diṭṭhā*. On the loss of aspiration in conjunct consonants see § 213.

III. DROPPING OFF AND ENTRY OF CONSONANTS IN THE ANLAUT.

§ 335. The consonants may drop off when they begin the second member of a compound and stand between vowels. It so takes place also in the case of consonants standing in the beginning of enclitics and sometimes also after proclitics, whilst in the case of compounds the homogeneous words are deemed to be forming them (184). Otherwise dropping off of initial consonants is merely isolated and dialectical: *ūā* = Pāli *ūkā* = *yūkā* (Deśin. 1,139; Triv. 1,3,105) beside *jūā* (Deśin. 1,159), AMg. *jūyā* (Āyār. 2,13,18; Aṇug. in WEBER, Bhag. 2,265 note), *jūva* (§ 230)¹; *ōkkaṇī* = **yūkanī* (louse; Deśin. 1,159). — AMg. *ahā* = *yathā* (Hc. 1,245); pro ex. *ahāsuyaṃ* = *yathāśrutam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; p. 137,26); *ahāsuttam ahā-kappam ahāmaggaṃ* = *yathāśrutam yathākalpam yathamārgam* (Āyār. p. 137,26 [°*suyaṃ*]; Nāyādh. 369; Vivāhap. 165; Uvās.; Kappas.); *ahārāṇijāe* = **yathāratnikāya* (Āyār. 2,3,3,5; Thāṇ. 355 f.); *ahānupuvvāe* = *yathānupūrvyā* (Āyār. 2,15,13; Ovav.; *ahāriham* = *yathārtham* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Sūyag. 695; Uvās.); *ahāsamthadam* = *yathāsamstṛtam* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14); *ahāśuhuma* = *yathāśūkṣma* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Vivāhap. 213); *ahattahiyam* = **yāthātathiyam* (Sūyag. 484.506) *ahākaḍam* = **yāthākṛtam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17; Sūyag. 405. 408); *ahāpariggahiyā* = **yāthāparigṛhīta* (Ovav.). — AMg. *āva* = *yāvat* in *āvakahā* = **yāvatkathā* (Sūyag. 120); *āvakahāe* = **yāvatkathāyai* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; Thāṇ. 274); *āvakaham* = **yāvatkathām* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16); *āvakahiyā* = **yāvatkathika*, all in the meaning "continuously", "for life". — AMg. *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,1 ff.). Dropping off of initial *t* or *y* occurs also in *uyha*, *ujjha*, *ubbha*, *umha* (§ 420 ff.). Cf. *yāim* § 427.

I. FISCHER, BB. 3,241.

§ 336. *y*, as in Pāli, is put before *eva* in Mg. P. *yeva*, behind short or shortened vowels *yyeva*. Mg. *idō yyeva*, *mama yyeva* (Hc. 4,302), false *eva* (Lalitav. 567,1); P. *savassa yyeva* = *sarvasyaiva*; *tūrātō yyeva* = *dūrād eva* (Hc. 4,316.323). As in the case of original *y* (§ 252), here also the MSS. of the dramas to not authenticate the rule, but they write *jeva*, *jjeva*, *jēvva*, *jjevva*, that is to say, the forms of the words that can be used in Ś. (§ 95). Vr. 12,23 teaches for Ś. *jēvva*, Hc. 4,280 *yyeva*, which is found in only one part of South Indian manuscripts¹. In A. *jeva* with the dropping off of the syllable *va* (§ 150) and transition of *e* to *i* (§ 85) becomes *ji* (C. 2,27^b; Hc. 4,420 with Word-Index). The older form *je* is found in M. (H.

524 v. 1. = Hc. 2,217; R. 4,36), AMg. (Uttar. 669) and JM. (Āv. 12,24) and is considered by the grammarians (Hc. 2,217; cf. C. 2,27^a p. 46; Ki. 4,83) as an expletive. The v.l. *cia* in H. 524 points to the correct reading. *ya* enters in A. before *iva* also, which becomes *jīva*, *jēva* = **yiva* (§261). A. *jīva* seems to report for the usual derivation of Pāli *viya* from **yiva* through transposition². But Pāli *viya* cannot be separated from M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, and these from AMg. JM. *viva*, *piva* and dialectical *miva*. Hence Pāli *viya*, M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya* are to be derived from *viva*, which is to be equated as = *v*+*iva* according to § 337. *via* is the single prevailing form in Ś. Mg. (Vr. 12,24; Mṛcch. 2,16.19.21.22.25; 3,17.20; 8,3 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 10,1; 133,12.24; 134,2; 136,14 etc.), more rarely in M. (Vr. 9,16; Hc. 2,182; H. R.; Kap. 1,4; 16,4; 64,8), yet more rarely *viya* in AMg. JM. (C. 2,22; Bhag.; Erz.), since these dialects use *va*, *vva*, *iva* (§ 92.143). *viva* is found in AMg. JM. behind vowels (Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83; Paṇhāv. 505,6.7.10; Nāyāch. §35.92; p.349.1450; Uttar. 593.596.634; Vivāgas. 83.239; Vivāhap. 171; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), as v. l. also in M. (H. R.). After. anusvāra *viva* becomes in M. AMg. JM. *piva* (C. 2,22; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), where on the analogy of *vi*, *pi*=*api* might have had a hand. The derivation of *piva* from *pi*=*api*+*iva*³ makes the meaning improbable. So *piva* M. (G. s. v. *iva*; H.; WEBER on H. 1); AMg. (Sūyag. 758; Paṇhāv. 231.340.508; Nāyādh. § 23.122; p. 269.271.289.354.439.740.1045.1433; Vivāgas. 112; Rāyap. 255; Vivāhap. 794.807.823.943; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 7,29; Dvār. 497,37; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). Vr. 10,4, hence wrongly, restricts *piva* to P. — *miva* (Vr. 9,16; C. 2,27i; p. 47; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), which is found after anusvāra in M. (H.; WEBER on H. 1; R.) and is not with BLOCH⁴ to be doubted⁵, will have originated either from *viva* or *piva*, through assimilation with the preceding *m*⁶, as we find also *mi* for *vi*, *pi*=*api*⁷. Cf. *heṃ meva*, *hevaṃ meva* in the inscription of Aśoka in SENART s. v.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,280. — 2. CHILDERS s. v. *iva*; E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 64; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 62; WINDISH, BKSGW. p. 232; doubtfully WEBER on H. 1, note 2. — 3. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra p. 100; cf. also GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 30; WEBER on H. 1; BLOCH Vr. und Hc. p. 34. — 4. Vr. und Hc. p. 34 ff. — 5. correctly against him WINDISH, l. c. p. 234 f.; KONOW, GGA, 1894, p. 478. — 6. Other explanations in WEBER H. 1 p. 47; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen, p. 69; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v.; WINDISH, l. c. p. 234. In Vr. 9,16 we should probably read *piva* for *mmiva*. — 7. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 31; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,459; WEBER, H. s. v. *mi*. Also inscriptionally in JM. (Ki. 10; beside *vi* and *pi*).

§ 337. *v* is thrust forward in M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, AMg. JM. *viva*=*iva* (§ 336); AMg. *vuccāi*, Ś. Mg. *vuccadi*=*ucyate* (§ 544); AMg. JM. *vutta*=*ukta* (Sūyag. 74. 844. 921. 974. 986. 993; Uttar. 717; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; T. 4,19; 5,2; Āv. 11,22; Erz.; M. AMg. JM. *vubbhai*=*uhyate* (§ 266.541). *vuccāi*, *vutta*, *vubbhai* may be derived also from the present stem¹=**vacyate*, **vakta*, **vabhyate* with transition of *a* to *u* according to § 104, as it is certain for M. *vuttha*=**vasta*=**uṣita*, from *vvas* (to live; § 303.564)², and for AMg. *parivusiya* from *vvas* (to put on; Āyār. 1,6,2,2.3,1; 1,7,4,1.5,1). JŚ. Ś. Mg. have *utta* (Pav. 382,42; Cait. 41,10; 72,5; 127,17; Kāleyak. 23,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 37,12), and so throughout in compounds, as M. *paccutta*=*pratyukta* (H. 918); AMg. *nirutta*=*nirukta* (Paṇhāv. 406); M. Ś. *puṇarutta* (G. H.R.; Mṛcch. 72,3; Śak. 56,16; Mālav. 86,4; Bālar. 120,6; Vṛṣabh. 15,16; Mallikām. 73,3), AMg. *apūnarutta* (Jiv. 612; Kappas.). — A. *vutthae*=*uttiṣṭhanti* (Piṅgala 1,125a); M. JM. *vūḍha*=*ūḍha* (R.; Erz.), beside M. *ūḍha* (G.)³; JM. *vuppanta*=*uḍya-māna* (Āv. 25,29); *vōcatttha* (inverted cohabitation; Deśin. 7,58)=

*uccastha from ucca, as AMg. vuccattha (=paryasta; bhraṣṭa; Uttar. 245) points.

1. WINDISCH, BKSGW. 1893, 230, note 1. — 2. Cf E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 37. — 3. Sometimes it cannot be said with certainty whether or not *vūḍha* in R., as otherwise often, is = *vyūḍha*. *vu*, *vo* often is = *vi* + *ud*.

§ 338. Prothesis of *h* is found in *hare* (Hc. 2,202; Kī. 4,83), *hire* (Vr. 9,15), beside *are*¹; *hira* (Hc. 2,186; § 259) beside M. *ira*=*kira* (§ 184); AMg. *huṭṭha*=*oṣṭha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5); AMg. *havvāe*, dative from **arvāka* = *arvāṇe* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 565.575.578.601.616.625 f.). The adverb AMg. *havvaṃ* "quickly", which the commentators explain with *ṣighram* or *arvāk* and with WARREN² and LEUMANN³ they trace back to *arvāk*, also supports this. JACOBI⁴ doubtfully equates it as = *bhavyaṃ*, WEBER⁵ earlier, likewise doubtfully = *savvaṃ*=*sarvaṃ*, laier⁶ = *havyaṃ*="at call" (Ṭhāp. 124.125.127.155 ff. 207.208.285 ff. 539.585; Antag. 14.18 f. 30.32; Samav. 89.95.110; Vivāgas. 18 ff. 130; Nāyādh. § 94; p.306.378.565.620.624 f. 737.792.819 etc.; Vivāhap. 96 f. 125 f. 146 f. 154 f. 170.181 f. 334 etc.; Rāyap. 248 ff.; Jiv. 260.356.411; Aṇug. 394.436.454.455; Paṇṇav. 838; Nirāyāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. FISCHER, KB. 7,462; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 474. — 2. Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's p. 52 ff. — 3. Aup. S. s. v.—4. Kalpas. s. v. — 5. Bhag. 1,416, note 1. — 6. Verzeichniss 2. 2, 423, note 3.

IV. FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 339. Finally only a simple or nasalized vowel can stand in Pkt. Hence final consonants, excepting the nasals, are dropped: *maṇā*=*maṇāḥ* (Hc. 2,669); M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. Mg. tāva*=*tāvat* (§ 185); M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. paṇḍā*=*paṇḍāt* (§ 301); AMg. *abhū*=*abhūt*; *akāsi*=*akāṣīt* (§ 516); AMg. *akarimsu*=*akārṣuḥ* (§ 516). Cf. § 395. The vowels standing in the auslaut were sometimes nasalized (§ 75.114.181), and short vowels were also lengthened (§ 75.181).

§ 340. The final consonant of the first member of a compound is assimilated with the initial consonant of the following member, as a rule (§ 335), so much so that the stems ending in consonants go over to the *a*-declension (§ 355 ff.). Sometimes, predominantly in verses, the member before the consonant is treated as absolutely in the auslaut. So M. *uamahi-hara*=*udak*+*mahādhara* (G.631); *uasindhu*=*udak*+*sindhu* (395); M. *eaḡuṇā*=*etadḡuṇaḥ* (Hc. 1,11); *jaarakkhaya*=*jagadrakṣaya* (G. 50), and several times in *jagat* in G. R.; AMg. *taḡitaḡiḡa*=*taḡittataḡita* (Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 13); M. *taḡibhāva*=*taḡidbhāva* (G. 316); M. *vasia*=*viyat*+*ṣṛita* in rhyme with *vasia*=*vikasita* (R. 6,48); M. *vijjuvilasia*=*vidyudvilasita* (4,40), and more often in *vidyut* in G. R.; M. *sarisamkula*=*saritsamkula* in rhyme with *sarisam kulam*=*sadrśam kulam* (R.2,46); M. *saṛisa*=*saṭpurusa* (G. 992), beside frequent *sappurisa*; *sabhikkhu*=*sadbhikṣu* (Hc. 1,11). Particularly frequent is the dropping off of *s* of *dus*, in dependence upon the compounds with *su*, that often stand directly by its side: M. AMg. JM. *dulaha*=*durlabha* (Kī. 2.114; Mk. fol. 32; G. 1133; H. 844; Karp 92,4; Dasav. 618,12 in parallel with *sulaha* 14; Kk. 271,33). M. *dulahattaya*=*durlabhata* (G. 503); AMg. *duciṇṇa*=*duṣciṇṇa* (Ovav. § 56 p. 62,14), according to *suciṇṇa*=*suciṇṇa* standing before it; AMg. *dumuha*=*durmukha* (Paṇḍāv. 244), beside *sumuha*: AMg. *durūva*=*dūrūpa* (Sūyag. 585.603.628.669.738, Vivāhap. 117.480; Ṭhāp. 20), mostly beside *surūva*=*surūpa*; AMg. *duvanna*=*durvarṇa* (Sūyag. 628.669.738; Vivāhap. 480[ṇṇa]), beside *suvarṇa*; M. *dusaha*

=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1,115; G. 158,511; H. 486); *duhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115; cf. §231); M. *dohagga*=*daurbhāgya* (H.).

§ 341. Inversely the final consonant is sometimes retained, especially before vowels, in addition to in compounds, particularly before enclitics. AMg. *chac ca*=*ṣaṣ ca*, *chac ceva*=*ṣaṣ eva*, *chap pi*=*ṣaṣ api* (§ 441); AMg. *asiṇād i vā avahārād i vā*=*āsanād iti vā opahārād iti vā* (Āyār. 2,1,5, 1); AMg. *sucirād avi*=*sucirād api* (Uttar. 235); AMg. *tamhād avi ikkha*=*tasmād apikṣasva* (Sūyag. 117); AMg. *jad atthi*=*yad asti* (Thāp. 33); AMg. *anusaraṇād uvatthāṇā*=*anusaraṇād upasthānāt* (Dasav. N. 656,1); Mg. *yad iścaṣe*=*yad icchase*; *mahad antalaṇ*=*mahad antaram* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 136,18). In compounds: AMg. *tadāvaraṇijja*=*tadāvaraṇiyya* (Uvās. § 74); AMg. *tadajjhavasiyā*, *tadappiyakkaraṇā*, *tadaṭṭhovaṭṭā*=*tadadhyavasitāḥ*, *tadaripitakaraṇāḥ*, *tadarthopayuktāḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 50,31 ff.); AMg. *tadubhaṇṇa* (Ovav. § 117,122); JM. *taduikkhākārīṇo*=*taduḥkṣākārīṇaḥ* (Kk. 261,27), beside the cases like M. *eāvattā*=*etadavasthā* (R. 11,132), AMg. *ejānurūva*=*etadanurūpa* (Kappas. § 91,107). In AMg. *tārūvattāe tāvannattāe tāphāsattāe*=*tadrūpatvāya tadcarṇatvāya tatsparśatvāya* (Paṇṇav. 523 ff. 540), *tāgan-dhattāe tāravattāe*=*tadgandhatvāya tadrāsattvāya* (Paṇṇav. 540), and in the frequent AMg. JM. *ejārūva*=*etadrūpa* (Āyār. 2,15,23,24; Sūyag. 992; Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151. 170. 171; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *a* is to be explained either according to § 65 or § 70. AMg. *saḍaṇṇavi*=*saḍaṇṇavid* (Ovav.; Kappas.). *r*, originating from *s* in *dur* and *nir*, is always retained before vowels (Hc. 1,14; Ki. 2,124): *duravagāha* (Hc. 1,14); AMg. *duraikkama*=*duratikrama* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); M. *durāroha* (H.); JM. *durānucara*, *duranta*, *durappa*=*durātman* (Erz.); AMg. *durahijāsa*=*duradhipāsa* (Uvās.); Ś. *durāgada*=*durāgata* (Vikr. 32,11); M. JM. *durta*=*durita* (G.; Ki. 1,22); *duruttara* (Hc. 1,14); M. Ś. *nirantara*, JM. *nirantara* (Hc. 1,14; G. H.; Erz. Mṛcch. 68,19; 73,8; Prab. 4,4); M. *niravēkkha*=*nirapekṣa* (R.); M. *nirālamba* (H.); M. *nirikkhaṇa*=*nirikkṣaṇa* (H.); A. *niruvama*, JM. *niruvama*=*nirupama* (Hc. 4,401,3; Erz.); *nirūsua*=*nirutsuka* (G.). The rule holds good also for *prādu*: AMg. *pāduresae*=*prādureṣayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *pādura-kāsi*=*prādurakāṣit* (Sūyag. 123), beside AMg. *pāubbhūya*=*prādurbhūta* (Vivāgas. 4,38; Vivāhap. 190; Kappas.), *pāubbhavitthā* (Vivāhap. 1201) and *pāukujjā*=*prāduskuryāt* (Sūyag. 474), *pāukarissāmi*=*prāduskarissāmi* (Uttar. 1), against *karissāmi pāum* (Sūyag. 484), *karēnti pāum* [text *pāu*], *karemi pāum* (Sūyag. 912,914). Cf. § 181. So also M. *bāhir uṇhāmi*=*bāhir uṣṇāṇi* (H. 186). On original *r* see § 342 ff., on *m* § 348 ff.

§ 342. In all the dialects *aḥ*, arising from the original *ar*, mostly becomes *o*: M. AMg. *anto*=*antaḥ* from *antar* (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 2,1,2,7,3, 10; 2,7,2,1; Sūyag. 753; Uvās.); AMg. *aho*=*ahaḥ* from *ahar* (§ 386); AMg. *pāo*=*prātaḥ* from *prātar* (Kappas.). *puṇaḥ* from *punar* becomes M. AMg. JM. JS. Mg. Dh. Ā. *puṇo* in the meaning "again", "afresh" (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,5,3; 1,2,1,1 2,2; 1,4,1,3,2,2; 1,6,4,2; Sūyag. 45.151.178.277.433. 468.497; Uttar. 202; Āv. 28,14; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 383,24; 384,49; 386,10; 388,8; Kattig. 403,375; Mṛcch. 29,11; 58,8,13); Mg. Mṛcch. 176,5,9; Prab. 58,8; Dh. Mṛcch. 39,17; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,3), especially in the compounds M. JM. JS. S. Mg. D. *puṇo vi* (Ki. 2,126; G.H.; Āv. 8,34,52; 12, 35; Erz. 27,6; 33,37; Kattig. 402,367; Mṛcch. 20,24; 21,7,41,6; 45,16; 81,9; 94,19; Śak. 22,2; 68,2; Vikr. 11,2; 13,18; 28,1,82,17; Mahāv. 65,2; Caṇḍak. 93,14; Mg. Mṛcch. 80,5; 115,9; 117,3; 132,22; 148,14; 162,9; D. Mṛcch. 103,17), for which AMg. prefers *puṇar avi* (Ki. 2,126; Āyār. 1,8,2,6; 2,1,7,3; Sūyag. 100,643.842; Vivāhap. 1038.1496; Jīv. 287.288.296; Paṇṇav. 848;

Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), that is known also to JM. (Āv. 11,24; Dvār. 497,26; 498,14; Erz.); according to Ki. 2,126 one says also *puṇa vi*. For *puṇo* M. has after vowels and anusvāra also *uṇo*, with dropping off of *p* according to § 184 (G. H. R.). In the meaning "but", "now" *puṇaḥ* becomes in AMg. JM. JŚ. *puṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 2,1,1,3. 4. 14; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 46,292; Vivāhap. 139; Dasav. 642,2; Dasav. N. 648,33; 652,11; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,50; 12,2; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 404,387. 389). There is found in M. too sometimes *puṇa* after anusvāra (G. H.), but mostly *uṇa*, as in Ś.Mg. (§ 184). For Mg. *kiṃ puṇa* (Mṛcch. 169,4) we should read with GṌABOLE (458,9), *kiṃ uṇa*. In M. are found in the meaning "but", "now" also *puṇo*, *uṇo*. In A. *puṇaḥ*, in both the meanings, becomes *puṇu* (Hc. 4,226 and Word-Index; Piṅgala 1,33.34.37.42 ff. 77. 84.90.95.100; Vikr. 71,10). After dropping off of the final *r* the words sometimes go over to the *a*-stem and are inflected. So AMg. *antaṃ* (Āyār. 2,10,6), *anteṇa* in the combination *anto anteṇa* (Āyār. 2,5,1,14; 2,6,1,11), *antāo* (Āyār. 2,10,6); AMg. *pāyaṃ=prātar* (Sūyag. 337.341); *na uṇā=na *puṇāt* (Hc. 1,65); AMg. *puṇāṃ* (Paphāv. 389; Uvās. § 119. 174), *puṇāi* (Hc. 1,65; Paphāv. 414), *na uṇāi* (Hc. 1,65), which are to be considered as in the acc. plur. Cf. § 345. From *anto* AMg. forms also *antohinto*, that is to say, an ablative="from within" (Āyār. 2,7,2,1; Thāp. 408; Rāyap. 254 f.). Cf. § 343.365.

§ 343. Original *r*, as the secondary one (§ 341), is mostly retained before the vocalic initial of the second member in a compound: *antarappa=antarātman* (Hc. 1,14); M. *antaria*, AMg. JM. *antariya*, Ś. *antarida=antarita* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 67,2; 73,10; Vikr. 31,1; 41,17; 43,7); M. Ś. *puṇarutta=puṇarukta*, AMg. *apuṇarutta* (§ 337); AMg. *apuṇarāvatti=apuṇarācartin* (Uttar. 859; Kappas.), *apuṇarāvattaga* (Ovav.). So also AMg. JM. *puṇar avi* (§ 342), and cases, like AMg. *puṇar ei*, *puṇar eṇti=puṇareti*, *puṇar yanti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3,2,1). Before a consonantal initial of the second member, as a rule, comes in the form of the absolute final: M. *antomuḥa=antarmukha* (G. 94); *antovīsambha=antarvisrambha* (Hc. 1,60); M. *antohutta* (Deśin. 1,21; H. 373), *antosindūria* (H. 300); AMg. *antojala* (Nāyādh. 764), *antōjjhusira=antaḥsusira* (Nāyādh. 397; cf. § 211), *antoduṭṭha=antarduṭṭa* (Thāp. 314), *antomāsa* (Thāp. 364); AMg. JM. *antomuhutta* (Vivāhap. 180.273; Samav. 215; Jiv. 49.322; Uttar. 977 f. 997.1003.1047 ff.; Kappas.; Rṣabhap. 43); AMg. *antomuhuttiya* (Vivāhap. 30), *antomuhuttūṇa* (Samav. 215), *antosālā=antaḥsālā* (Uvās.), *antosalla=antaḥsālya* (Sūyag. 695; Thāp. 314; Samav. 51; Vivāhap. 159; Ovav.); JM. *antonikkhanta=antarniṣkrānta* (Rṣabhap. 45); AMg. *pāosiṇāṇa=prātaḥsnāna* (Sūyag. 337). The same form is found sometimes also before vowels: M. *antouvarim=antarupari* (Hc. 1,14), for which in G.1056 (the place meant by Hc.) stands *antovarim*, which with P (cf. J) is to be read as *anto avarim ca pariṭṭhiṇa*; AMg. *antoanteura* (§ 344). In M. *antovāsa=antaravakāsa* we should add *anta* (§ 342), which is found also before consonants, as AMg. *antabhamara=antarbhramara* (Kappas.), *antarāyalehā=*antarrājallekhā* (Kappas.); *puṇapuṇakkaṇa=puṇaḥpuṇakkaṇa* (Deśin. 1,32); AMg. *puṇapāsapaṇāṇa=*puṇaḥpāyanatāyāi* (Vivāhap. 1128). Before consonants there takes place also assimilation: Ś. *antakkaṇa=antaḥkaṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); *antaggaa=antargata* (Hc. 2,60); *antappāa=antaḥpāta* (Hc. 2,77); JM. Ś. *puṇaṇṇava=puṇarṇava* (Dvār. 504, 5; Karp. 83,3); JŚ. *apuṇabbhava=apuṇarbhava* (Pav. 386,5); *puṇapuṇakkaṇa* (Deśin. 1,32). The ablative *puṇā=*puṇāt* (§ 342) is to be assumed in M. *apuṇāgamaṇā* (G. 1183); AMg. *apuṇāgama* (Dasav. 640,22); likewise *antā* should be viewed in *antāvei=antarvedi* (Hc. 1,14). The lengthening in *ā* can be explained also according to § 70.

§ 344. In *antaḥpura* and its derivatives *aḥ* becomes *e* in lieu of *o* in all the dialects, as in Pāli: M. AMg. JM. *Ś. anteura* (Hc. 1,60; G. R.; Sūyag. 771; Panhāv. 262; Nāyādh. § 19.102; p. 1079 ff. 1273.1290.1327. 1460.1465; Vivāgas. 156.159.172 ff.; Vivāhap. 792.1278; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,13; Erz.; Śak. 38,5;57,11;70,7;137,8;138,1; Mālav. 33,1; 38,3;74,7;84,16;85,6; Bālar. 243,12; Viddhaś. 83,7; Karp. 35,3;45,10;99,4; Pras. 45,4.13; Jivān. 42,16; Kāmsav. 55,11; Kārṇas. 18,22;37,16 etc.); M. *anteuraa* (at H. 980); AMg. JM. *anteuriyā*, *Ś. anteuriā*=*antaḥpurikā* (Nāyādh. 1229; Erz.; Kk.; Viddhaś. 11,1). Against it there appears *anto* in AMg. *antoanteura* (Nāyādh. 723.1301; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.), *antoante-puriya* (Ovav.). At Vivāgas. 145 *antapuriyamsi* is edited. *e* appears for *aḥ* also in *anteāri*=*antaścārin* (Hc. 1,60).

§ 345. In all the dialects, except in the nom. sing. of the *a*-stems in AMg. Mg. and in certain adverbs in AMg., where it becomes *e*, *aḥ* arising from *as* becomes *o*. AMg. JM. *aggao*, *Ś. Mg. aggado*=*agrataḥ* (§69); AMg. *piṭṭhāo*=*prṣṭhāt*, AMg. JM. *piṭṭhao*, *Ś. D. piṭṭhado*=*prṣṭhataḥ* (§69); in the nom. sing. PG. *patibhāgo*=*pratibhāgaḥ* (§ 363); M. *rāo*=*rāgaḥ* (H. 12); JM. *putto*=*putraḥ* (Erz. 1,2); JŚ. *dhammo*=*dharmaḥ* (Pav. 380,7); *Ś. nioo*=*niyo-gaḥ* (Mṛcch. 3,7); Dh. *puliso*=*puṣaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,12); A. D. *govāladārao*=*gopāladāraḥ* (Mṛcch. 99,16;102,15); P. *tāmotaro*=*dāmodaraḥ* (Hc. 4, 307); CP. *mekho*=*meghaḥ* (Hc. 4,325); A. *kāmo*=*kāmaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,4); but AMg. *purise*, Mg. *pulise*=*puṣaḥ* (Āyār 1,1,1,6; Mṛcch. 113,21). Likewise *mano*=*manaḥ*, *saro*=*saraḥ*, *jaso*=*yaśaḥ* (§ 356). In AMg. there is found *-o* also, instead of *-e*, for *-aḥ* of the nominative in verses (§ 17), and before *iva* in prose: *khuro iva*=*kṣura iva*, *vāluṣākavalō iva*=*vālukākabala iva*=*vālukākabala iva*, *mahāsamuddo iva*=*mahāsamudra iva* (Nāyādh. § 144); *kummo iva*=*kūrma iva*, *kuñjaro iva*=*kuñjara iva*, *vasabho iva*=*vṛṣabha iva*, *siho iva*=*siṃha iva*, *mandaro iva*, *sāgaro iva*, *cando iva*, *sūro iva* (Sūyag. 758=Kappas. § 118). Beside Kappas. *saṅkho iva* at the place cited, Sūyag. has *saṅkha* [sic] *iva*; Kappas. has *jive* [sic] *iva*, Sūyag. *jīva* [sic] *iva*; both of them have *vihaga* [sic] *iva*, and the adjectives always end in *-e* beside them. All this makes it probable that these are cases of Sanskritism and that *-e* has to be written throughout and that perhaps *va* is to be written for *iva*, that in AMg. is found in the text just feebly and is uncertain (§ 143). The same phonetic change occurs in all other cases, in which Skt. *-aḥ* goes back to *as*, as in the ablative singular in *-as*: M. *koḍarāo*, JM. *kōṭṭarāo* = **koṭarātaḥ* = **koṭarāt* (H. 563; Erz. 1,10); AMg. *āgārāo*=*āgārāt* (Uvās. §12); JŚ. *carittādo*=*caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6); *Ś. mūlādo*=*mūlāt* (Śak. 14,6); Mg. *haḍakkādo*=*hydakāt* (Mṛcch. 115,23); in the first pers. plur. indicative in *-maḥ*=*mas*: M. *lajjāmo*; AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo*; JM. *iāḷemo*; *Ś. pavisāmo* (§ 455); AMg. *bhavissāmo*; JM. *peccissāmo*; AMg. *Ś. jāṇissāmo* (§ 521.525.534) etc. In AMg. one always says *bahave*=*bahavaḥ* and *bahūn* (§380 ff.), in M. AMg. *ne*=*naḥ* (§419). In adverbs the sound sometimes varies in AMg. in the texts. *adhaḥ* becomes M. JM. *aho* (G.; Erz. 50,30 [so with A. to be read]; Rṣabhap. 30), AMg., however, mostly *ahe* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2;1,6,4,2;1,8,4,14;2,1,1,2,3,2.10,6;2,15,8; Sūyag. 52.215.222. 271.273.304.397.428.520.590; Uttar. 1031.1033; Vivāhap. 105 f. 260.410. 753; Uvās.: Ovav.; Kappas.), *ahedisāo*=*adhodisaḥ* (Āyār.1,1,1,2); *ahabhāga* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4), *ahabhāgi*=*adhobhāgin* (Sūyag. 829), *ahecara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,9), *ahegāmiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13), *ahavāya*=*adhovāta* (Sūyag. 829), *ahesiram*=*adhaḥśiraḥ* (Sūyag. 288), but *ahosiram* (Sūyag. 268; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), *aheloga* beside *adhologa* (Thāp.61 f.) and *ahe ahologe* (Thāp.189), also independently standing, probably falsely, *aho* (Sūyag.476; Uttar.513); *pure*=*puṛaḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,2), *purekamma*=**puraskarman* (Hc. 1,57; Āyār. 2,1,

6,4.5; Paṇḥāv. 492); *purekaḍa*, *purēkkhāda* and *purakkāḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§49. 306), *porekacca*=**paurahkṛtya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *porevacca*=**pourovṛtya* Paṇḥāv. 98.100 103; Vivāgas. 28.57; Samav.134; Ovav.; Kappas.), everywhere beside *āhevacca*=*ādhipatya* (§ 77); *rahe*=*rahaḥ* (Uttar. 331.333), but *rahokamma*- (Ovav.); *Ś. suvo*=*svaḥ*, but AMg. *suve*, *sue* (§ 139), beside AMg. *suṇārāe*=*svorātre* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 10). As in *suṇārāe* so in AMg. *adham*=*adhaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2.3), *aham* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,4,2,3.4; 1,7,1,5) and *puram*=*paraḥ* (Nāyādh.) there has occurred transition to the *a*-stem. Cf. § 342. It still remains uncertain whether in compounds as well we should throughout read or not read *ahe°*, *rahe°*. On AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* and derivations see § 107.

§ 346. In A. *o* from *aḥ* mostly becomes *u* (Hc. 4,331; Ki. 5,22); *jaṇu*=*janaḥ* (Hc. 4,336); *lou*=*lokaḥ* (Hc. 4,366.420,4), *sihu*=*simhaḥ* (Hc. 4, 418,3); *bhamaru*=*bhramaraḥ*, *makkāḍu*=*markaṭaḥ*, *vāṇaru*=*vānaraḥ* (Piṅgala 1,67); *ṇisaru*=**ṇisicaraḥ*, *dhārādharu*=*dhārādharāḥ* beside *sāmalo*=*śyāmalāḥ* (Vikr. 55,1.2); *tavu*=*tapah*, *siru*=*śiraḥ* (Hc. 4,441,2.445,3); *aṅguli*=*aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4,333); *vilāsiṇu*=*vilāsiniḥ* (Hc. 4,348); *sallāvu*=*sallakīḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). The same phonetic change is common in Dh.: *luddhu* *jūḍialu* *papaliṇu*=*ruddho dyūtakaraḥ prapālāyitaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,1); *viṇṇaḍi*=*viṇṇaḍi* *pāḍu*=*viṇṇaḍi* *pāḍaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,11); *esu* *viḥavu*=*esa viḥavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,17) beside nominatives in *o* (§25 345). Further in the abl.sing. in P. *tūrātu*, *tumātu*, *mamātu*, beside *tūrāto*, *tumāto*, *mamāto*=*dūrāt*, *tvat*, *mat* (Hc. 4,321); M. *nahaalāu*=*nabhasalāt*, *raṇṇāu*=*aranyāt* (§365); JŚ *udayādu* (Pav.383,27), according to which Hc. permits this form also in Ś. Mg. (§365). In the first pers. plur. indicative: AMg. *icchāmu*, *accemu*, *dāhāmu*, *vuccāmu*, A. *lahimu* (§ 455). Cf. § 85.

§ 347. At the end of the first member of a compound *o* may enter for Skt. *as*, *aḥ* before consonants, as in the auslaut. Commonly there appears sometimes, however, assimilation in M.Amg. JM. in the stem in -*a* (§407): M. *jasavamma*=*jaśovarman* (G.), JM. *jasavaddhana*=*jaśovardhana* (Ki.4), beside *jasoā*=*jaśodā* (G.H.); AMg. JM. *namōkkāra*, beside *namojāra*, *navajāra* M. *namakkāra* (§ 306); *nahaara*=*nabhaścara* (§ 301); M. *nahaala*=*nabhasala* (G. H. R.); *nahavattā*=*nabhaḥprattā* (G.), *tamaraṇṇiara*=*tamoraṇṇikara* (R. 3,34); AMg. *tavalova*=*tapolopa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. JM. *tavokamma*=*tapahkarmān* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), *Ś. tavovaṇa*=*tapovana* (Śak. 16,13; 18,10; 19,7; 90,14; Vikr.84,20); JM.Ś. *tavaccaraṇa*=*tapasccaraṇa* (§301); M. A. *avaroppara*=*oparaspara*, M. AMg. JM.Ś. *paroppara*=*paraspara* (§195. 311); M. AMg. JM. *maṇahara*=*manohara* (Hc. 1,156; G. H.; Rāyap. 114; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside AMg. JM. A. *maṇohara* (Hc. 1,156; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 66.15); M. *maṇaharaṇa* (Karp. 51,6; 55,4); AMg. *maṇapaoga*=*manahprayoga*, *maṇakaraṇa* (Thāp. 114) beside *maṇojoga* (Thāp. 113); *uraāḍa*=*urastaṭa* (Ki. 2,110); AMg. *uraparisaṇṇa*=*urahparisaṇṇa* (Thāp. 121); AMg. *mihokahā*=*mihakkathā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9); AMg. *maṇosilā* (Hc. 1,26; Ki. 2,153; Āyār. 2,1,6,6; Sūyag. 834; Jiv. 519; Rāyap. 123; Paṇḥāv. 25; Uttar. 1041), beside *maṇasilā* (Hc. 1,26; 4,286; Ki. 2,153), *maṇāsilā* (Hc. 1,26.43; cf. § 64) and *maṇāmsilā* (Hc. 1,26; cf. § 74); M. *siraviḥatta*=*śirovibhakta* (G. 51), beside *siracchea*=*śiraśccheda* (G. 322), *sirakamala*=*śiraḥkamala* (G. 342), *siralagga*=*śirolagna* (H. 529); but Ś. *sirodhara* (Śak. 144, 12), Mg. *siloluha*=*śiroluḥ* (Mṛcch. 17,2). The stem *accharā* (§ 97.410) is from *apsaras* (§97 410). On AMg. *ahe°*, *pure°* see §345. If the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the *a*-stem tends to enter into the first member. The vowels in such cases follow the rules of the vocalic sandhi (§ 156 ff.): M. *mahiraantaria*=*mahirajantarita* (R. 13.52), *mahiraūṭṭhāna*=*mahirajūṭṭhāna*, *mahiraūghāna*=*mahirajūghāna* (R. 13,37.49), *asuroraṭṭhi*=*asurorasthi*=*asura+uras+asthi* (G. 7), *nahaṇṇaṇa*=*nabhoṇṇaṇa* (G. 139.231).

235 etc.), *nahāhva*=*nabhaābhoga* (G.416), *ṇahuddeso*=*nabhaūddeśa* (G.558), *tamāṇubandha*=*tamonubandha* (G. 506), *tamugghāa*=*tamaūdghāta* (G. 1179) etc.

§ 348. Final *n* and *m* become anusvāra (Vr. 4,12; C. 2,11; Hc. 1,23; Mk. fol. 34); Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taṣṣim*=*tasmin*; *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, =*etasmin*; Ś. *jassim*, Mg. *yaṣṣim*=*yasmin*; Ś. *kassim*, Mg. *kaṣṣim*=*kasmin*; AMg. Ś. *assim*=*asmin*; Ś. *imassim*, Mg. *imaṣṣim*=**imasmin* (§ 425 ff.); AMg. P. *bhagavaṇ*, Ś. Mg. *bhaavaṇ*=*bhagavān*; Ś. Mg. *bhavaṇ*=*bhavān*; AMg. *āyavaṇ*=*ātmavān*, *nāyavaṇ*=*jñānavān*, *bambhavaṇ*=*brahmavān*; AMg. *ciṭṭhaṇ*=*tiṣṭhaṇ*, *paṇ*=*pacan*, *kuvaṇ*=*kurvan*, *haṇ*=*ghnan* (§ 396); AMg. *rāyaṇ*, Ś. *rāaṇ*, P. *rājaṇ*, Mg. *lāaṇ*=*rājan* (§ 399); A. *vāeṇ*=*vātena*, *koheṇ*=*krodhena*, *daiveṇ*=*daivena*, after dropping off of the final *a* (§ 146). — *ahaṇ*=*aham*; *tumaṇ*=*tvam*; M. Ś. *aam*, AMg. JM. *ayaṇ*=*ayam*; Ś. *iaṇ*=*iyam* (§ 417 ff.); AMg. JM. JŚ. *iyāṇim*, *idāṇim*, Ś. Mg. *dāṇim*=*idānim* (§144); Ś. *sādaṇ*, Mg. *śādaṇ*=*svāgatam* (§203); M. *jalaṇ*, *jalahim*, *vahuṇ*=*jalam*, *jaladhim*, *vadhūṇ* (H. 161; G. 147; Hc. 3,124); Ś. *aṅgāṇam*=*aṅgānām*, *deviṇam*=*devinām*, *vadhūṇam*=*vadhūnām* (Śak.32,8;43,11; 89,6); Mg. *devadāṇam* *bamhaṇāṇam* *ca*=*devatānām* *brāhmaṇānām* *ca* (Mṛcch. 121,10); M. AMg. JM. *kāuṇ*, Ś. Mg. *kāduṇ*=*kartum* (§ 574). Cf. also §75.83.181. A vowel with bindu (§ 179, note 3) is equivalent to a long vowel (§ 74.75.83.86.114). If, therefore, in verses, the metre requires a short syllable, the old *m* remains unaltered before the following vowel (Vr. 4,13; Hc. 1,24; Mk. fol. 34)¹: M. *surahim* *iha* *gandham* *āsisirabālamaūluggamāṇa* *jambūṇa* *maarandam* *āravindam* *ca*=*surabhim* *iha* *gandham* *āsisirabāla-mukulodgamānām* *jambūnām* *makarandam* *āravindam* *ca* (§ G. 516); M. *tam* *aṅgam* *eṇhiṇ*=*tad aṅgam* *idānim* (H.67); AMg. *anīccam* *āvāsam* *uvēnti* *jantuṇ* =*anītyam* *āvāsam* *upayanti* *jantavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *cittamantam* *acittam* *vā* (Suṃyag. 1); JM. *kārayaṇ* *acalam* *imaṇ* *bhavaṇam* (KI.22); *appiam* *eaṇ* *bhavaṇam* (KI. 23); *vissariyaṇ* *tuham* *egam* *akkharaṇ*=*vismṛtaṇ* *toṇaikaṇ* *akṣaraṇ* (Āv. 7,33); JM. *tavassiniṇ* *eyaṇ*=*tapasvinim* *etām* (Kk. 262,19); JŚ *adisaṇ* *ādasamutthaṇ* *viṣayāddidaṇ* *anovamam* *aṇantam*=*atiṣayam* *āltasamutthaṇ* *viṣayā-titam* *anupamam* *anantam* (Pav. 380,13); Mg. *maṇam* *aṇaṅgam*=*madanam* *anaṅgam*, *saṇkalam* *iṣalaṇ* *vā*=*saṇkaram* *iṣaram* *vā* (Mṛcch. 10,13;17,4)².

1. WEBER, H¹. p. 47. 2. The MSS. and, with them, the Indian editions write, often falsely, the nasal instead of the vowel with bindu. So also in the inscriptions (KI. 10.11.12; PG. 7.45.49). False is also *vanso* (KI. 2), *rohinsakūa* (KI. 20,21). Cf. § 10.

§ 349. In AMg. JM. JŚ. *m* remains, instead of being transformed into anusvāra, when the word ending in *m* is to be strongly emphasized, especially before *eva*, before which in this case a small vowel is often lengthened, and against §83, a long one is retained (§ 68): AMg. *evam* *eyaṇ* *bhante* *taham* *eyaṇ* *bhante* *avutaham* *eyaṇ* *bhante* *icchiyaṇ* *eyaṇ* *bhante* *padicchiyaṇ* *eyaṇ* *bhante* *icchiyapaḍicchiyam* *eyaṇ* *bhante* (Uvās. § 12; Cf. Vivāhap. 946; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. §13.83, and above § 114); AMg. *evam* *akkhāyaṇ*=*evam* *ākhyātam* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); AMg. *evam* *egesim* *no* *nāyaṇ* *bhavaṇ*=*evam* *ekeṣam* *no* *jñātaṇ* *bhavaṇ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); AMg. *jam* *eyaṇ* *bhagavajā* *paveiyaṇ* *tam* *eva* *abhiṣamēccā*=*yad* *etad* *bhagavatā* *praveditaṇ* *tad* *evābhiṣametya* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1); AMg. *ayaṇ* *teṇ* *ayaṇ* *uvacaraṇ* *ayaṇ* *hantā* *ayaṇ* *eṭtham* *akāsi*=*ayam* *steno* *'yam* *upacarako* *'yam* *hantāyam* *ittham* *akārṣit* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); AMg. *aham* *api*=*aham* *api* (Āyār. 2,5,2,4); JM. *amhāṇam* *eva* *kule* *samuppannā* *paramabandhavā*=*asmākam* *eva* *kule* *samutpannāḥ* *paramabāndavāḥ* (Dvār. 500,1); JM. *evam* *imaṇ* *kajjaṇ*=*evam* *idaṇ* *kāryam* (Erz. 5,35); JM. *evam* *avi* *bhaṇie*=*evam* *api* *bhaṇite* (Āv. 16,24); JŚ. *pattegam* *eva* *pattegam*=*pratyekam* *eva* *praty-*

kam (Pav. 379,3); *sayam evādā=svayam evātmā* (Pav.381,15). Sometimes even secondary anusvāra (§181) is transformed into *m* under this condition: AMg. *iham egesim āhiyam=ihaikeṣām āhitam* (Sūyag. 18); *sōccam idam=śrutvedam* (Āyār. 2,16,1; cf. § 587), *dissam āgayām=dr̥ṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695; cf. § 334), under the pressure of metre; AMg. *iham āgae=iḥāgataḥ* (Ovav. § 38), *iham āgacchējjā=iḥāgacchet* (Ovav. § 21), where, as the context shows, the accent lies on *iha*. The MSS., even in cases other than those cited above, very often write *m* instead of *ṁ*, which is considered as correct by JACOBI¹, and has been included in the text by all the publishers without any consequence and rule. Even the MSS., other than those of the Jainas, in Pkt., very often write *m* for *ṁ*, as stands very often in earlier European and many recent Indian editions. Thus pro ex. the ed. Bomb. (Karp. 6,4) writes *dhuḡgīdam ālavīadi*, KONOW 3,3, however, correctly has *dhuḡgīdam ālavīadi*; ed. Bomb. 20,8 has *cāruṭṭaṇam avalambedi*, but KONOW 17,7 *caṅgattaṇam avalambedi*; ed. Bomb. 25,2 *āsaṇam āsaṇam*, but KONOW 23,9 *āsaṇam āsaṇam* etc. As here, so in AMg. JM. too, we should review the writing *m* for *ṁ*, i.e. the MSS. are to be corrected. However, it only remains doubtful whether *m* is right or not, as particularly in strictly homogeneous words as admitted by JACOBI. The MSS. are not clear on the point. Sanskritism has its play also in *uparilikkhitam ajātāye=uparilikkhitam* **adyatvāya* (PG. 7,45) and in *sayam ānatam=svayam āñāptam* (PG. 7,49), whilst *evamādikehi=evamādikaḥ* (PG. 6,34) may be interpreted as a compound. On *m* for *ṁ* HOFER's² opinion is more correct than that of LASSEN³.

1. ZDMG. 35,677; Erz. § 24, xxx. Among the examples quoted by JACOBI, good many are from verses, hence incapable of verification, as *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1, 2,1,3); *īnam eva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4); *attāṇam eva* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), where *eva* should be deleted, as also after *saccam*, so that the verse reads : *saccam samabhiyāṇāhi meḥāeī māraṁ taraḥ; satthāram evam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1) etc. A thoroughly doubtless Sanskritism is *teṇam iti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4). The same holds goods for *m* as for *t* (§ 203).— 2. De Prakrita dialecto § 66.— 3. Inst. § 53.

§ 350. An anusvāra, that originated from original *n*, *m*, disappears often before vowels and consonants. M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *taṁmi, jammi, kammi*, AMg. *taṁsi, jaṁsi, kaṁsi=tasmin, yasmin, kasmin* (§ 425 ff.); M. *jōvvaṇammi* = **yauvanasmīn=yauvane*; AMg. *logaṁsi=loke*; JM. *tihuyāṇammi=tribhuvane*; JŚ. *ñāṇammi=jñāne* (§ 366^o): in the first person singular optative: M. *kuppeṭṭija=kupyeyam*, in AMg. with lengthening of the final *haṇējjā=hanyām*; even Ś. *kuppe*, from **kupyem=kupyeyam*, has the dropping off (§ 460); in the absolute in **tvānam*: AMg. *ciṭṭhittāṇa* (§ 583), *kāḍḍāṇa* (§ 584); M. AMg. JM. *gantūṇa* (§ 586); JŚ. *kāḍḍāṇa* (§ 21.584); likewise for AMg. *-ccāṇa, -yāṇa* beside *-ccāṇam, -yāṇam* (§ 587.592). In the genitive plural the forms without anusvāra are dominant in M. (§ 370). They are found also in AMg. (§ 370), especially before enclitics, as *duhāṇa ya suhāṇa ya=duḥkhāṇām ca sukhāṇām ca* (Uttar. 626); *subhaddappamuhāṇa ya devīṇam=subhadrāpramukhāṇām ca devīṇam* (Ovav. § 40.47.56) against *subhaddappamuhāṇam devīṇam* = (Ovav. § 43); *dasāṇha vi vaṭṭamāṇāṇam=daśāṇām api vartamāṇāṇām* (Uvās. § 275). Further in JM., as *°purisāṇa aṭṭhārasapagaṭṭhantārāṇa=°purusaṇām aṭṭhārasapraṅkyabhyantārāṇām* (Āv. 12,44.45); *doṇha °viruddhāṇa naravarindāṇa=dvayor °viruddhāyor naravarendrayoḥ* (Āv. 26,7); *savaṇāṇa=śravaṇayoḥ* (Erz. 2,13); *puttāṇa=putrāṇām* (Erz. 29,8), and in JŚ., as *saṅgāsattāṇa tadha* [text *taha*] *asaṅgāṇam=saṅgāsaktāṇām tathāsaṅgāṇām* (Kattig. 398,304), *radāṇāṇa* [text *raja*] *savvaḷōyāṇa riddhīṇa=ratnāṇām, sarvadyotāṇām, ṛddhīṇām* (Kattig. 400,325); *disāṇa savvāṇa suppasiddhāṇam=disāṇām sarvāsāṇām suprasiddhāṇām* (Kattig. 401.342). In the last example and similar ones, where the forms with and without anusvāra stand beside one another (§ 370), as in

30,8.9.12.18;32,8;34,12). Also in A. of Piṅgala and Kālidāsa the form in -am and -ā is dominant.

§ 352. Final -kam of Skt. becomes -um, -ū in A. So in the nom. acc. sing. neuter of the a-stems, in the nomin. sing. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first pers. sing. of the indic. pres. and in certain adverbs: *hiḍḍāṁ*=*hṛdayakam* (Hc.4,350.2 and s. v); *rūḍḍāṁ*=*rūpakam*; *kuḍḍambāṁ*=*kuṭumbakam* (Hc.4,419,1.422,14); *haḍḍ*=**ahakam* (Hc.4,375 and s. v.); *tuhū*=*tvakam* (§ 206); *jāṇāṁ*=**jānakam*=*jānāmi*; *jivāṁ*=*jivāmi*; *cajaṁ*=*tyajāmi* (§ 454); *maṇḍāṁ*=*JM. maṇḍagām* (§ 114)=*Skt.*manākam*=*manāk* Hc. 4,418.426); *sahūṁ* *sahū*=*sākhm* (§ 206). Further in the infinitively used nouns in original -kam, as *akkhaṇḍāṁ*=*ākhyānakam* (§ 579) and in *chaḍḍ*=**eṣakam* in the meaning of *etad* (Hc. 4,362).

V. SANDHI CONSONANTS.

§ 353. The consonants, that were originally authorized to stand finally in Skt. as sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, are employed dialectically in Pkt. too, as in Pālī, whereby the cases mentioned in § 341. 343.348.349 spring forth. Especially frequently *m* is so employed: AMg. *anna-m-anna*^o, *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇa*^{2a}=*anyonya*^o (Āyār. 2,14,1; Uttar. 402; Vivāhap. 105.106), *anna-m-anno* (Āyār. 2,14,1), *anna-m-annam* (Āyār. 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 630; Paṇḍāv. 231; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 402; Kappas. § 46), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇanam* (Vivāhap. 123; Kappas. § 72; Nirayāv. § 11), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇāe* (Vivāhap. 931), *anna-m-annassa* (Āyār. 2,5,2,2.3.5;2,8,6,2; Vivāhap. 187.508.928; Uvās § 79; Thān. 287; Nirayāv. § 18; Ovav. § 38.89), *anna-m-annehim* (Sūyag. 633.635; Nirayāv. § 27), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇānam* (Vivāgas. 74); JŚ. *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇehim* (Pav. 384,47). Whilst in Vedic *anyānya*, M. *aṇṇaṇṇa*, JM. *annanna* (§ 130) the stem stands in the first member, in Skt. *anyonya*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *aṇṇoṇṇa* (§ 84) the nominative is benumbed, it is the case in AMg. JŚ. with the accus., so that *m* is here originally authorized. The same holds good for M. AMg. A. *ēkka-m-ēkka*, AMg. *ega-m-ega*=*ekaika*, M. *ēkka-m-ēkka*^o (R. 5,85.87;13,87); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkam* (Hc. 3,1; R.5,48;8,32); AMg. *ega-m-egam* (Sūyag. 948.950; Nāyādh. § 125); A. *ēkka-m-ēkkoṁ* (Hc. 4,422,6); *ēkka-m-ēkkeṇa* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *ega-m-egāe* (Vivāhap. 224; Nāyādh. § 125); M. AMg. *ēkka-m-ēkkassa* (H.416.517; Śak. 101,14; Uttar. 401); AMg. *ega-m-egassa* (Thān. 456; Vivāhap. 215.222); M. *ēkka-m-ēkke* (R.3,56); AMg. *ega-m-egamsi* (Vivāgas.50; Vivāhap.1043ff. 1191); AMg. *ega-m-ege* (Vivāhap. 214); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkā* (R 7,59; 10,41).—Sandhi-consonant is *m* in: *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇammi*=*aṇṇe* 'ṇṇe (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *virāiyaṇṇa-m-aṇṇe*=*virājitāṇṇāṇṇāḥ*, *ujjorāyaṇṇa-m-aṇṇe*=*uddiyotitāṇṇāṇṇāḥ* (Ovav. § 11.16), *haṭṭhatuttṭhacitta-m-aṇṇandiya*=*hṛṣṭatutṭhacittānandita* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 17; Kappas. § 5.15; Bhag. 2,260), beside *citte aṇṇandiye* (Kappas. 50). Often before *ādi*: AMg. *haya-m-āi goṇa-m-āi gāya-m-āi siha-m-āi*=*hayādayo gavādayo gajādayaḥ siṁhādayaḥ* (Uttar. 1075); AMg. *sugandhatēlla-m-ādiehim*=*sugandhataḥlādīkaiḥ* (Kappas. § 60); AMg. *candana-m-ādiehim* (Uvās. § 29); AMg. *rayaṇṇa-m-āienam*=*rainādīkena* (Kappas. § 90; cf. § 112; Ovav. § 23); AMg. *dhāra-m-āiṇi* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *palaṇḍulasuṇa-m-āiṇim* (Āv. 40,18); JM. *kāmadheṇu-m-āiṇa*, *logopāla-m-āiṇam* (Kk 270,29;275,37); JŚ. *rūva-m-ādiṇi*=*rūpādīni* (Pav. 384,48). Other examples are: AMg. *āriya-m-aṇāriyaṇam* (Samav.98; Ovav. § 56); AMg. *sārassaya-m-āiceā*=*sārasvatādityau* (Thān.516); AMg. *esa-m-aṭṭhe*=*eso'rithaḥ* (Vivāhap.193; Nāyādh. § 29; Ovav. § 90; Kappas. § 13), *esa-m-aḥhāo*=*esa aḥhātāḥ* (Dasav. 625,39), *esa-m-aggi*=*eso 'gniḥ* (Uttar. 282), *eya-m-aṭṭhassa* (Nirayāv. § 8), *āyāre-m-aṭṭhā*=*ācārārthāt* (Dasav.636,9),

lābha-m-atthio = *lā* + *hārthikaḥ* (Dasav. 641,42); AMg. *savvajña-m-aṇuṇṇā* = *sarvajinānujñāta* (Paṇhāv. 469,539); AMg. *vatthagandha-m-alamkāraṃ* (Sūyag. 183; Thāp. 450; Dasav. 613,17); AMg. *tiyaṭṭhanna-m-aṇāga-jāim* = *atīto-tpannānāgatāni* (Sūyag. 470; cf. Vivāhap. 155; Dasav. 627,27); AMg. *dīha-m-addha* = *dīrghādhvan* (Thāp. 41.129.370 570; Sūyag. 787. 789; Vivāhap. 38.39.848.1128.1225 f. 1290; Paṇhāv. 302.326; Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 464. 1137); AMg. *atthāha-m-atāra-m-aporisīyaṃsi udayaṃsi* = **astāghātārāpauruṣīya udaya* (Nāyādh. 1113); AMg. *āukkhemassa-m-appaṇa* = *āyuhkṣemasyātmanah* (Āyār. 1,7,8,6); JM. *aṭṭhārasa-m-aggalesu* = *aṣṭādaśārgaleṣu* (Kī. 19), *ūru-m-antare* (Āv.15,18); AMg. *purao-m-aggao ya* = *purato 'grataś ca* (Vivāhap.830). *y* and *r* are employed more rarely as saṃdhi-consonants. In AMg. *egāheṇa vā dujāheṇa vā tiyāheṇa vā caṭṭiyāheṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,5,2,3,4) — cf. *egāham vā dujāham vā tiyāham vā* (Jiv. 261.286.295). — *caṭṭiyāheṇa* = *caturāheṇa* might have been influenced by *dujāheṇa* = *divyāheṇa* and *tiyāheṇa* = *tryāheṇa*, as the lengthening of the vowel is explained through analogy after *egāheṇa*, *egāham*. AMg. *kiṃ aṇeṇa bho-j-aṇeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3); AMg. *su-j-akkhāya* = *svākhyāta* (Sūyag. 590.594), beside *suakkhāya* (Sūyag. 603. 620); AMg. *vejavi-j-āyarakkhe* = *vedavid ātmarakṣitaḥ* (Uttar. 453); *bahu-j-aṭṭhiya* = *bahuvasthika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5; cf., however, § 6, where excepting *y*); AMg. *mahu-j-āsava* = *madhvāsra* (Ovav. § 24); JM. *rāyā-j-u* = *rājā + u* (Āv. 8,1); JM. *du-j-aṅgula* = *divyaṅgula* (Erz. 59,13). *r* is established etymologically in AMg. *vāhi-r-ivosahem* = *vyādhir ivauśadhah* (Uttar. 918), *sihi-r-iva* (Dasav. 633, 34), *vāyu-r-iva* (Sūyag. 758; Kappas. § 118), where *r* is the old ending of the nominative, therefore, *vahir ivo*¹, *sihir iva* (so LEUMANN), *vājur iva* (so JACOBI may be written. *r* is the saṃdhi-consonant after analogy in cases like AMg. *aṇu-r-āgayaṃ* = *anvāgatam* (Vivāhap. 154)²; AMg. *du-r-aṅgula* = *divyaṅgula* (Uttar. 767; commentary *duaṅgula*; cf. above JM. *duyaṅgula*); AMg. JM. *dhi-r-atthu* = *dhig astu* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3.105; Nāyādh. 1152.1170 ff.; Uttar. 672.677; Dasav. 613,31; Dvār. 507,21). AMg. *su-r-aṇucara* = *svanucara* (Thāp. 350) is built according to *duraṇucara*, already cited above³, and reversely *duāikkham* (Thāp. 349) would have been formed according to *suāikkham*, if the reading is correct.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 61 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 63; WINDISCH, BKS GW. 1893, 228, ff.—2. The texts oscillate also in the following examples from AMg. between *nna*, and *ṇṇa*. — 3. Abhayadeva says : *rephasyāgamikatvād anvāgatam anurūpam āgamanāṃ he skandaka taveti dṛṣyam*. — 4. Aṃbha adeva : *rephaḥ prākṛtadvēti*. Cf. BEZZENBERGER, BB. 4,340, note 2.

VI. TRANSPOSITION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 354. In certain cases, sometimes two syllables standing side by side are transposed and that without existence of any phonological ground : *airāhā* = *acirābhā* and *aiḥārā* (lightening; Deśin. 1,34). — *alacapura* = *acalapura* (Hc. 2,118). — *āṇāla* = *ālāna* (Vr. 4,29; Hc. 2,117; Kī. 2,117), *āṇālakhambha*, *āṇālakkhambha* = *ālānastambha* (Hc. 2,97). — *kaṇeru* = *kareṇu* (Vr. 4,28; Hc. 2,116; Kī. 2,119; Mk. fol. 38). The grammarians restrict the transposition to the feminine, which corresponds with Pāli¹. In AMg. *kareṇu* is used in the feminine (Nāyādh. 327.328.337.338; Uttar. 337.954), and in Ś. in the masculine (Pāyāl. 9; Mālatim. 203,4). So also JM. *kareṇu-jā* = *kareṇukā* (Pāyāl. 9; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 68 transposition never takes place in Ś. — M. *ṇāḍāla*, M. AMg. JM. *ṇāḍāla* = *lalāḍa*, beside *ṇalāḍa*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*, Ś. *lalāḍa* (§ 260). — JM. A. *draha* = *hrada* (Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14; Āv. 42,27; Hc. 4,423,1), AMg. *daha* (Hc. 2,80.120; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,2; Aṇuog. 386; Paṇṇav. 80; Nāyādh. 508 ff.; Vivāhap. 119.361.659; Thāp. 94), frequently also in compounds, as

kesariddaha, *tigicchaddaha* (Thāṇ. 75.76), *paṇṇamaddaha*, *puṇḍarijaddaha* (Thāṇ. 75 ff.; Jiv. 582 f.); M. AMg. *mahaddaha* (H. 186; Thāṇ. 75.382); AMg. A. *mahādaha* (Thāṇ. 176; Hc. 4,444,3), beside AMg. *haraya* with a separation vowel (§ 132). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *dihara* for **diraha* (§ 132)² = *dirgha* (Hc. 2,171; G. H. R.; Karp. 43,11; Nandis. 377; Erz.; Uttarar. 125,6; Bālar. 235,15; Mallikām. 81,9; 123,15; 161,8; 198,17; 223,9; Hc. 4,414,4). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo*=*upānahau*, *aṇovāhaṇaga*, **ya*, AMg. *chattovāhaṇa*, beside Ś. *uvāha* (§141). — JM. Ś. A. *marahaṭṭha*=*mahārāṣṭra* (Hc. 1,69; 2,119; Kk.44; Bālar. 72,19; Piṅg. 1,91.116^a.140^a), M. *marahaṭṭhī* (Viddhaś. 25,2), beside *maradhī* (§ 67). — AMg. *rahassa* for **harassa*=*hrasva* (Thāṇ. 20.40.445.452), beside *hassa* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,4,2,10; Vivāhap. 38.39), *hassikarēnti* (Vivāhap. 126). The MSS. and texts more often have *hrassa* (Thāṇ. 119; Nandis. 377; WEBER, Bhag. 1,415). According to Bh. 4,15 one says *haṁsa* as well (§ 74). — AMg. JM. A. *vāṇārasī*=*vārāṇasī* (Hc. 2,116; Antag. 63; Nāyādh. 508.787.791.1516.1528 [text *vārāṇasī*]; Nirayāv. 43 ff.; Paṇṇav. 60; Thāṇ. 544; Uttar. 742; Vivāgas. 136.148 f.; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Erz.; Piṅgala 1.73 [*vaṇarasi*; GOLDSCHMIDT *varāṇasī*]; Hc. 4,442,1). In Ś. stands *vārāṇasī* (Bālar. 307,13; Mallikām. 156,24; 161,17; 224,10), likewise in Mg. (Prab. 32,9), for which the ed. Bomb. 78,11 rightly reads *vālāṇasī*, which is to be corrected as *vālāṇasī*. — *haliāra* beside *hariāla*=*haritāla* (Hc. 2,121). — *halua* beside *lahua*=*laghuka* (Hc. 2,122). — *hulāi* beside *luhāi* (wipes off.; Hc. 4,105). For *luhāi* Vr. 8,67; Kī. 4,53 have *lubhāi*. Through this it becomes probable that *hulāi* may be equated as=**bhulāi*, and that it is identical with *hulāi* (throws; Hc. 4,143), to which might be connected *bhullāi* (falls down; Hc. 4,177), the passive, and JM. Ś. *bhulla* (forgotten; forgetfully; bewildered; Āv. 46,5; Karp. 113,1) the past passive participle³. — It is phonetically impossible to equate M. *iharā* (Pāṭya. 241; G.), with the grammarians (Hc. 2,212; Mk. fol. 38) as=**itarathā*, and to explain it through transposition from **iarahā* with Mk. and WEBER⁴. Since in M. the MSS. mostly have *iarā* (H. 711; R. 11,26), *iharā*, as stated in § 212, will have originated from **itharatā*. According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *idaradhā*.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,116. — 2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,177. — 4. On Hāla 711.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

A. THE NOUN.

§ 355. Following the rule, that in Pkt. the consonants in the final position fall off (§ 339), the consonantal declension is almost entirely lost. Its numerous remnants are found only in the stems in *t*, *n*, *ś*, *s*, otherwise almost isolated in verses. So M. *vivaā*=*vipadā* (Śukas. 33,7); AMg. *dhammavio*=*dharmavidah* (nom. plur.; Sūyag. 43); AMg. *vāyā*=*vācā* (Dasav. 630.32; Uttar. 28); AMg. *vejavidio*=*vedavidah* (nom. plur. Uttar. 425). *āo* (water)=*āpaḥ* (Triv. in BB. 3,239) too is to be considered as a remnant of the consonantal declension. The neuter *āpas*, which is quoted by Ujvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 2,58 and is found in the texts, should be traced back to the nom. plural². In AMg. *āo* has become one masculine *āu* (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 1,61), likewise *teo*=*tejah* has become *teu*, however, in the formula combination *āu teū vāu*=*āpas tejo vāyuḥ* the vowel has been arranged according to *u* of *vāu*=*vāyu*. Likewise *kāyasā* is said for *kāyeṇa*, beside *maṇasā vayasā*, and *balasā* for *baḷeṇa* beside *sahasā* (§ 364) and others in details (§ 358. 364. 367. 375. 379. 386). So *āu teū vāu*

(Sūyag. 606; Samav. 228 [text *teo*]; Dasav. 614,40 [text *u] Āyār. 2,2,2,13 [text *āo teo vāu*]); also *vāu teū āu* (Vivāgas. 50); *āu teū vā vāu* (Sūyag. 19); *āu teū ya tahā vāu ya* (Sūyag. 37); *āu agaṇi ya vāu* (Sūyag. 325); *puḍhavi āu gaṇi vāu* (Sūyag. 378); *āutevūvāṇassaiṣarira* (Sūyag. 803); *āutevūvāṇassaiṇāṇavihāṇam* (Sūyag. 806); *āusarira teusarira vāusarira* (Sūyag. 792); *āutevāṇassai*^o (Vivāhap. 430); *teuvāvāṇassai* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); *āukāya teukāya vāukāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,11; Samav. 17); *āukāya* (Vivāhap. 1439); *āukāya teukāya vāukāya* (Vivāhap. 1438 f. [text mostly *u]); *Apūog. 260*; *Dasav. 614,38*, *āukkāya* (Jiv. 41); *āulēsse* (Vivāhap. 10); *āubahula* (Jiv. 226); *āujivā tahāgaṇi vāujivā* (Sūyag. 425; cf. Uttar. 1045. 1047); *teuphāsa=tejahsparsa* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 1,8,3,1); *teujiva* (Uttar. 1053); *teū vāu ya* (Uttar. 1052). The two words are used as wholly independent *u*-stems as well: nom. sing. *āu* (Sūyag. 332; Paṇṇav. 369^a); nom. plur. *āū* (Ṭhāṇ. 82); gen. plur. *āūṇam* (Uttar. 1047), *teūṇam* (Uttar. 1055). In a non-technical sense *tejas* is treated in AMg. as the remnant of a neuter noun in *-as*.—From the nom. plur. *sarao=śaradaḥ* of *śarad* (autumn), in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A., a masc. sing. *saraa*, AMg. JM. *saraya*=Pāli *sarada*⁴ has been inferred (Vr. 4,10. 18; Hc. 1,18,31; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 34; G. H. R.; Ṭhāṇ. 238.527; Nāyādh. 916; Kk. 264,6; Bālar. 127,14; Hc. 4,357,2); likewise *diso* from *disaḥ* (Ki. 2,131; in case the word is not to be read as *disā*). In other respects the treatment of the consonantal stem is a twofold one. In a small number of cases the word, after loss of the final consonant, is made end in the vowel preceding it and crosses over the vocalic declension corresponding to the gender, and in majority of words the stem is augmented by insertion of *-a* in the masculine and neuter, and of *-ā* or *-ī* in the feminine. See § 395 ff.

1. STENZLER, BB. 6,84. — 2. So with WEBER, Bhag. 1,397, note 2 and E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 67, more correctly than BB. 3,240. — 3. Malayagiri on Paṇṇav. 369 remarks: *āu iti puṁliṅgatā prākṛtalakṣaṇavatsāṁ samskṛte tu strītoam eva*. — 4. So with CHILDERS, Dictionary s. v. more correctly than BB. 3,240.

§ 356. The gender of Skt. has not always been preserved in Pkt. The oscillation has been partly produced through the rule of the final syllable. Thus in M. JM. the neuter in *-as*, in pursuance of the nomin. in *-o* (§ 345), is used in the masculine (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35): *M. tuṅgo ccia hoi maṇo=tuṅgam eva bhavati manaḥ* (Hc. 284); *esa saro=etat saraḥ* (G. 513); *khudho mahēndassa jaso=*kṣuditaṁ mahandrasya jasaḥ* (R. 1,4); *aṇṇo aṇṇassa maṇo=anyad anyasya manaḥ* (R. 3,44); *māṛuladhathāma mahirao=māṛuladhadhasthāma mahirajaḥ* (R. 4,25); *tamālakasaṇo tato=tamālakṣṇam tamaḥ* (R. 10,25); *tāriso a uro=tādyāṇ coraḥ* (Subhadrāh. 8,3); JM. *bārasāiccodayāhio teo=dvādaśādityodayāhitaṁ tejaḥ* (Erz. 26,33); *tavo kao=tapaḥ kṛtam* (Erz. 26,35). *nabhas* and *śiras*, according to the grammarians (Vr. 4,19; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,134; Mk. fol. 35), only as neuter, are used according to the *a*-declension: *M. ṇaṇam* (G. 451.495.1036; R. 4, 54; 5,2.6.35.43.74 etc.); *M. siram* (R. 4,56; 11,36.56.132 etc.). In AMg. too the neuter nouns in *-as*, not rarely, are used as masculine, and then form the nomin. sing. in *-e* (§ 345): *māuoye=mātrojaḥ* (Ṭhāṇ. 159); *tame=tamaḥ* (Ṭhāṇ. 248); *tave=tapaḥ* (Samav. 26); *maṇe=manaḥ* (Vivāhap. 1135 f.); *pējje=preyaḥ* (Ovav. § 56); *vacche=vakṣaḥ* (Uvās. § 94); *ee soyā=etāni srotāṁsi* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2). AMg. *ayam=ayas* (Sūyag. 286); AMg. *sejam=śreyas* (Hc. 1,32; § 409); *vajam=vayas* (Hc. 1,32), beside AMg. *vao* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3 in the verse); *sumanam=sumanaḥ* (Hc. 1,32). Ś. Mg. so form

almost exclusively (§ 407). In A. *maṇu* (Hc. 4,350.422,9) and *siru* (Hc. 4,445.3), phonetically rather=*manah*, *śiraḥ* (§ 346), may be equated as =**nanam*, **śiram* (§ 351). The voc. *ceu*=*cetaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,4^b; text *ceja*; v. l. *ceda*; cf. BOLLESEN, Vikr. p. 528) speaks in support of -*aḥ*.

§ 357. Like the neuter nouns in -*as*, many neuter nouns in -*a* have dialectically become masculine in Pkt. This change has probably been produced from the nomin. accus. plur., which beside the endings -*āṇi*, -*āīm*, as in the Veda, have also the ending -*ā*, which is like that of the masculine (§367). So one says AMg. *tao thāṇāṇi* (Thāp. 143), *tao thāṇāīm* (Thāp. 158) and *tao thāṇā* (Thāp. 163.165)=*trīpi sthānāni*. The nomin. sing. *thāṇe* may be inferred from the last form: AMg. *esa thāṇe añārie*=*etat sthānam anāryam* (Sūyag. 736). Examples in AMg. are numerous beyond measure: *esa udaga-rayāṇe*=*etat udakarānam* (Nāyādh. 1011); *uṭṭhāṇe kamme bale virie*=*uṭṭhānam karma balaṁ vīryam* (Vivāhap. 171; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 73); *duvihe dāmsaṇe pannaṭte*=*dvividhaṁ darśanaṁ prajñaptam* (Thāp. 44); *marāṇe*=*marānam* (Samav. 51.52); *mattae*=*mātrakam*, beside the plural *mattagāīm* (Kappas. S. § 56), and many others¹. In Āyār. 1,2,1,3 stand in the verse beside one another: *vao accei jōvvaṇam ca jivie*=*vayo 'tyeti yauvanam ca jīvītam*. In AMg. sometimes the pronouns too are moved into the neuter in the masculine: AMg. *e jāvanti savvāvanti logaṁsi kammasamārambhā*=*etāvantaḥ sarve karmasamārambhāḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5.7); *āvanti ke jāvanti logaṁsi samaṇā ja māhaṇā ja*=*yāvantaḥ ke ca yāvanto loka śramaṇās ca brāhmaṇās ca* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; cf. 1,5,2,1.4); *jāīm tumāīm jāīm te jaṇagā*=*yas tvaṁ yau te janakau* (Āyār. 2,4,1.8); *yāīm* [§ 335.353] *bhikkhū*=*ye bhikṣavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,1); *jāvanti vijjāpurisā savve te dukkhasambhavā*=*yāvanto 'vidyā puruṣāḥ sarve te duḥkhasambhavāḥ* (Uttar. 215); *je garahiya saṇiyāṇappaogā ṇa tāṇi sevanti sudhīradhammā*=*ye garhitāḥ sanidānaprayogā na tām sevante sudhīradharmāḥ* (Sūyag. 504). So is explained *no in' aṭṭhe*, *no inam aṭṭhe* (§ 173) too; cf. also *se*, Mg. *se*=*tad* § 423. In JM. the predicate is generally of the neuter when it refers to persons of different genders: *tao sāgaracando kamalāmelā ja*.....*gahiyāṇuvvayāṇi sāvagāṇi saṁvuttāṇi*=*tataḥ sāgaracandraḥ kamalāpīḍa ca*.....*grhītānūvratāu śrāvakau saṁvṛttau* (Āv. 31,22), and previously (31,21) it is said about the same: *pacchā imāṇi bhoge bhuñjamāṇāṇi viharanti*=*pacchād imau bhogān bhuñjāṇau viharataḥ*; *tāṇi* is used (Āv. 38,1) with reference to *māyāpiṇṇam*=*mātāpitroḥ*; *tāṇi ammaṇipīyaro pucchiyāṇi*=*tau ambāpitarau prṣṭau* (Erz. 37,29); *tāhe rājā sā ja jayahatthimmi ārūdhāīm*=*tadā rājā sā ca jayahastiny ārūdhau* (Erz. 34,29); [*mayamañjariyā kumaro ca*] *niyaja-bhavaṇe gayāṇi sānandahiya yāīm*=*[madanamañjarikā kumārā ca] nijakabhavane gatau sānandahṛdayau* (Erz. 84,6). More examples in JACOBI, Erz. p. LVI, § 80. Transition of the neuter *a*-stems to the masculine is frequent in Mg. too, in other dialects almost only sporadic. So Mg. *ese se daṣaṇāmake māi kaḷe*=*etat tad daṣaṇāmakam mayā kṛtam* (Mṛcch. 11,1); *āmalanāntike vele*=*āmaraṇāntikam vairam* (Mṛcch. 21,14); *duālae*=*dvārakam* (Mṛcch. 79,17); *pavahaṇe*=*pravahanaṁ* (Mṛcch. 96,22; 97,19,20; 99,2; 100,20 etc.); *ese civale*=*etac cīvaram* (Mṛcch. 112,10); *sohīde*=*sauhṛdam* (Sak. 118,6); *bhoṇe saṁcīde*=*bhojanam saṁcītam* (Venis. 33,3); *uṣṇe luhile*=*uṣṇam rudhiram* (Venis. 33,12); *bhatte*=*bhaktam*, *ese se suvaṇṇake*=*etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mṛcch. 163,19; 165,7). In Ś. D. we find the following used in the masculine: *pavahaṇo* (Mṛcch. 97,7; D. 100,15) beside the more frequent *pavahanaṁ*; in Ś. *pabhādo* (Mṛcch. 93,7) beside *pabhādam*=*prabhātam* (Mṛcch. 93.5.6); more often Ś. *hiao*=*hṛdayam*, particularly, when the heart is spoken of (Vikr. 22,21 [so with A. to be read]; 23,10; cf. 46,17.19; Ratn. 298,11.12; Mālatīm. 348,6 [so with v. l. to be read; Viddhaś. 97,10; Priyad. 20,2; Nāgān. 20,

13.15)². The dialect is not determined in *catto*=*catttram* (spindel; Deśin. 3,1). Cf. also § 360.

1. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 55. — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 5.

§ 358. According to the grammarians (Vr. 4.18; Hc.1.32; Kī. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35) the neuter in *-an* becomes masculine in *-a*: *kammo*=*karma*; *jammo*=*janma*; *nammo*=*narma*; *mammo*=*marma*; *vanmo*=*varma*. Thus we have found PG *sammo*=*śarma*(7,46); AMg. *kamme*=*karma*(Sūyag.838.841 f. 844.848.854; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 51.73.166); Mg. *camme*=*carma* (Mṛcch. 79,9). In all the dialects, however, they, more frequently become neuter of *a*-stems¹, what is commanded by Mk. for *preman* and by Hc. for *dāman*. So M. *kammaṃ* (R. 14,46); M. Ś. *nāmaṃ* (H. 452.905; Vikr. 30,9); M. *dāmaṃ* (H. 172); M. *peṃmaṃ* (R. 11,88; Ratn. 299,18); M. *romaṃ* (R. 9,87); *cammaṃ sammaṃ* (Hc. 1,32). The masculine in *-iman* may become feminine, to which the nomin. in *-ā* gave rise: *eśā garimā*, *mahimā*, *nillajjimā*, *dhuttimā* (Hc. 1,35; cf. Mk. fol. 35). So M. A. *candimā*=**candriman* (§103); AMg. *mahimāsu* (Thāp. 288). In the same way AMg. *addhā*=*adhvā* from *adhvan* (Ovav.); M. *umhā*=**ūsmā* from *ūzman* (Bh. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; G. R.); JM. *vaṭṭā*=**varimā* from *vartman* (Deśin. 7,31; Erz. 6,30 34.35; cf. § 334); *sēmbhā*=**śleṣmā* from *śleṣman*(Mk. fol. 25; cf. § 267) have become feminine. AMg. *sakahāo*=**sakthīni* (Samav. 102; Jiv. 621) is derived from the stem *sakthan* with a separation-vowel according to § 132, therefore, from **sakathan*, nomin. sing. **sakahā*. The Jains divide the year according to the old custom into the three seasons *grīṣma*, *varṣāḥ* and *hemanta*². As in other cases (§ 355.364.367.375.379.386), the gender and the number of *grīṣma* and *hemanta* have, in AMg., been regulated, when the season is to be indicated as such, according to the feminine plural *varṣāḥ*, as a sequence to the formular combination. One says: *gimhāhi*=**grīṣmābhiḥ* (Sūyag. 166); *gimhāsu* = **grīṣmāsu* (Vivāhap. 465); *hemantagimhāsu*...*vāsāsu* (Kappas. S. § 55); *gimhāṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15.2.6.25; Nāyādh. 880; Kappas. § 2.96.120.150.159 etc.); *hemantāṇaṃ*(Āyār.2,15,22; Kappas. § 113.157.212.227). The neutral forms, which might have been contributed to, here as well(cf. § 357), by the similarity of the ending *-ā*, are formed dialectically, not seldom, in the nomin. accus. plur. from the masculine in-*a*. So M. AMg. Ś. *guṇāim*=*guṇān* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35; G. 866; Sūyag. 157; Vivāhap. 508; Mṛcch. 37,14); M. *kaṇṇāim*=*kaṇṇau* (H. 805); M. *pavaṇi*, *gaṇiṃ*, *turaṇi*, *rakkhasāi*=*plavagān*, *gaṇān*, *turagān*, *rākṣasān* (R. 15,17)³; AMg. *paṇiṇi*=*praṇān* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *paṇiṇiṃ* (Nāyādh. 301.577; Vivāhap. 151 973.978; Nandis. 471; Uvās. § 58.121.176), as already in Skt. *praṇa* is neuter (Maitryupaniṣad 1,2); AMg. *māsāim*=*māsān* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *pāṇiṃ* (Āyār 1,6 5,4; 1,7,2,1 ff.; 2,1,1,11; p. 132.6.22), *pāṇiṇi* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; p. 132.28) beside usual *pāṇe* (e. g. Āyār. 1,1,6 3; 1,3,1,3; 1,6,1,4)=*prāṇān*; AMg. *phāsāim* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 1,8,2,10,3,1; Sūyag. 297) beside *phāse* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3,3,2,5,1; 1,7,8,18) = *sparsān*. AMg. *rukkhāim* (Hc. 1,34), AMg. *rukkhāṇi*=*rukṣān* (trees; Āyār. 2 3,2,15; cf. § 320); *devāim* (Hc. 1,34), *devāṇi* (C. 1,4)=*devāḥ*; JŚ. *nibandhāṇi*=*nibandhān* (Pav. 387,12); Mg. *dantāim*=*dantān* (Śak. 154,6), *gaṇāim*=*gāḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,15; 132,16) beside the usual mascul. (§ 393). Hc. 1,34 mentions in the singular too *khaggaṃ* beside *khaggo*=*khaḍgaḥ*; *maṇḍalaggaṃ* beside *maṇḍalaggo*=*maṇḍalāgrah*; *kararuhaṃ* beside *kararuho*=*kararuhaḥ*, as reversely Mk. fol. 35 has *vaṇṇo* beside *vaṇṇaṃ*=*vadanam*; *naṇṇo* beside *naṇṇaṃ*=*nayanam*. Neutral plural forms of the masculine are found from *i*- and *u*-stems too: AMg. *sālīṇi vā vīhīṇi vā* = *sālīn vā vīhīn vā* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682), in dependence upon the following neuter: AMg *uūim*=*ṛtūn*

(Kappas. § 114); *bindūm* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *hetūm*=*hetū* beside *paṇṇāim* (Vivāhap. 151). Neuter forms from the feminine are seldomer. So AMg. *taṇṇi* (Āyār. 2,13,22; Nāyādh. 1137; Vivāhap. 908) from the singular *taṇṇa* (Paṇṇav. 32; Vivāhap. 1308. 1529); cf. *taṇṇa-pāṇae* (Vivāhap. 1255) and *taṇṇasuhāe* (Kappas. § 60)=**tvacā*=*tvak*; AMg. *pāyūyām*=*pādukāh* (Nāyādh. 1484); Ś. *ricāim* from **ricā*=*rk* (Ratn. 302,11); AMg. *paṇṇiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5) beside *paṇṇiṇi* (Vivāhap. 361; Anuog. 386)=**paṇṇikāh*; AMg. *bhamuhāim* (Āyār. 2,13,17) beside *bhamuhāu* (Jiv. 563)=**bhruvuke* (§ 124. 206); even AMg. *itthiṇi vā purisāṇi vā*=*striyo vā puruṣā vā* (Āyār. 2,11,18), probably to be comprehended in the meaning "something womanish", "something manly". *akṣi* may be used as feminine (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,33. 35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35), according to Hc. 1,33 also as masc. Hc. 1,35 teaches that the masculine nouns *aṇṇali*, *kukṣi*, *granthi*, *nidhi*, *raṣmi*, *vali*, *vidhi*, which have been included by him in the *gaṇa aṇṇāyādi*, may become feminine. So is explained AMg. *ayaṇ aṭṭhi*, *ayaṇ dahī*=*idam aṭṭhi*, *idam dahī* (Sūyag. 594), the dative *aṭṭhi* (§ 361), and so the nomin. *sappi*=*sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291) and the nomin. *hapi*=*haviḥ* (Dasav. N. 648,9) too must be comprehended, in which the *s*-stems, after dropping off of *s*, have gone over to the *i*-declension. Cf. § 411, note. Beside *paṇṇo*=*praṇṇa* Pkt. has *paṇṇā* too (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35; Sr. fol. 14), which occurs in AMg. *paṇṇāḍāgaraṇāim* (Nandis. 471; Samav), the name of the 10. āṅga. In the v.l. to C. 3,6 *paṇṇam* too occurs; the plural AMg. *paṇṇāim*, *paṇṇāni* have been mentioned above. In the sense of *arsāṇsi* AMg. has *aṇṇiṇi*=**arsikāh* (Vivāhap. 1306). Beside *paṭṭha*, *piṭṭha*, *puṭṭha*=*prṣṭha* frequent are *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (§ 53). The feminine *āsaṇṇa* becomes M.Ś. *āsaṇṇo* (§ 267); *prāṇṇa* becomes in M. AMg. JM. Ś. a masculine *pāusa*=*Pāli pāvusa* (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,31; Kī. 2,131; Mk. fol. 35; G. H.; Nāyādh. 81.638 f. 644.192; Vivāhap. 798; Erz.; Vikr. 33,14); *tarāṇi*, according to Hc. 1,31,2 used only as masculine⁴. On *diso*=*dik*, *sarao*=*sarad* see § 355, on the numerals 2—4 see § 436. 438. 439.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 131, note 2.—2. JACOB on Kalpas. § 2 p. 99.—3. It is not very certain whether these forms constitute a proof rather of the spurious nature of R. 15,16. 17, as presumed by S. GOLDSCHMIDT R. p. 318, note 9.—4. Cf. in general already FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 5 f.

§ 359. In A. the gender is more flexible than in the rest of the dialects, if not almost wholly irregular, as meant by Hc. 4,445. In verses, very often the gender is determined by the metre and the rhyme: *jō pāhasi so lehi*=*yat prārthayase tal labhasva* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. Vikr. p. 530 f.); *mattāim*=*mātrāh* (P. 1,51. 60. 83.127); *rekāim*=*rekāh* (P. 1,52); *vikkamaṇ*=*vikramaḥ* (P. 1,56); *bhuṇṇe*=*bhuvanāni* (accus.; P. 1,62b); *gāhassa*=*gāthāyāh* (P. 1,128); *sagaṇṇi*=*sagaṇān* (P. 1,152); *kumbhaṇ*=*kumbhān* (Hc. 4,345); *antrādi*=*antram* (Hc. 4,445,3); *ḍālāi* (Hc. 4,445,4), plural of *ḍālā* (branch; Pāyāl. 136; Deśin. 4,9, where *ḍālā*); however, AMg. too has *ḍālā* in *egaṇṇi rukkhadālayaṇṇi thicā* (Nāyādh. 492), and *ḍālā ga* (Āyār. 2,7,2,5); *khalāim*=*khalān* in rhyme with *raaṇāim* (Hc. 4,334); *viguttāim*=**viguttāh*=*vigopitāh* (Hc. 4,421,1); *niścintāi* *hariṇāi*=*niścintā hariṇāh* (Hc. 4,422,20); *amhāim* beside *amhe*=*asme* (Hc. 4,376).

§ 360. The dual, with the exception of the numerals *do*=*doau* and *duve*, *be*=*doe*, is completely lost. In its place the plural has entered both into the noun and the verb (Vr. 6,63; C. 2,12; Hc. 3,130; Kī. 3,5; Āv. 6,12), which is combined even with the numeral for 2 (§ 436.437). M. *balakeṣa-vāṇam*=*balakeṣavayoh* (G. 26), *hatthā tharatharanti*=*hastau tharatharāyete* (H. 165), *kaṇṇesu*=*kaṇṇayoh* (R. 5,65), *achāim*=*akṣiṇi* (G. 44); AMg. *janagā*=*janakau* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *pāhaṇḍo*=*upānahau* (Tṭhāp. 359), *bhumagāo* *acchīṇi*, *kaṇṇā*, *utthā*, *aggahatthā*, *hatthesu*, *thaṇayā*, *jāṇūim*, *jaṅghāo*,

pāyā, *pāesu* = *bhruvau*, *akṣiṇī*, *karnau*, *oṣṭhau*, *agrahastau*, *hastayoh*, *stanakau*, *jānuni*, *jaṅghe*, *pāḍau*, *pāḍayoh* (Uvās § 94); JM. *hatthā*, *pāyā* = *hastau*, *pāḍau* (Āv. 6,14), *taṇhāchuhāo* = *trṣṇākṣudhau* (Dvār. 500,7), *do vi puttā jamalagā* = *dvāo api putrau yamalakau* (Erz. 1,8) *cittasambhūehim* = *cittasambhūtābhyām* (Erz. 1, 26); Ś. *māhavamaarandā ācchanti* = *mādhavamakarandāv āgacchataḥ* (Mālatīm. 293,4), *rāmarāvaṇāṇam* = *rāmarāvaṇayoh* (Bālar. 260, 21), *sidārāmehim* = *sītārāmābhyām* (Pras. 64,5), *sirisarassadiṇam* = *śrīsarassatyoh* (Viddhaś. 108,5); Mg. *lāmakaṇhāṇam* = *rāmakaṣṇayoh* (Kaṁsav. 48, 20), *amke vi . . . luhilom pīvamha* = *āvām api rudhiram pibāva* (Venis. 35, 21), *kalē mha* = *karavāva* (Caṇḍak. 68, 15; 71, 10); D. *candaṇaavīraehim* = *candanakavīrakābhyām* (Mṛcch. 105,8), *sumbhaṇisumbhe* = *śumbhaṇisumbhau* (Mṛcch. 105,22); A. *rāvaṇarāmāhā*, *paṭṭaṇagāmāhā* = *rāvaṇarāmāyoh*, *paṭṭaṇagrāmāyoh* (Hc. 4,407). In cases like Ś. *dve rukkhaseaṇake* = *dve rukṣasecanake* (Śak. 24,1) there is no dual, but the accus. plur. (§ 367^a) with a change of gender according to § 357¹.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto. p. 136 f.; LASSEN, Indst. p. 309; BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 347; WEBER, IS. 14,280 f.

§ 361. According to Vr. 6,64; C. 2,13; Ki. 3,14; Sr. fol. 7; in a quotation in Āv. 6,12 in Pkt. the genitive occurs in the place of the dative. Hc. 3,132 teaches that Dative may stand when it expresses a purpose. The texts are in accord with him. A dative of the singular is found almost only in PG. M. AMg. JM., mostly in the case of the *a*-stems, as the dative of goal and purpose. PG. *ajātāe* = **adyatvāya* (7,45); *vāsasatasahasāya* = *varṣasatasahasrāya* (7,48); M. *nivāraṇāa* = *nivāraṇāya*, *āśāa* = *āyāsāya*, *marāṇāa* = *marāṇāya*, *harārāhaṇāa* = *harārādhanāya*, *hāsāa* = *hāsāya*, *gāravāa* = *gauravāya*, *mohāa* = *mohāya*, *apunāgamaṇāa* = *apunarāgamanāya* (G. 15. 90. 324. 325. 340. 869. 946. 1183); M. *vaṇāa* = *vanāya* (Bālar. 156,14), *tāvaparikkhaṇāa* = *tāpaparikkṣāṇāya* (Karp. 52,3). H. and R. do not have the dative. AMg. *ahiyāya* = *ahitāya* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *gaḥbhāya* = *garbhāya* (Sūyag. 108); *āvēdāya* = *atipātāya* (Sūyag. 356); *tāṇāya* = *trāṇāya* (Sūyag. 377); *kūdāya* = *kūtāya* (Uttar. 201), all in verses. Generally the dative ends in AMg. JM. in *-āe* (§ 364) and it is so extraordinarily frequent in AMg.: *parivandanamaṇaṇapūyaṇāe* *jāimaraṇamojaṇāe* = *parivandanamanānapūyanāya* *jātimaraṇamocanāya* (Āyār. 1,1,1,7); beside *tāṇāya* in verse, there stands in prose *tāṇāe* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4), and likewise in verse (Uttar. 217); *mūlatāe* *kandattāe* *kandhattāe* *tayattāe* *sālattāe* *pavālattāe* *patattāe* *pupphattāe* *phalattāe* *bijattāe* *vīṣṭanti* = *mūlatvāya* *kandatvāya* *skandhatvāya* *tvaktvāya* *śālatvāya* *pravālatvāya* *puṣpatvāya* *phalatvāya* *bijatvāya* *vivartante* (Sūyag. 806); *eyam ne peccabhava ihabhava ya hijāe suhāe khamāe nissejāsāe ānugāmiyattāe bhavissai=etan naḥ pretyabhava ihabhava ca hitāya sukhāya kṣamāyai niḥsreyasāyānugāmikavāya bhaviṣyati* (Ovav. 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162) etc.; AMg. JM. *vahāe* = *vadhāya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Vivāhap. 1254; Āv. 14,16; so to be read); *vaḥṭṭhāyāe* = *vadhārthākāya* (Erz. 1,21); *hiyāṭṭhāe* = *hitārthāya* (Āv. 25,26); *mam' atthāe* = *mamārthāya* (Erz. 63,12). The dative is correct in Ś. Mg. in verses only, since these dialects otherwise have lost the dative even of the *a*-stems: Mg. *cārudattavināśāa* = *cārudattavināśāya* (Mṛcch. 133,4). Hc. 4,302 read with the Devanāgarī, Dravidian and Kashmirian recensions the dative also in Śak. 115,7; *sāmiṇpaśādāa* = *svāmiprasādāya*, where the Bengal recension has *sāmiṇpaśādattam*. In Ś. Mg. all the good texts in prose always have the parapsasing with *attham* = *artham* and *nimittam* = *nimittam*¹. The dative stands in Ś. in prose falsely: *nivvudilāhāa* = *nirvṛtilābhāya* (Mālav. 33,14); *āsisāa* (l) = *āsiṣe* (Mālav. 70,13); *suhāa* = *sukhāya* (Karp. 9,5; 35,6; 115,1); *asusānarakkha-*

ṇāa=*asusaṃrakṣaṇāya* (Vṛṣabh. 51,11); *vibudhaviṇāa*=*vibudhaviṇāya* (Vikr. 6,20); *tilodaadāṇāa*=*tilodakadāṇāya* (Mṛcch. 327,4) *ceḍiāaccaṇāa* [text *āya*=*ceḍikāccaṇāya* (Mukund. 17,12)]. Other examples from bad texts have been collected by BÖHTLINGK² and BOLLENSSEN³. In Rājaśekhara the scribe is not responsible for this (§ 22). Datives of even stems other than *a-* are found. So AMg. *appege accāe haṇanti appege ajiṇāe vahanti appege maṃsāe vahanti appege soṇijāe vahanti evaṃ hidaṇāe pittāe vasāe picchāe pucchāe vālāe siṅgāe visāṇāe dantiāe dādhāe nahāe ṇhāruṇīe aṭṭhīe aṭṭhiminṇāe aṭṭhāe aṇaṭṭhāe* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676), where *accāe* from *accā* (body; bulk; commentary=*śarīram*), *vasāe*=*vasāyāi*, *dādhāe*=*daṃṣṭrāyāi*, *aṭṭhiminṇāe*=*asthimajjāyāi* are dative from the feminine in *-ā*, *ṇhāruṇīe* is from a feminine **snāyuni* (§ 255), and *aṭṭhīe* is from the neuter *asthi*, used as a feminine (§ 358), the rest are from the masculine and neuter: *se na haṣṣāe na kiḍḍāe na raṇīe na vibhūṣāe*=*sa na hāṣyāya na krīḍāyāi na ratyāi na vibhūṣāyāi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); JM. *kittividdhīe*=*kirtividdhāye* (Kl. 20). So also falsely in Ś. *kajjasiddhīe*=*kāryasiddhāye* (Mālav. 56,13; Jivān. 21,7); *jadhāsamiḥidasiddhīe*=*yathāsāmiḥitasiddhāye* (Viddhaś. 44,7). From consonantal stems sometimes in S. is found the dative *bhavade* in the "solemn greeting formula"⁴ *soṭṭhi bhavade*=*svasti bhavate* (Mṛcch. 6,23; 77,17; Vikr. 81,15). But here we have a case of Sanskritization. It is to be written as *bhavado*, as CAPPELER, Ratn. 319,17 has done; cf. *soṭṭhi savvāṇaṃ* (Vikr. 83,8) and the v. l. to Vikr. 81,15. The Infinitives in *-ttae*, *-ittae* (§ 578) too are old dative.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 299; FISCHER, BB. 1,111 ff.; on Hc. 3,132. Falsely HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 126 f.; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 168 and Mālav. p. 233; WEBER, IS. 14, 290 ff.; BB. 1, 343 f.—2. On Śak. 40, 18, p. 203.—3. On Mālav. p. 233.—4. WEBER, BB. 1,343.

§ 362. In the following paragraphs a paradigm has been provided for the purpose of better lucidity, of all the forms, that are found in the grammarians; but the cases, that have hitherto not been found in the texts, have been put inside angular brackets. For P. CP. the material is mostly wanting, as our all knowledge exclusively rests upon the grammarians. Cf. further KIELHORN, EI., 3,313, note 10. PG. VG are especially built up. Unusual constructions, like AMg. *saṃdhivālasaddhim saṃparivude* (Ovav. §48, p. 55,11; Kappas. § 61), which, along with *saddhim*, is found more often in AMg. (Nāyādh. 574. 724. 1068. 1074.1273.1290.1327; Ovav. § 55) do not come into consideration for the purpose of morphology. The forms, which are common to all or most of the dialects have not been specifically indicated, and less important dialects, like Ā. D. Dh., are not mentioned in the paradigm.

1) STEMS IN *-a*.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 363. Mascul. *putta*=*putra*.

Singular.

- N. *putto*; AMg. Mg. *putte*; AMg. in verses also *putto*; A. mostly *puttu*.
 Acc. *puttaṃ*; A. *puttu*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. *putteṇa*, *putteṇaṃ*; JŚ. Ś. Mg. P. CP. *putteṇa*; A. *putteṇa*, *puttiṇa*, *putteṇ*, *putte*.
 Dat. M. *puttāa*; AMg. *puttāya* in verses, otherwise AMg. JM. *puttāe*; Mg. *puttāa* in verses.
 Abl. M. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*, *puttāhi*, *puttāhimto*, [*puttatto*]; AMg. JM. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*; JŚ. *puttādo*, *puttādu*, *puttā*; Ś. Mg. *puttādo*; P. CP. *puttāto*, *puttāhu*; A. *puttahā*, *puttahu*.

- G. *puttassa*; Mg. *puttaśśa*, *puttāha*; A. *puttassu*, [*puttasu*], *puttahō*, °*ho*, *puttaha*.
 L. M. JM. JŚ. *puttammi*, *putte*; AMg. *puttamsi*, *puttammi*, *puttammi*, *putte*; Ś. P. CP. *putte*; Mg. *putte*, *puttāhim*; A. *putte*, *puttē*, *putti*, *puttahi*.
 V. *putta*; M. also *puttā*; AMg. *putta*, *puttā*, *putto*; Mg. *putta*, *putte*.

Plural.

- N. *puttā*; AMg. also *puttāo*; A. also *putta*.
 Acc. *putte*; M. AMg. A. also *puttā*; A. also *putta*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttehi*, °*him*, °*hī*; Ś. Mg. *puttehim*; A. *puttahim*, °*hī*, °*hi*, *puttehim*, °*hī*, °*hi*.
 Abl. [*puttāsumto*, *puttesumto*, *puttāhimto*, *puttāhi*, *puttehi*, *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttatto*]; AMg. *puttehimto*, *puttehim*; JM. *puttehim*; A. *puttahi*.
 G. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttāna*, °*nam*, °*nā*; Ś. Mg. *puttānam*; Mg. also [*puttāhā*]; A. *puttāha*, *puttāhā*, *puttānam*.
 L. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttesu*, °*sum*, °*sū*; Ś. Mg. *puttesum*, (*puttesu*); A. *puttahi* (*puttehi*, *puttihi*).
 V. *puttā*; Mg. also *puttāho*; A. *puttāhō*, °*ho*.
 The neuter nouns are declined in the same manner, as *phala*, only nom. acc. sing. *phalam*, A. *phalu*;
 Nom. acc. voc. plur. M. AMg. JM. *phalāim*, °*i*, °*i*; AMg. JM. also *phalāni*, *phalā*; JŚ. *phalāni*; Ś. Mg. *phalāim*; A. as M., however, also *phalā*.

In PG. there are found the following forms, to which are added the few sure ones from VG. with the courtesy of EI. 1, p. 2, note 2.

Singular.

- N. *mahārājādhirājo* 5,1; *bhāraddāyo* 5,2; *patibhāgo* 6,12; and so still nom. in -o; 6,14. 19-26. 29. 40; 7,44. 47.
 Acc. *parihāram* 5,7; *vāṭaka[m]* *puvōdattam* 6,12. 28. 30-34. 36. 37 [may be also neuter].
 I. *madena* 6,40; *likhiteṇa* 7,51.
 D. *ajāṭāye* 7,45; *vāsasatasahassāya* 7,48.
 Abl. *kāmcīpurā* 5,1.
 G. *kulagōṭṭassa* 6,9; *sāsaṇassa* 6,10; and so also G. in -sa, -ssa; 6,12-26. 38. 50; VG. 101,1. 2. 7 [*devakulassa*]. 8.
 L. *visaye* 5,3; *cillarekakodumke* 6,12; and so also: 7,42. 44.
 Neuter: Acc. *niṇaṭaṇam* 6,38; *vāraṇa[m]* 7,41; *uparilikhitam* 7,44; *āṇatam* 7,49.

Plural

- N. *patibhāgā* 6,13-18. 20-22; *addhikā*, *kolikā* 6,39; *gāmeyikā* *āyuttā* VG. 101,10.
 Acc. °*desādhikatādike*, *bhojake* 5,4; *vallave* *govallave* *amacce* *ārakhādhikate* *gumike* *tūthike* 5,5; and so also 5,6; 6,9; 7,43. 46.
 I. *evamādikeyi* 6,34; *parihārehi* 6,35; VG. 101,11; apparently °*him* is meant.
 G. *pallavāṇam* VG. 101,2; *pallavāṇa* 5,2; *maṇusāṇa* 5,7; *vatthavāṇa* *bamhaṇāṇam* 6,8; *bhātukāṇa* 6,18; *bamhaṇāṇam* 6,27. 30. 38; *paṇukhāṇam* 6,27. 38 (where °*ṇa*). Perhaps everywhere °*nam* is meant.

§ 364. On the declension of *a*-stems see Vr. 5,1-13; 11,10. 12. 13; C. 1,3. 5. 7. 8. 13-16; 2,10; Hc. 3,2-15; 4,263. 287. 299. 300. 321; 330-339. 342. 344-347; Ki. 3,1-16; 5,17. 21-25. 28-34. 78; Mk. fol. 41. 42. 68. 69. 75; Sr. fol. 5-9. In A. the bare stem is often used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plur., and in others too as *a*-stems (Hc. 4,344. 345; Ki. 5,21). Since the final vowel is lengthened and shortened according to metre and

rhyme (§ 100), so the form of the nom. plur. often appears in the singular and vice-versa. So *phāṇihārā*, *visā*, *kandā*, *condā*, *kantā*=*phāṇihārāḥ*, *viṣaḥ*, *kandah*, *candraḥ*, *kāntaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,81^a); *śālā*=*śītalāḥ*, *daddhā*=*dagdhaḥ* in relation with *gharu*=*grahaḥ* (Hc. 4,343); *gaa*=*gajāḥ*, *gajān*, *gajānām* (Hc. 4,335. 418.3. 345); *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ* (Hc. 4,367). In other dialects too, in verses, the stem is occasionally used in lieu of a case. So AMg. *buddhaputta*=*buddhaputra* for *buddhaputto* (Uttar. 13); *pāṇajāi*=*prāṇajātayaḥ* for *pāṇajāto* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *pāvaya*=*pāvaka* for *pāvao* (Dasav. 634,5); Mg. *pañcayyaṇa*=*pañcajanāḥ*, *gāma*=*grāmaḥ*; *caṇḍāla*=*caṇḍalāḥ*; *ṇala*=*naṛaḥ*; *śīla*=*śīraḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6—9). Instead of *śīla* Mk. fol. 75 reads *śīli* and he teaches thence, that in Mg. the nom. ends in *-e* and *-i*. Likewise Vr. 11,9, who too recognizes the stems as nominative. *śīli* stands for *śīle* according to § 85; likewise *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyaḥ* (Mṛcch. 43,6—9). On the ending *-o*, *-e*=*-aḥ* see § 345, on *-u*=*-aḥ* § 346, on A. *-u*=*-am* § 351. According to Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna, in Cāṇḍālī, the nom. sing. may end in *-o* too, beside in *-e*, *-i*: *eso puliso* (Mk. fol. 82).—In Nāgarāpabhraṁśa he teaches nom. sing. in *-o* too, beside that in *-u* (Mk fol. 79). In the instrumental singular, in AMg. several forms in *-sā* are found due to assimilation with the former I. of the *s*-stems. Thus particularly *kāyasā* from *kāya* in the combination *maṇasā vajasā kāyasā*=*manasā vacasā kāyena* (Āyār. p. 132,1; 133,5; Sūyag. 358. 428. 546; Vivāhap. 603 ff.; Thān. 118. 119. 187; Uttar. 248; Uvās. § 13-15; Dasav. 625,30), *kāyasā vajasā* (Uttar. 204); rarer is *maṇasā vajasā kāṇa* (Sūyag. 257) and *maṇasā kāṇavakkeṇaṁ* (Sūyag. 380; Uttar. 222. 752). Futher *sahasā balasā*=*sahasā balena* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Thān. 368); *paṅgasā*=*prayogena*, parallel with *visrasā* from *visras* (Vivāhap. 64.65). According to such cases are formed in verses: *niyamasā*=*niyamena* (Ovav. § 177); *jogasā*=*yogena* (Dasav. 631,1; Sūriyapannatti in the Verzeichniss 5,2,2,575,4); *bhayasā*=*bhayena* (Dasav. 629,37), except that a *s*-stem stands beside it Cf. § 355. 358 367. 375. 379. 386. On M. AMg. JM. *putteṇaṁ* see § 182, on A. *putteṇa* § 128, *putteṁ* § 146. The dative in *-āe* in PG. AMg. JM. (§ 361) cannot be traced back to Skt. *-āya*, which remains in PG. and becomes *āya* in AMg. and *-āa* in M. (§ 361). AMg. *sāgopāgāe* (Sūyag. 247. 249) phonetically corresponds to one **śākopākāyai*, that is to say to the dative of a feminine. In AMg. this dative is especially frequent from the abstract neuter in *-tta*=*-tva*, as *itthittāe purisattāe napumsagattāe* (Sūyag. 817); *devattāe*=*devatvāya* (Āyār. 2,15,16; S. nav. 8. 10. 16; Uvās.; Ovav.); *rukkhattāe*=*rukṣatvāya* (Sūyag. 792. 803); *goṇattāe*=*gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51); *haṁsattāe*=*haṁsatvāya* (Vivāgas. 241); *neraiyattāe*, *dāriyattāe*, *mayūrattāe*=*nairayikatvāya*, *dārikātvāya*, *mayūratvāya* (Vivāgas. 244); *aṭṭhicammaccchirattāe*=*asthicarmaśirātvāya* (Aṇutt. 12) etc.; cf. § 361. Beside these stand the datives of abstract feminine in *-tā*, like *paḍibūhaṇayāe*=*pratibūhmaṇatāyai*, *poṣaṇayāe*=*poṣaṇatāyai* (Sūyag. 676); *karaṇayāe*=*karaṇatāyai* (Vivāhap. 817. 1254; Uvās. § 113); *savaṇayāe*=*śravaṇatāyai* (Nāyādh. § 77. 137; Ovav. § 18.38). *punāpāsaṇayāe*=**punahpaśyantāyai* (Vivāhap. 1228; Nāyādh. § 137) etc. That the datives from fem. nouns, otherwise, frequently stand between the datives of the masc. and neut. nouns is shown by § 361. An influence therefore, through the feminine may be possible, and the AMg. *devattāe* may have its *tt* of the neuter *devatva* and the ending of the feminine *devatā* wrongly used with it. But the datives in *-āe*, even otherwise, from mascul. and neut. are so numerous that this explanation is impossible. It must be admitted that dialectically *-āi* too could be used as the ending of the mascul. and neut. *vahāi*=*vadhāya* (Hc. 3,132) should either be traced back to AMg. JM. *vahāe* (§ 361) according to § 85 in

case the verb would be found verses, or it is to be derived from the Avestā *yasnāi*, Greek ὕπνωσι=ἵπνωσι.

§ 365. Hc. 3,8 and Mk. fol. 41 show that for the abl. sing. in M. the forms in *-ādo*, *-ādu*, like *vacchādo*, *vacchādu*, which Ki 3,8 too has, are not to be deduced with Bhāmaha from Vr. 5,6. The author of R. who at R. 8,87 writes *rāmādo*, openly follows Bhāmaha, as in *udu*=*rdu* (§ 204). The usual form of the abl. sing. in M. AMg. JM. is in *-āo*=**ātah* (§ 69. 345). Beside it is found metri causa *-āu* too: M. *sisāu*=*śiṣāt* (G. 37); *ṇahaalāu*=*nabhastalāt* (H. 75); *raṇṇāu*=*aranyāt* (H. 287); AMg. *pāvāu*=*pāpāt* (Sūyag. 415) beside *pāvāo* (Sūyag. 110. 117); *dukkhāu*=*duḥkhāt* (Uttar. 218). The abl. in *-du*, taught by Hc. 4,276 for Ś., belongs to JŚ. (§ 21), where *udajādū*=*udayāt* (Pav. 383,27), beside *aṇāudajādo* (Kattig. 399,309) and forms like *carittādo*=*caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6), *ṇāṇādo*=*jñānāt* (Pav. 382,5), *viṣajādo*=*viṣayāt* (Pav. 382,6), *vasādo*=*vaśāt* (Kattig. 399, 311) are found. In Ś. Mg. the abl. always ends in *-do* (Ki. 5,79; Mk. fol. 68; § 69. 345). On forms with short *a*, as AMg. *lāṇao* see § 99. Not seldom in M. AMg. JM. is also the abl. in *-ā*=Skt. *-āt*. So M.: *vasā*=*vaśāt*, *bhaḍā*=*bhayāt*, *guṇā*=*guṇāt*, *veḍā*=*vegāt*, *bhavaṇā*=*bhavanāt*, *dehataṇā*=**dehatvanāt*, *bhāruvahaṇādarā*=*bhārodvahanādorāt* (G. 24. 42. 84. 125. 242. 390. 716. 848. 854. 924.); *gharā*=*grhāt*, *balā*=*balāt* (H. 497. 498); *āirā*=*acirāt* (R. 3,15); *ṇacirā* (Bāl. r. 179,2); *misā*=*miṣāt*, *ṇivesā*=*niveśāt* (Karp. 12,8; 75,2); AMg. *marañā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3. 2,1); *dukkhā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Uttar. 220); *kohā*, *māṇā*, *lobhā*=*krodhāt*, *mānāt*, *lobhāt* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1); *balā* (Sūyag. 287. 293; Uttar. 593); *ārambhā* (Sūyag. 104); *nāyaputtā* (Sūyag. 318); *bhayā*=*bhayāt*, *lābhā*, *mohā*, *pramāyā*=*pramādāt* (Uttar. 207. 251. 434. 627); *kohā*, *hāsā*, *lobhā*, *bhayā* (Uttar. 751; cf. Dasav. 615,28), mostly in verses; JM. *niyamā* (Kk. 259,6,18); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhā* (Dasav. 620,20; Erz.); JŚ. *niyamā* (Kattig. 400,328; 401,341). I have noted only *balā* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,22), only *kālaṇā* in Mg (Mṛcch. 152,7; cf. 145,17) from the critical texts. The MSS., however, have *kālaṇāe* for *kālaṇā*, the ed. Cal. Śak. 1792 p. 324, 11 and Goḍbole, 413,1 correctly *kālaṇado*, as STENZLER too elsewhere reads (133,1; 140,14; 158,21; 165,7). Mk. fol. 69 permits *-ā* too in Ś., in addition, and quotes *kāraṇā* as an example. Frequent in M. is the abl. sing. in *-hi*: *mūlāhi*, *kusumāhi*, *gaṇāhi*, *varāhi*, *biāhi*=*bijāt* (G. 13. 69. 193. 426. 722; cf. yet 1094. 1131. 1164); *dūrāhi*, *hīāhi*=*hrdayāt*, *aṇṇāhi*, *ṇikkammāhi* *vi cheṭṭāhi*=*niṣkarmaṇo* *pi kṣetrāt* (H. 50. 95. 120. 169; cf. yet 179. 429. 594. 665. 877. 934. 998); *ravāhi*, *dhīrāhi*=*dhairyāt*, *dantujjōāhi*=*dantoddyotāt*, *paccekkhāhi*=*pratyakṣāt*, *ghaḍiāhi*=*ghaṭitāt*, *aṇuhūāhi*=*anubhūtāt* (R. 3,2; 4,27; cf. still 4,45. 56; 6,14. 77; 7,57; 8,18; 11, 88; 12, 8. 11; 14, 20. 29; 15,50); *hīāhi* (Karp. 79, 12; v. 1 *hīāu*); *daṇḍāhi*=*daṇḍāt* (Bāl. 178, 20; text against the metre *°hiṃ*). In AMg. is found *piṭṭhāhi*=*prṣṭhāt* (Nāyadh. 958f), beside *piṭṭhāo* (938.964). Seldom is the abl. in *-hiṃto*: *kandalāhiṃto*=*kandalāt* (G. 5); *cheṭṭāhiṃto*=*sepāt* *hīāhiṃto*=*hrdayāt*, *raihaṇāhiṃto*=*ratigṛhāt* (H. 240. 451. 553); *mūlāhiṃto*=*mūlāt* (Karp. 38, 3); *rūāhiṃto*=*rūpāt* (Mudrār. 37,4). Rājaśekhara employs the abl. in *-hi* and *-hiṃto* falsely in Ś. too: *candaseharāhi*=*candraśekharaṭ* (Bāl. 289,1; text *°hiṃ*); *pāmarāhiṃto*=*pāmarāt*, *candāhiṃto*=*candrāt*, *jalāhiṃto*=*jalāt*, *tumhārisāhiṃto*=*yuṣmādrṣāt* (Karp. 20,6; 53,6; 72,2; 93,9); *pādāhiṃto*=*pādāt*, *gamāgāmāhiṃto*=*gamāgamāt*, *thaṇaharāhiṃto*=*stonabharāt* (Viddhaś. 79,2; 82,4; 117,4). On the corresponding forms of pronouns see § 415 ff. The ending *-hi* is present in adverbs M. AMg. JM. in *alāhi*=*alam*¹ (Vr. 9,11; Hc. 2, 189; Ki. 4, 83 [text *aṇāhi*]; H. 127; Vivāhap. 813.965. 1229. 1254; T. 5,6 [text *°hiṃ*]), *-hiṃto* in AMg. *antohiṃto*=*antarāt* (§ 342) and *bāhiṃhiṃto*=*bāhiṣāt* (Thāp. 408). *uttarāhi* and *ḍakṣiṇāhi* (WHITNEY § 1100 c), the forms in *-hi* serve,

as noted by E. MÜLLER², as adverbs. Hence one may in *-hi*, neither with LASSEN³, search for on old ending *-bhi*, nor with WEBER⁴, a plural ending, above all *-him* is never found beside it. The ending *-himto* is, with LASSEN⁶, to be considered as having originated from *-bhis*, or more correctly from *-bhyas*, the ending of the abl. plur. + *tas*, the ending of the abl. sing.; and therefore, *-himto*, (Sr. fol 7) not *hinto* is to be written. The *a* of the stem has the lengthening according to § 69. The abl. *vacchatto* (Hc. 3,8; Sr. fol.7), *rukhatto* corresponding to the form [*puttatto*] are double formations = *vrkṣāt + tas*, *rukṣāt + tas*. — For A. the forms found in the text are *vacchahē*, *vacchahu* = *vrkṣāt* (Hc. 4,336); *jalahu* = *jalāt* (Hc. 4,415). Ki. 5,30 has beside *rucchahē* also *rucchādu* [text *ḍā*] = *vrkṣkāt*. With LASSEN⁷ it is to be read as *vacchahē*, *vacchādu*. The origin of the forms in *-hē*, *-hu* is obscure.

1. So rightly WEBER. H¹. p. 49, note 1. — 2. Beiträge p. 22. — 3. Inst. p. 303. — 4. H¹. p. 49. — 5. At Bālar. 178,20 *him*, as mentioned, is against the metre, 289,1 has also a false reading. — 6. Inst. p. 310. — 7. Inst. p. 451.

§ 366. Corresponding to the rules of the grammarians (Vr. 11,12; Hc. 4,299) we find in Mg. in the gen. sing. the ending, beside *-śśa* = *-sya*, also *-ha* from *-sa* with lengthening of *a* of the stem (§ 63.264). In the examples with *-āha* quoted by Hc. from Śak. and Veniś, the printed editions and manuscripts have *-aśśa* or variant readings¹. The genitive forms in *-aha* are : *kāmāha* = *kāmasya* (Mṛch. 10,24); *cālundattāha* = *cārudattasya* (Mṛch. 13,25; 100,20; 154,10; 164,2 4), beside *cālundattaśśa* (Mṛch. 79,15; 100,22); *niyyādamāṇāha*, *anīyyādamāṇāha* = *niryāṭayamānasya*, *a°*; *ēkkāha* = *ekasya*; *avalāha* = *aparasya*; *ayyamitteāha* = *āryamaitreyasya*; *śālākāha* = *śyālakasya*, *śālilāha* = *śarirasya*; *cālittāha* = *cāritrasya* etc. (Mṛch. 21,13.14; 24,3; 32,4.5; 45,1; 112.10; 124,21). To it corresponds the genitive in *-ha* in A., as *kaṇaaha* = *kanakasya*; *caṇḍālaaha* = *caṇḍālasya*; *kavaha* = *kāvyasya*; *phaṇindaha* = *phaṇindrasya*; *kaṇṭhaaha* = *kaṇṭhasya*; *paaha* = *padasya* (Piṅgala 1,62.70.88b.104.109.117). The common form of the genitive singular in A. is that in *-ho*, mostly in *-hō* (Hc. 4,338; Ki. 5,31); *dullahahō* = *durlabhasya*; *sāmiāhō* = *svāmikasya*, *kṛdantahō* = *kṛtāntasya*; *kantahō* = *kāntasya*; *sāarahō* = *sāgarasya*; *tahō virahahō nāsantaahō* = *tasya virahasya naśyatah* (Hc. 4,338. 340. 370. 379. 395,7. 419,6. 432). One *kantahō* phonetically corresponds to one **kāntasyah*, that is to say a mixture of *a-* and consonantal declensions as in the nom. plur. in *āo* (§ 367). Beside the genitive in *-ssu* from *-ssa* = *-sya* (§ 106), as *parassu* = *parasya*; *suaṇassu* = *sujanasya*; *khandhassu* = *skandhasya*; *tuttassu* = *tattvasya*; *kantassu* = *kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.440. 445,3), according to Hc. 4,338; Ki. 5,31 even the genitive in *-su* is used, as *rukhasu* (Ki. 3,31); in LASSEN, Inst. p. 451 *vacchasu* in A. I can, probably accidentally, attest the form only in the pronouns (§ 425.427).

1. FISCHER ON Hc. 4,299.

§ 366^a. In the locative singular the forms in *-e* and those in *-mmi* = *-smin* (§ 313.350), quoted above from pronominal declensions (§ 313.350), often stand directly beside one another. So M. *mukke vi naramaindattanammī* = *mukte 'pi naramgendratve* (G.10); *diṭṭhe sarisammī guṇe* = *drṣṭe sadṛṣe guṇe* (H. 44); *naipūrasacchahe jōvvaṇammī* = *nadīpūrasadrṣe yauvane* (H. 45); *suṇaha paūrammī gāme* = *śunakapracure grāme* (H.138); *devāattammī phale* = *daivāyatte phale* (H. 279); *hantavvaṇammī dahamuhe* = *hantavye daśamukhe* (R. 3,3); *apūramāṇammī bhare* = *apūryamāṇe bhare* (R. 6,67); *gaammī paose* = *gate pradoṣe* (R. 11,1); *nihaammī pahatthe* = *nihate prahaste* (R. 15,1); JM. *pāḍaliputtammī puravare* (Āv. 8,1) and *pāḍaliputte nagarammī* (Āv. 12,40); *dullalahalambhammī māṇuse jamme* = *durlabhalambhe māṇuse janmani* (Āv. 12,13); *kae 'kae vā vi kajjammī* = *kṛte 'kṛte vāpi kārye* (Āv. 12,18); *cēttammī naḁkhatte vihuhatthe* = *caitre naḁṣatre vidhuhaste* (KI. 19); JS. *tivihe pattammī* = *trividhe*

prāpte (Kattig. 402, 360; text °mhi; *accudammi sagge* = *acyute svarge* (Kattig. 404, 391; text °mhi). All the examples stand in verses. In prose in JM. the locative mostly is used, as *girinagare nagaer* (Āv. 9,12); *matthae* = *mastake* (Āv. 11,1); *puratthime disibhāe āramamajjhe* = **purastime digbhāga āramamadhye* (Āv. 13, 24), more seldom that in -mhi, as *raigharammi* = *ratigrhe* (Āv. 11, 13); *komuimahū-savanmhi* = *kaumudimahotsave* (Erz. 2, 7); *majjhammhi* (Erz. 9,1); forms of both the types sometimes stand in prose beside one another, as *vijjānimmiyammi siyarattapaḍāyābhūsie pāsāe* = *vidyānirmite śitaraktapatākābhū-site prāsāde* (Erz. 8,24). In verses both the forms are usable according to the metre, as *bharahammhi* = *bharate*, *tihuyāṇammhi* = *tribhuvane*, *śissammhi* = *śiṣṭe* (Āv. 7,22; 8,17; 12,24), and *guṇasilūjjāne* = *guṇasilodyāne*, *avasāṇe*, *sihare* = *śikhore* (Āv. 7,24. 26. 36). In JŚ too both the locatives are current. In Kattig. several times the MS. writes -mhi instead of -mhi: *kālamhi* (399,321) against *kālammi* (400,322); *pattamhi* (402,350); *accudamhi* (404, 391); also in pronouns: *tamhi* = *tasmin* (400,322) beside *tammi* in the same line and *jammi* (399,322). This may simply be an error of handwriting. Pav. has only -mhi: *dāṇammhi* (383, 69); *suhammi*, *asuhammhi* (385, 61); *kāyacēṭṭhammi* (386,10; 387,18); *jiṇamadammhi* (386,11) etc. The same error occurs in Kattig. in *savvaṇhū* for the correct *savvaṇṇū* (Pav. 381,16i) = *sarvajñah* (398. 302. 303). Cf. § 436.—In AMg. the most usual form is that in -mhi = -smin (§ 74.313); *logamhi* = *loke* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,3,1,1,2,1; 1,4, 2,3,1; 1,5,4,4; 1,6,2,3; 1,7,3,1; Sūyag. 213.380.381.463.465 etc.); *susāṇamhi vā sunnāgāramhi vā giriguhāmsi vā rukkhāmūlamhi vā kumbhārājya jaṇamhi vā* = *śma-śāne vā śūnyāgāre vā giriguhāyām vā rukksamūle vā kumbhokārāyatane vā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1); *imaṃsi dāragamhi jāyamhi samāṇamhi* = *asmin dārake jāte satī* (Thāp. 525; Vivāhap. 1275; cf. Vivāgas. 116). Forms in -mhi, -mhi are not rare: in verses: *samajammhi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9; 2,16,9); *bambhammi ja kappammhi ja* = *brāhṃe ca kalpe ca* (Āyār. p. 125,34); *dāhiṇamhi pāsammhi* [sic] = *dakṣiṇe pārśve* (Āyār. p. 128,20); *logamhi* = *loke* (Sūyag. 136. 410); *saṃgāmarimhi* = *saṃgrāme* (Sūyag. 161); *āyujammhi* = *āyūjṃsi* (Uttar. 196); *marañantammhi* = *marañante* (Uttar. 207); *jalaṇammhi* = *jvalane* (Nāyādh. 1394). Later such forms stand even in prose, beside the loc. in -e, hardly rightly, as *daruṇammhi gimhe* (Nāyādh. 340); *utthijammhi sūre sahasarassimhi dīṇayare tejasā jalante* = *utthite sūre sahasarassmau dinakare tejasā jvalati* (Vivāhap. 169; Anuog. 60; Nāyādh. § 34; Kappas. § 59), and beside the loc. in -mhi, as *gimhakālasamajamhi jēṭṭhāmūlamāsammhi* = *grīṣmakālasamaye jyeṣṭhāmūlamāse* (Ovav. § 82). The loc. in -e in the early prose, in comparison with that in -mhi, is a little numerous: *harae* = *hrade* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); *viyāle* = *vikāle* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *lābhe sante* = *lābhe satī* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.); *paḍipae* = *pratipathe*, *parakkame* = *parākrame* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3), *sapaḍiduvāre* = *sapratiduvāre* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5), more frequently in verses, as *loe* = *loke* (Āyār. 1,8,4,14; 2,16,9; Uttar. 22.169); *laddhe pinde* = *labdhe pinde* (Āyār. 1,8,4,13); *āramā-gāre*, *nagare*, *susāṇe*, *rukkhamūle* (Āyār. 1,8,2,3); *marañante* (Uttar. 213); *dharaṇitale* (Sūyag. 296), also beside the loc. in -mhi and -mhi, as *sisiramhi addhapadivanne* = *śiṣire ardhapratipanne* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 21); *saṃsārammi añantage* (Uttar. 215. 222); *pattammhi āse* = *prāpta ādeṣe* (Uttar. 227). In the later prose they stand also beside the loc. in -mhi, as *taṃsi tārisagamhi vāsaghamhi abbhinterao sacittakamme bāhirao dūmija-ghaṭṭhamatthe* is followed still by seven loc. in -e — *taṃsi tārisagamhi sajanijjamhi sāliṇṇavattie* is followed eight loc. in -e — *puvvarattāvarat-takālasamajamhi* (Kappas. § 32). Dialectically the loc. in -him from -ssim are also found (§ 65.264); *Mg.evaṃvaddakāhim gallakkappamāṇāhim kulā-him* = *evaṃvadrake galvarkapramāṇe kule* (Mrcch. 126, 9); *Mg. pavahaṇā-*

*hiṁ*²=*pravahane* (Mṛcch. 119,23), are also found. In addition, the loc. is put also in *-hi* in A: *desahi*=*dese*; *gharahi*=*grhe* (Hc. 4,386.422,15); *hradahi*=*hrade*; *paḍhamahi*=*prathame*, beside *tiḥ pāe*=*trīṭiye pāde*; *samapāahi*=*sama-pāde*; *sisahī*=*śiṛṣe*; *antahi*=*ante*; *cittahi*=*citte*; *vaṁsahi*=*vaṁṣe* (Piṅgala 1,4^a.70.71.81^a.120.155^a; 2,102). The loc. in prose ends in *-e* in Ś. and mostly in Mg., too, as for Ś. Mk. fol. 69 expressly remarks: Ś. *gehe*, *āvaṇe*=*āpaṇe* (Mṛcch. 3,9.14.15), *muhe*=*mukhe* (Śak. 35,10); Mg. *haste*; *vihave* *vihaḍide*=*vibhave* *vighaḍite* (Mṛcch. 21,12; 32,21); *śamale*=*samare* (Venīs. 33,8). In verses in Mg. the loc. in *-mmi* too is found, sometimes beside that in *-e*: *caṇḍālaṭṭhammi*=*caṇḍālakule*; *kūvammi*=*kūpe* (Mṛcch. 161,14; 162,7); *śomammi* *gahammi*=*saumye grahe*; *śevide* *apaścammī*=*sevite* *pathye* (Mudrār. 177,5; 257,2; cf. ZDMG. 39,125.128). Rājasekhara errs here too against the dialect, since he uses the loc. in *-mmi* in prose also: *majjhammi* (Karp. 6,1), beside *majjhe* (Karp. 12,10; 22,9); *kavvammi*=*kāṇye* (Karp. 16,8); *rāmmammi* *rāme*; *sedusimantammi*=*setusimante* (Bā'ar. 96,3; 194,14). In Indian editions the loc. in *-mmi* is often found in Ś., which perhaps is not a fault of the MSS., but of the authors, who did not know to write Ś. correctly. Cf. e. g. Pras. 35,3; 39,2; 44,8,9; 45,5; 47,6; 113,8.12; 119,14.15; Karpas. 25,3; 37,6; Kāṁsav. 50,2.14; Mallikāṁ. 87,4; 88,23. Naturally the writings, such as *cāṇakkammī* *akarūṇe* (Mudrār. 53,8); *hiṇānivvīsesammī* *jāṇe*=*hīdayanirvīśeṣe* *jāṇe* (Viddhaś. 42,3), *gaḇchatammī* *deve* (Cait. 134,10), too are wholly false. In A. the loc. usually ends in *-i* from *-e*: *tali*=*tale*, *paṭthari*=*prastare*; *andhāri*=*andhakāre*; *kari*=*kare*; *mūli* *viṇaṭṭhāi*=*mūle* *viṇaṭṭe*; *bāri*=*deāre* (Hc. 4,334.344.349.354.427.436); sometimes it ends in *-e* too: *appiē* *diṭṭhāi*, *piē* *diṭṭhāi*=*apriye* **drṣṭake*, *priye* **drṣṭake*; *pie* *diṭṭhē*=*priye* *drṣṭe*; *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc. 4,365,1. 396,2).

1. So it is to be read; cf. Mṛcch. 139,23, the v.l. in GoḍABOLE 348,3 and in LASSEN, Inst. p. 430. — 2. So to be read with the ed. Calc. 1829 p. 227, 6 and ed. GoḍABOLE p. 331,8 according to the v. l.

§ 366^b. In the voc. sing. of the *a*-stem *pluti* is found frequently (§ 71). According to Hc. 3,38; Sr. fol. 5 the vocative of the masculine may end in *-e* too, beside in *-a*, *-ā*: *ajjo*=*ārya*; *devo*=*deva*; *khamāsamaṇo*=*kṣamāśramaṇa* (Hc.); *rukkhō*=*rukṣa*; *vaccho*=*vrkṣa* (Sr.). Such vocatives are found in AMg., and there they are used not only for the vocative singular, but also for the vocative plural of the masculine, so that probably they may not be considered as the nom. sing. of the masc. used as the vocative, specially when in AMg. in prose they end in *-e* always. The examples are: AMg. *ajjo*=*ārya* (Sūyag 1016; Uttar. 415; Vivāhap. 132.134; Kappas. Th. § 1.S. § 18.52); as plur. = *āryāhi* (Thān. 146.147; Vivāhap. 132.188 f. 193.332; Uvās. § 119.174); *tāo*=*tāta* (Nāyādh. § 83.85.98); *devo*=*deva* (Nāyādh. § 38); *puriso*=*puruṣa* (Sūyag. 108); *amma jāo*=*ambātāu*, therefore, plur. (Antag. 61.62; Vivāhap. 804.805.808 ff. [oftener *ammātāo*]; Nāyādh. § 134.138.145; p. 260.862.887 etc.). Likewise one says in the feminine AMg. JM. *ammo*=*amba* (Hc. 3,41; Uvās. § 140; Āv. 13,33; 14,27); also used as the plur. of parents (Nāyādh. § 138; Uttar. 574). The example given by Hc., *ammo bhaṇāmi bhaṇiē* is H. 676, where WEBER and the Bombay edition read *bhaṇiē* *bhaṇāmi attā*; T. reads *attā bhaṇāmi bhaṇiē*; in Bhuvanapāla the strophe is wanting. Thus Hc. found *ammo* in M. too. Perhaps in the *o*, is inserted the particle *u*, which stands according to the lexicographers in addressing (*āmantraṇe*) and in calling from off (*sambodhane*). Against this, in AMg. *bhaṇiē*=*bhadanta*¹ (§ 165); Mg. *bhāve*=*bhāva* (Mṛcch. 10,22; 11,24; 12,3; 13,6.24; 14,10 etc.); *ceḍe*=*ceṣa* (Mṛcch. 21,25) beside *ceḍā* (Mṛcch.

118,1; 119,11. 21; 121,9; 122,9 etc.); *uḍḍake*=*upāsaka* (Mṛcch. 114,7)
bhaḍḍake=*bhaḍḍaka* (Śak. 114,5; 116,11); *lāutte*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 117,5);
puttake=*putraka* (Śak. 167,7)², the nomin. must be considered to have
 been used vocatively. Whether even in A. *bhamaru*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4,
 368); *māhiharu*=*māhīdhara* (Vikr. 66,16) are to be taken as in the nomin.
 is doubtful, since in A. the final *a*, also elsewhere, becomes *u* (§ 106).
 The form in *-e* is used in Mg. as acc. sing. in *mama śīle śadakhāṇḍe kaḷeṣi*
 = *mama śīraḥ śatakhāṇḍaṁ karoṣi* (Mṛcch. 151,25). Other examples quoted
 by LASSEN³ have disappeared from the new edition. Cf. § 367^a. In Venis.
 at 33,12 according to the ed. Calc., we should read *labbhadi* instead of
lambhai in GRILL, so that *maṁṣae*, *uṇhe* (read *uṇe*), *luhile* are nom. according
 to § 357.

1. This is the right explanation. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,155, note 3; FISCHER on
 Hc. 4,287. Wrongly E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 50, where further literature.—2. Misun-
 derstood by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 28. See FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 326.—
 3. Inst. p. 429.

§ 367. The masculine nom. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ā*=*āḥ*:
 M. AMg. JM. Ś. *devā*=*devāḥ* (H. 355; Ovav. § 33; Erz. 4,31; Mṛcch. 3,13);
 JŚ *aṭṭhā*=*ariḥāḥ* (Pav. 382,26); Mg. *puliṣā*=*puruṣāḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13);
 CP. *saṁuddā*, *saṭṭā*=*saṁudrāḥ*, *saṭṭāḥ* (Hc. 4,326); D. *dakkhiṇattā*=*dākṣiṇā-*
tyāḥ (Mṛcch. 103,5); Ā. *viśaddhā*=*viśabdḥāḥ* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *ghoḍā*=
ghoṭāḥ (Hc. 4,330,4). In AMg. in verses the masc. nom. plur. is found
 in *-āo* too; *māṇavāo*=*mānavāḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Sūyag. 412); *tahāgajāo*=*tathā-*
gataḥ (Āyār. 1,3,3,3); *hajāo*=*hatāḥ* (Sūyag. 295); *saṁatthāo*=*saṁarthāḥ*;
omarattāo=*avamarattāḥ*; *sisāo*=*siṣyāḥ*; *āṇivāo*=*abivāḥ* (Uttar. 755.768.794.
 1045); *virattāo* [so the commentary; text °āo] = *viraktāḥ*; *sāgarāo*=*sāgarāḥ*
 (Uttar. 758.1000). Other cases yet Uttar. 698.895.1048.1049.1053.
 1059.1061.1062.1064.1066.1071.1084. So also in M. or JM. *vaṇṇāo* beside
vaṇṇā=*vaṇṇāḥ* in a grammatical citation in Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala.
 1,2(p.3,5). Indian editions have these plural forms falsely in Ś.too, e.g. Dha-
 namjayav. 11,7 ff.; 14,9f.; Cait. 43,18ff. A tracing of the plur. in *-āo*, which
 is the rule in the case of the feminine in *ā* (§ 376) back to Vedic *-āsas*,
 hence the derivation of Pkt. *janāo* from Vedic *janāsas* is linguistically im-
 possible. V. Mg. *bhoṣṭālakāho*, A. *loahō* (§ 377) are in direct continuation
 (§ 372). Pkt. shows that *-āsas* is to be explained from *ās+as*, that is to
 say, the ending *-as* of the consonant stem has supplemented the plur.
 of the *a*-stem. Pkt. *māṇavāo* is, therefore, a double form¹, like the abl. sing.
vacchatto (§ 365). In A. the ending *-ā* appears often shortened (§ 364):
gaa=*gajāḥ*; *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ*; *bahua*=*bahukāḥ*; *kāara*=*kātarāḥ*; *meha*=
meghāḥ (Hc. 4,335. 367. 376. 395,5; 419,6).—In the nom. acc. plur. of the
 neuter the most usual form is in *-im*, before which *a* is lengthened; beside
 it, in verses *-ī* and *-i* are used (§ 180.182). On the forms *dhanānim*, *vaṇā-*
nim taught by Ki. 3,28 see § 182. Vr. 5,26 teaches for M. *-i* only, C. 1,3
 only *-ni*; Hc. 3,26 and Sr.fol.17 teach *-ī*, *-im*, *-ni*, Ki.3,28; Mk.fol. 43 *-im*
 only. M. has *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*: *naṇānim*=*nayanāni* (H. 5); *aṅgāṇi* *vi piāim* (H. 40);
raaṇāni *va garuḡaṇasāṇi*=*ratnāṇi* *va gurukagūṇasāṇi* (R. 2,14). In AMg.,
 already in the oldest texts, *-ni* too, beside *-im*, is quite usual: *pāṇāim* *bhūy-*
āim *jivāim* *sattāim*=*prāṇān* *bhūtāni* *jivāni* *sattvāni* (Āyār. 1,6,5,4; 1,7,2,1; 2,1,
 1,11), beside *pāṇāni* *vā bhūyāṇi* *vā jivāni* *vā sattāni* *vā* (Āyār. p. 132,28);
udagapasaṇyāni *kandāni* *vā mūlāni* *vā pattāni* *vā pupphāni* *vā phalāni* *vā biyāni* *vā*
hariyāni *vā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,5). Often both the forms stand beside one
 another: *sē jīāim* *pūna kulāim* *jāṇējīā* *tam jahā* *uggakulāni* *vā bhogakulāni* *vā*
rāinnakulāni *vā*...still follow nine compounds with *kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2);
agārāim *ceyīāim* *tam jahā* *āsaṇāni* *vā āyajaṇāni* *vā devakulāni* *vā*—yet follow

eleven forms in *āni*—*tahappagārāim āsaṇāni vā...bhavaṇagihāni vā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8); *aṇṇāni ya bahūni gabbhādāṇaṃmaṇa-m-āiyāim kouyāim* (Ovav. [§ 105]); *khēttāim* in the same verse with *khēttāni=kṣetrāni* (Uttar. 356). The form in *-ni*, as in JM.², especially before enclitics is selected. In verses the metre decides in AMg. too the choice between *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*. So in Uttar. 357 we should read *tāim tu kkēttāi supāvayāim=tāni tu kṣetrāni supāpakāni*; Dasav. 619, 17 stands *pupphāi biyāim vipphāṇṇāi*; 621, 1 we should read *sattucunṇāim kolacunṇāi āvaṇa*. In JM. the situation is the same, as in AMg.: *pañca egūṇāim addāgasāyāim...pakkhittāim=pañcaikonāny *ādarpaśatāni...prakṣiptāni*; *nicchiddāim dārāim=niśchidrāni dārāni* (Āv. 17, 15, 19); *tāni vi pañca corasāyāni...saṃbohijāni pavvaṇijāni=tāny api pañca corasatāni...saṃboddhitāni pravrajitāni* (Āv. 19, 2); *bahūni vāsāni* (Erz. 34, 3), beside *bahūim vāsāim=bahūni varṣāni* (Erz. 34, 17). Writings, like *vatthābharāṇāni rājasantiyāim* (Erz. 52, 8) in prose, are probably not correct, even when both the forms often stand closely beside one another, as in *poṭṭāim ānehi tie rattagāni āṇijāni* (Erz. 31, 8). In Ś, according to Vr. 12, 11; Ki. 5, 78; Mk. fol. 69, *-ni* too may be used beside *-im*. So stands *suhāni=sukhāni* (Śak. 99, 4) and *apaṇṇavisesāni sattāni* (Śak. 154, 7) in most of the MSS.; for *vaṇṇāni=vacanāni* (Vikr. 87, 22) the best MSS. have *vaṇṇāim*, and so all the critical texts give in Ś. Mg., elsewhere, *-im*³ only. Dialectically nom. acc. plur. in *-ā* are often found beside those in *-im* or in *-ni*: AMg. *udagapasūyāni kandaṇi vā mūlāni vā tayā pattā pupphā phalā biyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9); *bahusambhūyā vaṇaphalā* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 13, 14); *pāṇā ya taṇā ya biyā ya paṇagā ya hariyāni ya* (Kappas. S. § 55). The form of the following words might have influenced *taṇā*=**tvacāḥ*=*tvacah* in the second example (cf. however, *taṇāni* too § 358), and *pāṇā*=*prāṇāḥ*, in the third example. In other cases, however, such a hypothesis is out of question: *māyajaṅgā*=*mātraṅgāni* (Thāṇ. 187); *thāṇā*=*sthānāni* (Thāṇ. 163, 165); *pañca kumbhakārāvaṇasayā*=*pañca kumbhakārāpaṇasatāni* (Uvās. § 184); *nahā*=*nakhāni*, *aharōṭṭhā* *uttarōṭṭhā*=*adharoṣṭhe* *uttaroṣṭhe* (Kappas. S. § 43); *cattāri lakkhaṇā*, *ālambaṇā*=*catvāri lakṣaṇāni*, *ālambanāni* (Ovav. p. 42 f.) JM. *pañca sayā piṇḍiyā* (Āv. 17, 1), beside *pañca pañca suvaṇṇasayāni* (Āv. 16, 30); Ś. *midhūṇā* (Mṛcch. 71, 22), beside *midhūṇāim* (Mṛcch. 71, 14); *jāṇavattā*=*yānapātrāni* (Mṛcch. 72, 23; 73, 1); *viraḍā mae āsaṇā*=*viracitāni mayāsonāni* (Mṛcch. 136, 6), beside *āsaṇāim* (Mṛcch. 136, 3), and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 137, 3); *duve piā uṇṇadā*=*dve priye upanate* (Vikr. 10, 3); *aṇurāsūā akkharā*=*anurāgasūcakāny akṣarāni* (Vikr. 26, 2). Hc. 1, 33 mentions *naaṇā*=*nayanāni*; *loaṇā*=*locanāni*; *vaṇṇā*=*vacanāni*; *dukkhā*=*duḥkhāni*; *bhāṇā*=*bhājanāni*. He sees in them the masculine, which is definitely possible. The numerous neuter that have become masculine appear to me to suggest that the form in *-ā* is to be equated with the corresponding Vedic one, and that it has given cause for change of the gender. Before the endings *-im*, *-ī*, a short vowel often appears in A.: *ahiulāṭ*=*ahikulāni*; *loaṇāṭ jātsaraṭ*=*locanāni jātismaraṇāni*; *maṇorahaṭ*=*manorathāḥ*; *niścintaṭ hariṇāṭ*=*niścintā hariṇāḥ* (Hc. 4, 353. 365, 1. 414, 4. 422, 20).

1. That is probably already meant by LASSEN. Inst. p. 307.—2. JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxvi § 39. In AMg. the examples are frequent: I can not attest the rule from JM., so I too have listed a large number of forms in *-ni*.—3. FISCHER, De Kālidāsae Śakuntali recensionibus p. 29 f.; KB. 8, 142. Falsely BOLLENSEN, Mālavikā. p. 113 and preface p. ix.

§ 367^a. In the acc. plur. of the masculine usual in all the dialects is the ending *-e*, that has been extended from the pronominal declension¹. M. *carāṇe*=*carāṇau*; *ṇāame*, *garuaare*=*nicatamān*, *gurukatarān*;

dose=*doṣaṇ* (G. 24. 82. 887); *dosaguṇe*=*doṣaguṇau*; *pāe*=*pāḍau*; *sahatthe*=*svahastau* (H. 48.130.680); *dharanīhare*=*dharanīdharān*; *mahihare*=*mahīdharān*; *bhinnaaḍe a garue taraṅgappahare*=*bhinnataṭāṃś ca gurukāṃś taraṅgapraharān* (R.6,85.90;9,53); AMg. *samaṇamāhaṇaāṭhikivapaṇaṇimage*=*śramaṇabrahmaṇā tiṭhikṛpaṇavanipakāṇ* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9); *sāhie māse*=*sādhikān māśān* (Āyār. 1, 8,1,2,4,6); *ime eṇṇāve urāle kallāne sive dhanne maṅgalle sassirīe cōddasa mahāsumiṇe*=*imān etadrūpān udārān kalyāṇāṇṣivān dhanyān māṅgalyān saśrikāṃś caturdaśa mahāsvapnān* (Kappas. § 3); JM. *bhoe*=*bhogān* (Āv. 8,24; 12,14. 20; Dvār. 495,7); *te nagaraloe jalaṇasaṃbhamubbhantalōyaṇe palājamāṇe*=*tān nagaralokāṇ jvalaṇasaṃbhramodbhṛāntalocanān palāyamānān* (Āv. 19,10); *te ya samāgae=tāṃś ca samāgatān* (Kk 263,22); JS. *sese puṇa tiṭṭhayaṇe sasavvasiddhe viṣuddhasabbhāve samāṇeṇa vīriyāyāre*=*śeṣān puṇa tīrṭhakarān sasavvasiddhān viṣuddhasadbhāvāṇ śramaṇāṃś ca vīriyācārān* (Pav. 379,2); *vividhe viṣae*=*vividhān viṣayān* (Pav. 384,49); Ś. *adikkantakusumasamāe vi rukkhāe*=*atīkrāntakusumasamayān apī rukṣakān* (Śak. 10,2); *purā paḍiṇṇāde duve vare*=*purā prati-jñātau dvau varau* (Mahāv.65,5); *dārake*=*dārakau* (Uttarar.191,5); Mg. *avale*=*aparān* (Mṛcch. 118,14); *niapāṇe vihave kule kalatte a*=*nijapṛāṇān vibhavān kulāni kalatrāṇi ca* (Mudrār. 256,5)²; D. *sumbhaṇisumbhe*=*sumbhaṇisumbhau* (Mṛcch.105,22). That the same ending is found in neuter too, as in AMg. *bahave jive*=*bahūni jivāni* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *duve rukkhaseaṇake*=*dve rukṣasecānake* (Śak. 24,1); A. *bhuṇe*=*bhuvanāni* (Piṅgala 1,62^b), is explained from the change of gender described in § 356 ff. Dialectically we find also the acc. plur. of the masc. in *-ā=ān* (§ 89; Sr. fol. 6); M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, *nīd-dhaṇā*=*nīrdhanān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6; Sīrīhāsanadv. in IS. 15,355 [so to be read]; Vetālap. p. 219, No. 17 ed. UHLE; on Hc. 2,72); *dosā*=*doṣān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6); AMg. *rukkhā mahallā*=*rukṣān mahataḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,11. 12)³; *purisā*, *āsā*=*puruṣān*, *aśvān* (Nāyādh.1378. 1388 f.); *bandhavā*=*bāndhavān* (Uttar. 576); *samphāsā*=*samsparsān* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); *uvassayā*=*upāśrayān* (Kappas. S. § 60); prosodically *guṇa*=*guṇān* (Dasav. 637,4) too. The form in *-ā, -a* is usual in A.; *saralā sāsa*=*saralāṇī svāsān*; *nirakkhaa gaa*=*nirakṣakān gajān*; *desaḍā*=*deśān*; *siddhatthā*=*siddhāṭṭhān* (Hc. 4,387,1. 418,3. 6. 423,3); *maṇḍā maṇḍakān*; *vipakkhā*=*vipakṣān*; *kuṇjarā*=*kuṇjarān*; *kavandhā*=*kabandhān* (Piṅgala 1,104^a. 117^a. 120^a, 2,230). The single remnant of an acc. with a nasal vowel would be *dālām*=*dārān* (Prab. 47,1=55^a,5 P.=58,16 M.), if the reading be correct. The ed. Bomb. 102,3 reads *lisaṇam dālāṇam* against grammar and prosody.

1. WEBER, H¹ p. 51; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,438.—2. The verse is to be read: *yai mahadha laḥkiduṇ niapāṇe vihave kule kalatte a* (HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,121), *kule* and *kalatte* may be construed also as the acc. sing. according to § 366^b.—3. It might be considered also as the acc. plur. of the neut. according to § 358. 367.

§ 368. The ins. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ehim*=Vedic *-ebhis* (§72), which alternates with *-ehī*, *-ehi* in verses (§178) and with *-ehi* before enclitics in prose too in AMg. JM (§ 350): M. *amūlalahuehi sāsehim*=*amūlalahukaiḥ svāsaiḥ* (G.23); *avahatthiasabbhāvehi dakkhiṇṇabhaṇiehim*=*apahastitasadbhāvair dākṣiṇyabhaṇitaiḥ* (H. 353); *kañcaṇasilālehim chinṇāavamaṇḍalehi*=*kāñcanaśilātalaiś chinṇātāpamaṇḍalaiḥ* (R. 9,55). Apparently in such cases we should read *-hī* for *-hi* (§ 178; cf. § 370). AMg. *tilaehim tāṭiehim chattovehim sīrisehim sattavaṇṇehim*=*sīl 19 instr. follow*—=*tilakair lakucais *chattropaiḥ śīrīṣaiḥ saptaparnaiḥ* (Ovav. § 6); *santehim taccehim tahiehim sabbhūehim aṇiṭṭhehim akantehim appiehim amavṇṇehim amapāmehim vāgaraṇehim*=*sadbhis *tāttvais* (§ 281) *tathyaiḥ sadbhūtair aṇiṣṭair akāntair apriyaiḥ amanojñair *amanāpār*

vyākaraṇaiḥ (Uvās. § 259); JM. *māyandamahuvindehim* = *mākandamadhukavṇṇ-daiḥ* (KI. 18); *vatthābharaṇehim* = *vastrābharaṇaiḥ* (Āv. 26,27); *tehim kumāre-him* = *taiḥ kumārāiḥ* (Āv. 30,9); JS. *vihavehim* = *vibhavaiḥ*; *sahassehīm* = *sahasraiḥ* (Pav. 380,6. 12); *maṇavajakāehim* = *manovacaḥkāyāiḥ* (Kattīg. 400,332); Ś. *jaṇehim* = *janaiḥ* (Lalitav. 568,6; Mṛcch. 25,14); *jādasāṅkehim devehim* = *jāta-sāṅkair devaiḥ* (Śak. 21,5); *bhamarasaṅghavihaḍḍidehim kusumehim* = *bhramara-saṅghaviḥḍḍitaiḥ kusumaiḥ* (Vikr. 21,9); Mg. *tattastehim* = *tatrasthaiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,20); *attaṇakelakehim pādehim* = *ātmīyābhyām pādābhyām* (Mṛcch. 13,9); *maṣcabandhaṇovāehim* = *matsyabandhanopāyāiḥ* (Śak. 114,2); Dh. *vippadivehim pādehim* = *vipratipābhyām pādābhyām*; A. *lakkhehi* = *lakṣaiḥ*; *sarehim*, *saravarehim*, *ujjāṇavarehim*, *nivasantehim*, *suaṇehim* = *śaraiḥ*, *saravaraiḥ*, *udyāṇavanaiḥ*, *niva-sadbhiḥ*, *sujanaiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 422,11). The inst. in *-ahim* is frequent in A.: *guṇahi* = *guṇaiḥ*, *paārahi* = *prakāraiḥ*; *savvahi pāṇthiahi* = *sarvaiḥ paṭhikaḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 367,5. 429,1); *khaggahi* = *khaḍgaiḥ*; *gaahi*, *turaahi*, *rahaḥi* = *gajaiḥ*, *turagaiḥ*, *rathaiḥ* (Piṅgala 1,7.145^a). On this, as well on the instr. in *-ehim*, *-ihim* see § 128.

§ 369. Of the numerous forms, that the grammarians permit for the abl. plur. we have hitherto been able to demonstrate only the abl. in *-ehimto*, that is very frequent in AMg. and is shown to have clearly originated from the ins. plur. + suffix *-tas*, while that in *-sumto* is shown to have arisen from the loc. plur. + suffix *-tas*: *tilehimto* = *tilebhyah* (Sūyag. 594); *maṇussehimto vā pañcīndiyatirikkhajoniehimto vā pudhaviḥāiehimto vā* = *maṇussey-bhyo vā pañcendriyatiryagyonikebhyo vā prthivikāyikebhyo vā* (Thāṇ. 58); *nerātehimto vā tirikkhajoniehimto vā maṇussehimto vā devehimto vā* (Thāṇ. § 336; cf. Vivāhap. 1534 and elsewhere often); *sarisaehimto rāyākulehimto* = *sadrśa-kebhyo rājakulebhyah* (Nāyādh. § 123); *kolaghariehimto vachimto* = *kaulagrāhikebhyo vrajebhyah* (Uvās. § 342.343). In cases like *therehimto naṃ godāsehimto kāsava-gōtthehimto*; *chaluehimto rohaḡuttehimto kosiḡyagōtthehimto* etc. (Kappas.Th. § 5 ff.), the plural is to be considered as that of the sovereign. Beside it AMg. JM. have also an abl. in *-ehim* = Skt. *-ebhyah*, so that the ins. and the abl. have become identical. AMg. *°nāmadhejjhehim vimāṇehim oṇṇā* = *°nāmadhejyebhyo vimāṇebhyo vatirṇāḥ* (Ovav § 37); *saehim saehim gehehimto niggacchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo grhebhyo niggacchanti* (Kappas. § 66; cf. Nāyādh. 1048; Vivāhap. 187. 950. 943); *saehim saehim nagarehimto niggacchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo nagarebhyo niggacchanti* (Nāyādh. 826); *gāratthehiḡa savvehim sāhavo saṃjamuttarā* = *grasthebhyah ca sarvebhyah sādharah saṃyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208); JM. *jharei romakūvehim seo* = *kṣarati romakūpebhyah svedaḥ* (Erz. 4,23; cf. JACOBI § 95). Cf. § 376. In A. the abl. ends in *-ahū*: *girisīṅgahū* = *girisīṅgebhyah*; *muhahū* = *mukhebhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,337. 422,20); *rukkhahū* = *rukṣe-bhyah* (KI. 5,29). *-hū*, *-hū* corresponds phonetically exactly to the ending *-bhyām* of the abl. dual. That it may be an abridgement of *-sumto* (LASSEN, Inst. p. 463) is wrong.

§ 370. The gen. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-āṇam* = Skt. *-ānām*. In M., however, the denasalised form in *-āṇa*, which is found in AMg. JM. JS. too, in AMg. particularly before enclitics (§ 350), but elsewhere too, as *gaṇāṇa majjhe* = *gaṇānām madhye* (Kappas. § 61 = Ovav. 48, p. 55,13 = Nāyādh. § 35), is almost the prevalent one. In places, where in M., both the forms stand beside each other, as *kuḍilāṇa pēmmāṇam* = *kuḍilānām premṇām* (H. 10), *maāṇa oṇimillacchāṇam* = *mṛgāṇām avanimilitākṣāṇām* (R. 9,87), *sajjaṇāṇam pamhusiadasāṇa* = *sajjanānām vismytadasānām* (G. 971), as in the analogous cases in the nom. acc. neut.; inst. loc. plur., we should for *-āṇa* read *-āṇa* (§ 178), which is pointed to by the metre as well in the example from R. Ś. Mg., except in verses, have only the form

in *-āṇam*. For Mg. Hc. 4,300 teaches also a gen. in *-āhā*. None of the MSS. writes this at the places referred to by him in Śak. (§ 178); the Lalitav. too, which mostly agrees with Hc.'s rules, has the gen. in *-āṇam* only (565,14; 566,3.10.11). Against this *-āhā* and shortened *-ahā*, are the most usual endings in A., which go back to the pronominal ending *-sām*: *nivattāhā* = *nivṛttānām*; *sōkkaḥā* = *saukhyānām*; *tanahā* = *trṇānām*; *muk-kāhā* = *muktānām*; *mattahā* *maagalahā* = *mattānām* *madakalānām*; *saūṇāhā* = *śaku-nānām* (Hc. 4,332.339.370.406.445,4); *vaṅkakaḍakkahā* *loṇahā* = *vakrakaḍākṣa-yor locanayoh* (Vetālap. p. 217, Nr. 13); *mahabbhaḍahā* = *mahābhaḍānām* (Kk. 261,5). According to C. 15, elsewhere the ending *-haṁ* too is found beside *-ṇaṁ*: *devāhaṁ* beside *devāṇaṁ*; *tāhaṁ* beside *tāṇaṁ*. Hc. 4,301, who separates them from M., too has the rest of the examples in C. from *-ā*, *-n* and in the pronominal declension.

§ 371. In the loc., in M. AMg. JM. the principal form is in *-esu* = *-eṣu*, beside which sometimes *-esum* is found, as M. *sacandaneṣum āroviaroa-nesu* [read °sū; § 370] = *sacandaneṣu āropitarocaneṣu* (G. 211); *vaṇeṣum* = *vaneṣu* (H. 77); in AMg., oftener in Nāyādh. § 61-63, beside the more frequent forms in *-su*, notwithstanding the MSS. and the ed. Calc. p. 106 ff. always being in accord, we should throughout read °su. In Ś. the texts partly have *-su* (Lalitav. 555,11.12; Mṛcch. 9,2; 24,25; 25,1; 37,23; 70,3; 71,17; 97,22; 100,2; etc.; Mālav. 19,12; 30,6; 611,19.20; 67,10; 75,1; Vikr. 35,6; 75,3.6), and partly *-sum* (Vikr. 23,13; 52,1.5.7; Śak. 9,12; 30,2; 50,11; 51,5; 53,9; 60,8; 64,2; 72,12 etc. in the Bengali recension, whilst the Kashmirian, Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions have *-su*). The Indian editions mostly have *-su*. In Mg. stands *pāeṣu* (Mṛcch. 19,6), but *pādeṣum* (121,20.22), beside *calapeṣu* (121,24) and *keṣeṣu* (122,22) in verses, Vepi. has *keṣeṣu* (35,19), Mudrār. has *kaṁmeṣu* = *karmasu* (191,9), and Prab. has *puliṣeṣu* (62,7). According to the analogy of the ins. and the gen., which always end in *-m*, for prose *-sum*, Mg. *-sum* will be more correct. In A. the loc. and the ins. have become identical: *saahī* = *śateṣu*; *maggahī* = *mārgeṣu*; *gaahī* = *gateṣu*; *kesahī* = *keṣeṣu*; *aṇṇahī* *taruarahī* = *anyeṣu* *taruwareṣu* (Hc. 4,345.347.370,3.422,9). In Hc. 4,423,4 for *gavakkhehiṁ* we should read *gavakkahāḥ* and in 445,2 probably *duṇṇarahī*. The instrumental stands in the sense of the loc. too in AMg. *jaganissiehi* *bhūhehiṁ* *tasanāmehi* *thāvarehiṁ* *ca*, *no tesim ārabhe daṇḍam* (Uttar. 248). Cf. 376.

1. Cf. PISCHEL, De Kāl dāsae ḡakuntali recensionibus p. 31.

§ 372. The vocative is similar to the nominative. In AMg. *ajjo* and *ammajāo* are used as the voc. plur. too (§ 366b). For the voc. plur. of Mg. Kī. 5,94 (cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 393) permits the ending *-hu* too, Mk. fol. 75 *-ho* with *a* of the stem lengthened before it: *bamhaṇāhu* = *brāhmaṇāḥ* (Kī. 5,97). This voc. occurs in *bhaṣṭālākāho*, as at Mṛcch. 165,1.5 instead of *bhaṣṭālākā ho* we should read. It is the usual one in A., where the ending mostly is *-hō*, without lengthening of *a* of the stem: *taruṇahō* = *taruṇāḥ*; *loahō* = *lokāḥ* (Hc. 4,346.350.2.365,1). In A. the ending *-hō* comes after all the stems: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇaḥ* (Hc. 4,346); *aggihō* = *agnayaḥ*, *mahilāhō* = *mahilāḥ* (Kī. 5,20); *cadummuhahō* = *caturmūkhāḥ*, *harihō* = *harayaḥ*, *taruhō* = *taravaḥ* (Sr. fol. 60 ff.). LASSEN, Inst. p. 399 has already rightly noticed, that in Mg. *-āhu* (*-āho*) the Vedic. ending *-āsas* has continued. Since he wrongly referred the rule of Kī. on Mg. to the nom. plur., he separated, the A. form from that of Mg. at p. 463 and sought in *ho* the particle *ho*, as they had done till then also in Mṛcch. 165,1.5. In A. the endings of the *a*-stems have been extended to the rest of the vocalic stems too.—See § 105 on AMg. *ghimsu-*, *pāṇu-*, *pilamkhu-*, *manthu-milakkhu-*, the nouns that have become *u*-stems.

§ 373. The declension of *a*-stems in PG.VG. (§ 363) agrees most faithfully with that in Ś. The dat. sing., which is not usual in Ś., alone is deviating; in PG. however, it appears in two forms, of which that in *-āye* is put in the dative in AMg. JM. (§ 361. 364), and the abl. sing., which ends in *-ā* here, but in Ś., almost always ends in *-ādo* (§ 365).

b) FEMININE IN *-ā*.

§ 374. *mālā* (garland).

Singular.

- Nom. *mālā*.
 Acc. *mālām*.
 Ins. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, the other dialects only *mālāe*, A. *mālāē*.
 Dat. *mālāe*; only in AMg.
 Abl. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, [*mālāhinto*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, *mālatto*]; Ś. Mg. *mālādo* and *mālāe*; A. *mālāhē*.
 Gen. Loc. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, the rest of the dialects only *mālāe*; A.: gen. *mālāhē*, loc. [*mālāhi*].
 Voc. *mālē*, *mālā*.

Plural.

- Nom. Acc. Voc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, *mālā*; Ś. Mg. *mālāo*, *mālā*.
 Ins. M. AMg. JM. *mālāhi*, *mālāhi*, *mālāhim*; Ś. Mg. *mālāhim*.
 Abl. M. AMg. *mālāhinto*, [*mālāsunto*, *mālāo*, *mālāu*]; A. *mālāhu*.
 Gen. M. AMg. JM. *mālāṇa*, *mālāṇā*, *mālāṇam*; Ś. Mg. *mālāṇam*; A.: [*mālāhu*].
 Loc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāsu*, *mālāsū*, *mālāsūm*, Ś. Mg. *mālāsu*, *mālāsūm*.
 In PG. are found the nom. sing. *paṭṭikā* (7,48. 51), *kaḍa tti=kṛteti* (7,51), and the acc. sing. (or plur.) *pilā bādāhā=pilāṇam bādāham* (or *pilā bādāhā*) (6,40), as well as the acc. sing. *śimam=śimām* (6,28).

§ 375. On the declension of the *ā*-stems cf. Vr. 5,19-23; C. 1,3.9. 10; Hc. 3,27. 29. 30. 4,34-8,352; Kī. 3,7. 23. 25. 27; Mk. fol. 43; Sr. fol. 14 f. On the shortening of *ā* in the nom. sing. in A. see § 100. So also Mg. *śevīda=sevītā* (Mṛcch. 117,1). The instrumental, the genitive the locative, and according to the grammarians partly the ablative too, have become identical. The common form is *mālāe*=Skt. *mālāyai*, that is to say=the usual form of the gen. abl. in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas and known in the Avestā too¹. Sometimes in verses the forms in *-āe* and *-āi* stand side by side, as *pucchiāi muddhāe* = *prṣṭāyā mugdhāyāḥ* (H. 15). On metrical grounds, in M. the form in *-āi*, which is to be brought in throughout, where in the texts *-āē* may have to be read, is prevalent. The v. l. mostly has the correct reading *-āi*, as G. 44.46.56.65.71.212.222.243. 290.453.474.684.870.931.954. Some grammarians (Hc. 3,29; Kī. 3,27; Sr. fol. 14) teach a form in *-āa* too, which is forbidden by others (Vr. 5, 23; Mk. fol. 43). Such forms are found in M. as v. l. So: *jōṇhāa=jyotsnāyā*; *nevacchakalāa* = *nepathyakalayā*; *helāa* = *helayā*; *hariddāa* = *haridrāyāḥ*; *caṅgimāa* = *caṅgimatvena* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 31,1; 86,4; 53,9; 55,2; 71,4; 79,12). KONOW reads for them *jōṇhāi*, *nevacchakalāi*, *helāi*, *haliddāi*, *caṅgimāi* (29,1; 86,9; 51,2; 52,4; 69,3; 78,9). Some MSS. sometimes have *-āa*. Since G. H. R. does not otherwise know *-āa*, *tiadāa=trijāyāḥ* (R. 11,100) and *niṣaṇṇāa=niṣaṇṇāyāḥ* (R. 10,101) are not to be accepted as doctior lectio, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, but as false for *āi*, as C. has. This *-āa* goes back to the abl. gen. Skt. *-āyāḥ*, so that *jōṇhāa=jyotsnāyāḥ*, of which the strictly corresponding form **jōṇhāa* is forbidden by Vr. 5,23; Hc. 3,30; Sr. fol. 14. In A. *-āe* has been shortened to *-āē*: *niddāē=nirdayā*; *candimāē=candri-*

mayā; uddāvantiaē = uddāpayantyā; mañjiṭṭhaē = mañjiṭṭhayā (Hc. 4,330,2,349. 352,438,2).—On the dative in *-āe* in AMg. see § 361. 364.—Of the forms of the abl. sing. mentioned by the grammarians I can find in the texts only those in *-āo*, S. Mg. *-ādo* more often : AMg. *paratthimāo vā disāo āgeco ahañ amsi dāhiñāo vā disāo.. paccatthimāo.. uttarāo.. uddhāo = *purostimāto vā disā āgato 'ham asmi dakṣiṇāto vā disāh.... *pratyastimātaḥ.... uttarātaḥ.... ūrdhvātaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 2); *jibbhāo = jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 1); *siyāo = śibikātaḥ* (Nāyādh. 870.1097.1189.1354.1497); *chāyāo = chāyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 639); *aṭṭaṇasālāo = aṭṭaṇasālātaḥ* (Kappas. § 60; Ovav. § 48); *māyāo = māyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *sūṇāo = sūṇātaḥ* (Nirāyāv. § 10); S. *bubhukkhādo = bubhukṣātaḥ, dakkhiṇādo, vāmādo = dakṣiṇātaḥ, vāmātaḥ; padolikādo = pratolikātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 2,33; 9,9; 162,23; Mg. *lacchādo = rathyātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 158,13). Ablative in *-āe* (C. 1,19; Hc. 3,29; Sr. fol. 14) occurs in S. and Mg.: S. *imāe maataṇhiāe = aṣyā mṛgaṭṭṣṇikāyāḥ* (Vikr. 17,1), which with BOLLENSSEN cannot be comprehended as instr.; Mg. *ṣeṇyāe* (text *ṣeṇjāe*) = *ṣeṇyāyāḥ* (Cait. 149,19).—The form *mālatto* follows from Hc. 3,124, and is taught explicitly by Triv. 2,2,34. It is an analogical formation from the masc. and neut. (§ 365). In A. the abl. sing. has become identical with the genitive. The ending *-hē* corresponds to the pronominal ending *-syāḥ*, so that *tahē dhanahē* (Hc. 4,350) strictly is = *tasyā *dhanyasyāḥ = tasyā dhanyāyāḥ*². Hc. 4,350 comprehends *bālāhē*, so that *visamatthapa* is to be taken as *bahuvrīhi*, is = “before the young woman with odd breasts”. Genitive are: *tucchamajjhahē, jampirahē, tucchaarahāsaḥ, alahantiaḥ, vammahanivāsahē, muddhaḍahē = tucchamadyāyāḥ, jalpanaṣilāyāḥ, tucchatarahāsyāyāḥ, alabhamānāyāḥ, manmathanivāsāyāḥ, mugdhāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,350); *tisahē = tṛṣāyāḥ; muṇāliaḥ = mṇālikāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,395,7. 444).—Examples for the loc. are: M. *dukkhuttarāi paavīe = dukkhottarāyāṃ padavyāṃ; gāmaracchāe = grāmarathyāyāṃ* (H. 107. 419); AMg. *suhammāḥ sabhāe = sudharmāyāṃ sabhāyāṃ* (Kappas. § 14 and often); AMg. JM *campāe = campāyāṃ* (Ovav. § 2,11; Erz. 34,25); JM. *sajolāe najarie = sakalāyāṃ nagaryāṃ* (Dvār. 497,21); *ikkikkāe mehalāe = ekaikasyāṃ mekhalāyāṃ* (T. 5,11); S. *susamiddhāe = susamiddhāyāṃ; edāe padosavelāe = etasyāṃ pradoṣavelāyāṃ; rukkhavāḍiāe = rukṣavāḍikāyāṃ* (Mṛcch. 4,20; 9,10; 73,6,7); Mg. *andhaālapūlidāe nāṣiāe = andhakārapūritāyāṃ nāṣikāyāṃ; padoliāe = pratolikāyāṃ; suvaṇṇacoliāe = suvaṇṇacorikāyāṃ* (Mṛcch. 14, 22; 163, 16; 165, 2). AMg. *giriguḥṃsi* for *giriguḥāe = giri-guḥāyāṃ* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1) has been determined through the loc. in *-ṃsi* of the masc. and neut. standing beside it. Cf. similar cases in § 355. 358. 364. 367. 379. 386. As a rule the vocative, as in Skt., ends in *-e*, a form that is known to Vr. 5, 28 alone; whilst Hc. 3, 41; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 14 permit even the nom. form in *-ā* as the vocative. Such vocatives in *-ā* are: M. *attā* (mother-in-law; Mk. fol. 44; H. 8, 469. 543. 553. 653. 676. 811); M. AMg. *piucchā = piṭṭṣvasah* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Nāyādh. 1299. 1348), M. *māuā = mātṛke* (H.); *māucchā = mātṛṣvasah* (Hc.; Mk.; H.); AMg. *jāyā* (Uttar. 442), *puttā = putri* (Nāyādh. 633 f. 648 f. 655. 658), and the frequent M. S. *halā* (Hc. 2, 195; H.), in S., mostly joined with the vocative in *-e* of a proper noun, as *halā saṇṭale* (Śak. 9, 10); *halā aṇusūe* (Śak. 10, 12); *halā nomālie* (Lalitav. 560, 9; text *no*); *halā cittalehe* (Vikr. 9, 3); *halā maṇie* (Ratn. 293, 29); *halā nūmie* (Ratn. 297, 28) etc., or with proper nouns ending in an other vowel, as *halā uvvasi* (Vikr. 7, 17), or with adjectives, used substantively, as *halā apaṇḍide* (Priyad. 22, 7), in M. S. used as plur. too (H. 893. 901; Śak. 16, 10; 58, 9; Vikr. 6, 13; 7, 1; 11, 1; Karp. 108, 5). JM. has *hale* too (Hc. 2, 195; Erz.), which Ki. 5, 19 mentions as A., and which is found in A.

as *hali* (Hc. 4,332,2; 358,1). *Ś. amba* (mother; Śak. ed. BURKHARD 201, 19; 202,20; Ratn. 315,26; 327,6; Mahāv. 56,3; Mālatīm. 179,6; 225,4; Nāgān. 84,15; Anarghar. 310,1 etc. is by origin a particle according to LANMAN³ and BECHTEL⁴. In A. the final *-e* is shortened, as *sahie* = **sakhike*; *ammie*; *bahipue* = *bhaginike* (Hc. 4,358,1.367,1.396,2.422,14), or it becomes *-i*, as in *hali*, mentioned above, and in *ammi*, *muddhi* = *mugdhe* (Hc. 4,395,5. 376,1). On AMg. JM. *ammo* see § 366^b.

1. FISCHER, BB. 6,281, note 3.—2. With LASSEN, Inst. p. 462, we may also consider it to be a case of transfer from the *a*-stems. — 3. Noun-Inflection p. 360. — 4. Hauptprobleme p. 265 f.

§ 376. In all the dialects the usual form in the nom. acc. plur. is that in *-o* (§ 367); nom. M. *mahilāo* = *mahilāh* (H. 397); AMg. JM. *devayāo*, *Ś. devadāo* = *devatāh* (Thān. 76; Erz. 29,3; Śak. 71,8); acc. AMg. *kalāo* = *kalāh* (Uttar. 642; Nāyādh. § 119; Ovav. § 107; Kappas. § 211); JM. *caivviahāo vaggāo* = *caturvidhā vargaṇāh* (Āv. 7,4); *Ś. paḍivīao* = *praḍipikāh* (Mṛcch. 25,18); A. *savvaṅgāo* = *sarvaṅgāh* (Hc. 4,348). In verses *-o* interchanges with *-u*, that is widely prevalent there: M. nom. *dhaṇṇāu tāu* = *dhaṇyās tāh* (H. 147) against *Ś. dhaṇṇāo kkhū tāo kaṇṇāo* [so to be read] *jāo* (Mālatīm. 80,1); AMg. *thiṇṇāu* = *strikāh* (Sūyag. 225); acc. A. *apuratāu bhattāu* = *anuraktā bhaktāh* (Hc. 4,422,10). Sometimes both the forms stand beside one another on account of metre, as M. *dāraggalāu jāo* = *dvārārgalā jātāh* (H. 322); *raivirāmalajjīao* = *apattaniamsaṇāu* = *rativirāmalajjītā aprāptanivasaṇāh* (H. 459); *paḍigaḍu disāo* = *pratigatā disāh* (R. 1,19). More seldom is the nom. acc. in *-ā*: M. *rehā* = *rekhāh* (G. 22; H. 206), beside *rehāu* (Hc. 474) and *rehāo* (G. 509. 682); *sariā sarantapavahā...vūdhā* = *saritah saratpravāhāh...ūdhāh* (R. 6,50); *mehalā* = *mekhalāh* (Mṛcch. 41, 2); AMg. *dōjjhā* = *dohyāh*; *dammā* = *damyāh*; *rahaḍōggā* = *rathayogyāh* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *pakkā* = *pakvāh*; *rūdhā* = *rūdhāh* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15. 16); *bhājā* = *bhāryāh* (Uttar. 660; *nāvāhi tārimāo tti pāṇipejja tti no vae* = *nau-bhis *tārimā tti pāṇipeyā tti no vadet* (Dasav. 629,1); *Ś. pūjjantā devadā* = *pūjyamānā devatāh*; *gaṇiā* = *gaṇikāh* (Mṛcch. 9,1. 10); *agahidatthā* = *agrhitār-thāh* (Śak. 120,11); *adittasujjapāā...ṇāgakaṇṇā viā* = *adittasujjapādāh...nāgakanā viā* (Mālav. 51,21; cf., however, the v. l.). Mk. fol. 69 permits in *Ś. -āo* only, and so we should probably correct throughout. In Mṛcch. 25,20 stand beside one another: *tāo...paḍivīao avamāṇidaniddhanakāmūā viā gaṇiā nissinehāo dāṇim saṁvuttā* = *tāh...praḍipikā avamāṇitanirdhanakāmukā viā gaṇikā nihsnehā idāṇim saṁvuttāh*. STENZLER has, with AB, already corrected *saṁvuttā* as *saṁvuttāo*; DH, in Gopābole p. 72, have *gaṇiāo* for *gaṇiā*, so that *°kāmuāo* is to be read. Sometimes in AMg. too, both the forms stand side by side: *indabhūtipamō kkhāo cō ddasasamaṇasāhassio ukkosiṇyā samapa-sampajyā* = *indrabhūtipramukhyā caturdaśasamaṇasāhasrya *utkoṣitāh śramaṇa-sampadaḥ* (Kappas. § 134; cf. 135 ff.). Cf. Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 15. 16. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 too.—In Mg. the ins. is in *-ehim* instead of that in *-āhim* in *ambikamādukehim* = *ambikāmātrkābhih* (Mṛcch. 122,5) is not to be objected to in the mouth of the Śākāra, since the writer has openly and intentionally changed the gender. Against this R. 7,62 does not have the ins. *accharehim* = *apsarobhih* from the stem *accharā* (§ 410)¹, which was formerly read also at Vikr. 40,11², but the first *samaccharehim* is to be analysed as *sama* + *ccharehim* = *sama* + *psarobhih* (§ 328)³. — As in the masc. and neutr. (§ 369), in the fem. too, the form in *-him* is used for the abl., what is forbidden by Hc. 3,127: M. *dhārāhim* = *dhārābhyah* (H. 170) and for the loc. (§ 371): M. *mehalāhi* (Karp. 16,1), in the sense of *mehalāsu*, as *Kāvyaprakāśa* 74,1

has in the v. l., = *mekhalāsu*; AMg. *hatthuttarāhiṃ* = *hastottarāsu* (Āyār. 2, 15, 1. 2. 5. 6. 17. 22. 25; Kappas.); *gimhāhi* (Sūyag. 166), in the sense of *gimhāsu* (Vivāhap. 465) = **grīsmāsu* (§ 358); *aṇantāhiṃ osappiṇiussappiṇi-hiṃ viikkantāhiṃ* = *anantāsu avasarpinyutsarfaṇiṣu vyatikrāntāsu* (Kappas. § 19); *visāhāhiṃ* = *visākhāsu* (Kappas. § 149); *cittāhiṃ* = *citrāsu* (Thān. 363; Kappas. § 171. 174); *uttarāsādhāhiṃ, āsādhāhiṃ* (Kappas. § 205. 211); *chinnāhi sāhāhi* = *chinnāsu sākhāsu* (Uttar. 439; text °*hiṃ*)⁴. — Abl. in *-hiṃto* are AMg. *antosālāhiṃto* = *antaḥsālābhyah* (Uvās. § 195); *itthiyāhiṃto* = *strī-kābhyah* (Jiv. 263. 265). In the A. the abl. has the ending *-hu* = *-bhyah*: *vajamstahu* = *vayasyābhyah* (Hc. 4,351). According to Hc. the same form is used for the gen. plur. too. Cf. § 381. In the loc. the form in *-su* prevails here too (cf. § 371). In Ś. Śak. 29,4, there stands *viralapādavacchāsuṃ vaṇarāṣuṃ* = *viralapādapacchāyāsu vaṇarāṣiṣu* in the Bengāl recension, and *-āsu, -īsu* in the rest. — In the voc. the form in *-o* is prevalent: Ś. *devadāo* (Bālar. 168,7; Anarghar. 300,1); *dāriāo* = *dārikāh* (Vikr. 45,6); *avaloidā buddharakkhidāo* = *avalokitābuddharakṣite* (Mālatīm. 284,11). On *halā* see § 375. — On *ajjū* = *āryā* see § 105.

1. The question, raised by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 247, note 8, whether we should recognize a neuter *acchara* is naturally to be answered in the negative. — 2. BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 326; cf. HOEFER, De Pr. dialecto p. 150 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 316f. and § 410. — 3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,93 ff. — 4. That here we have a case of the instr. is proved by instances like *hatthuttarāhiṃ nakkhattaṇaṃ jogovagaṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,6,17; cf. Kappas. § 2). Cf. Kappas. § 157. 174. 211, and SPEYER, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax (Strassburg 1896; Grundriss 1,6) § 42.

2) STEMS IN *-i, ī* AND *-u, ū*.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 377. Masculine *aggi* = *agni*.

Singular.

N. *aggi* [*aggiṃ*].

Acc. *aggiṃ*.

I. *aggiṇā*, A. also *aggiṇa*, *aggiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggiō*, *aggiu*, *aggiṇo*, *aggiṇo*, *aggihiṃto*, [*aggihi*, *aggitto*]; JS. [Ś. Mg.] *aggido*; A. *aggihe*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggissa*, [*aggiō*]; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇo*; A. [*aggihe*].

L. *aggiṃmi*, AMg. mostly *aggiṃsi*, AMg. JM. *aggiṃmi* too; A. *aggihi*.
V. *aggi*, *aggi*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggiō*, *aggao*, *aggau*; Ś. *aggiō*, *aggiṇo*.

Acc. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggao*.

I. M. AMg. JM. *aggihi*, *aggihi*, *aggihiṃ*; Ś. Mg. *aggihiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggihiṃto*, [*aggiṃto*, *aggitto*, *aggiō*]; A. *aggihi*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇa*, *aggiṇa*, *aggiṇam*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇam*; A. *aggihā*, *aggihū*.

L. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣum*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣum*; A. *aggihi*.

V. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*; A. *aggihō*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *dahi* = *dadhi*; only nom. acc. sing. M. AMg. JM. *dahiṃ*, *dahi*, *dahi*, Ś. Mg. *dahiṃ*, *dahi*; V. *dahi*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *dahiṃ*, *dahi* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahiṇi* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahi* (not Ś. Mg.). — In PG. is found the acc. sing. neutr. *udakādhiṃ* 6,29, the gen. sing. masc. *sattissa* = *śakteḥ* 6, 17, *bhaṭṭisa* = *bhaṭṭeḥ* 6,19, and the acc. plur. masc. *vasudhādhipataye* = *vasudhādhipatīn* 7,44 (cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2,484).

§ 378. Masc. *vāu* = *vāyu*.

Singular.

N. *vāū* [*vāum̐*].Acc. *vāum̐*.I. *vāūnā*; A. *vāūna*, *vāum̐* too.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *vāūo*, *vāūu* [*vāūo*, *vāūhimto*, *vāutto*]; A. *vāuhē*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūno*, *vāussa* [*vāuo*]; Ś. Mg. *vāūno*, Mg. in verses *vāūsā* too; [A. *vāuhē*].L. *vāummi*, AMg. *vāum̐si* too, AMg. JM. *vāum̐mi*.V. *vāu*, *vāū*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *vāūno*, *vāū*, *vāūo*, *vāavo*, *vāao*, *vāai*; Ś. *vāūno*, *vāao*.Acc. M. AMg. JM. *vāūno*, *vāū*, AMg. also *vāavo*.I. M. AMg. JM. *vāūhi*, °hī, °him̐; Ś Mg. *vāūhim̐*.Abl. [*vāūhimto*, *vāūsum̐to*, *vāutto*, *vāūo*]; AMg. *vāūhim̐* also, A. *vāuhū*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūna*, °nā, °nam̐; Ś. Mg. *vāūnam̐*, A. *vāuhā*; *vāuhū*.L. M. AMg. JM. *vāūsu*, °sū, °sum̐; Ś. Mg. *vāūsu*, *vāūsum̐*; A. *vāuhī*.V. A Mg. *vāavo*; A. *vāuhō*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *mahu* = *madhu*; only nom. acc. sing. *mahum̐*, *mahū*, *mahu*; Ś. Mg. *mahum̐*, *mahu*; voc. *mahu*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *mahūim̐*, *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahūni* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.).—In PG. an *u*-stem is not found.

§ 379. On the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems see Vr. 5,14-18. 25-27. 30; C. 1,3. 11-14; Hc. 3,16-26; 4,340 341. 343-347; Ki. 3,8. 11,13. 15. 17-22.24.28.29; 5,20,25-27.33-35.37; Mk.fol 42-44; Sr.fol. 9-12. In the nom. sing. according to Hc. 3,19, some taught beside the lengthening also the equivalent (§ 74) nasalization : *aggim̐*, *ṇim̐*, *vāum̐*, *vilum̐*. Triv. and Sr. do not mention this form; at Paṇḍāv. 448 *susāhum̐*, as the nom., is edited, probably falsely for *susāhū*, since beside it stand *suisī*, *sumunī* = *svṛṣiḥ*, *sumunih̐*. On the nom. in -ī, -ū see § 72. From *sakhi* the nom. sing. is JM. *sahī* (Ki. 14). In the neuter prevalent is the denasalized form in the nom. and the nasalized form and in the acc.; yet AMg. *taū* = *trapu* (Sūyag. 282) is made certain on account of the metre; probably it is to be read *taū*. In the nom. stands AMg. Ś. *dahim̐* (Thāṇ. 230; Mṛcch. 3,12 [to be read so for *dahim̐*]), but AMg. *dahi* (Thāṇ. 514); AMg. Ś. *vatthu* = *vastu* (Uttar. 172; Lalitav. 516, 12); Ś. *ṇaṇamahu* = *nayanamadhu* (Mālav. 22,3). On AMg. *aṭṭhī*, *dahī* see § 358. Acc. are AMg. Ś. *acchim̐* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Śak. 31,13); *aṭṭhim̐* = *asthi* (Sūyag. 594); AMg. *dahim̐* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17); AMg. Ś. *mahum̐* (Āyār. 2,1, 4. 5. 8,8; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17; Śak. 81,8); JŚ. *vatthum̐* (Kattig. 400. 335). The very frequent Skt. *svasti* always becomes *soṭṭhi* in Ś. (e. g. Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11. 19; Vikr. 15,16; 29,1; 44,5; Ratn. 296, 32; 319,17 etc.), and therefore, it is to be considered as a nom. in the same manner as *sāhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 28,24; 37,16; 41,19; Vikr. 26,6; Ratn. 300, 13; 309,1) and *suffhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 27,21; 28,24; 29,14; 41,18; Prab. 18,3), Mg. *śāhu* (Venīs. 34,3. 23; 35,14; Mṛcch. 38,7; 112,9; 161,15 etc.). Against this we should read *lahum̐*, with edd. Calcc. and GODABOLE for *lahu* (Mṛcch. 75,8; Vikr. 28,10) as stands at Śak. 39,3; 76,1; Mṛcch. 21,13; 59,8; 107,11; 112,11; 116,5; 166,16; 169,24; Ratn. 300,5; 302,25; 303,20; 312,8; 320,32 etc.; in the verse *lahu* is correct (Mṛcch. 99,24; Venīs. 33, 13).—With regard to the ins. it is to be noted that M. *pañā* = *patyā*, forms as one says M. *gahavañā* (H. 172), AMg. *gāhāvañā* (Uvās. § 6) = *grhapatinā*, Mg. *bahinīpadiñā* = *bhaginīpatinā* (Mṛcch. 113,19). From *akṣi* the ins. is M. *acchiñā* = *akṣṇā* (G. 32); from *dadhi* is found Ś. *sadahiñā* =

sadadhñā (Mṛcch. 69,3). For the expected *aṭṭhiñā* = *asthñā*, *muṭṭhiñā* = *muṣṭhiñā*, *laḷuñā* = *leṣṭuñā* AMg. has *aṭṭhiñā*, *muṭṭhiñā*, *leḷuñā*, with shortening of *ā* before the enclitic *vā* and lengthening of the final vowel of the stem according to the analogy of the preceding and following ins in *-ena* in the combination *daṇḍeṇa vā aṭṭhiñā vā muṭṭhiñā vā leḷuñā vā kavāleṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4; Sūyag. 647. 692. 863). On similar cases of assimilation see § 355. 358. 364. 367. 375. 386, on the instr. *aggaṇa*, *aggaṇi*, *vāuṇi* in A. see § 146.—For the abl. the following have been found in the texts: M. *uahiṇu* = *udadheḥ* (G. 56. 470); AMg. *kucchiṇu* = *kukṣeḥ* (Kappas. § 21,32); *dahiṇu* = *dadhnaḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °hi°); JŚ. *himsāḍiṇu* = *himsādeḥ* (Pav. 386,4; text °āḍiṇu); JM. *kammaggaṇu* = *karmāgneḥ* (Āv. 19,16); AMg. *ikkhiṇu* = *ikṣoḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °to); JM. *sūrihiṇu* (Kk. II, 509,4); A. *girihe* (Hc. 4,341,1).—In the gen. in M. JM. AMg. the forms *aggaṇu*, therefore, the form of the neut.transported into Skt., but evidently from the *n*-stems, which often become identical with the *i*-stems (§ 405), and *aggaṇi*, therefore, the form built on the analogy of the *a*-stem, are current side by side; likewise in the case of the *u*-stems, in JŚ. too: M. *giriṇu* (G.141) and M. AMg. *giriṇa* (G. 510; Sūyag. 312); M. *uahiṇu* (R. 5,10) and *uahiṇa* (R. 4,43. 60) = *udadheḥ*; M. *raviṇu* (G. 50. 272; H. 284) and *raviṇa*, *raṇṇa* (R. 4,30; Karp. 25,13) = *raveḥ*; M. *paṇiṇu* (H. 54. 55. 297) and *paṇṇa* (H. 38. 200) = *patyuh*; M. *pasuwaṇiṇu* = *paśupateḥ* (H. 1), *paḍvaṇiṇu* = *prajāpateḥ* (H. 969), *bhuamgaṇiṇu* = *bhujamgaṇiṇu* (G. 155); *naravaṇiṇu* = *naraṇiṇu* (G. 413), but AMg. JM. *gāhāvaṇiṇu* = *grhapaṇiṇu* (Sūyag. 846; Vivāhap. 435 f.; 1207 ff.; Uvās. § 4. 6. 8. 11; Kappas. § 120; Āv. 7, 7); AMg. *muṇṇiṇu* = *muneḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Sūyag. 132); *iṣiṇu* = *ṛṣeḥ* (Uttar. 363; Nirayāv. 51); *rājarisṇiṇu* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Vivāhap. 915 f.; Nāyādh. 600. 605. 611. 613); *sāraṇiṇu* = *sāratheḥ* (Uttar. 668); *andhagaṇiṇu* (Antag. 3) and *andhagaṇiṇu* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,33) = *andhrakavṛṇeḥ*; *aggaṇiṇu* (Vivāhap. 909; Dasav. N. 654,6; Nirayāv. 50); JM. *pañcālāhiṇiṇu* = *pañcālāhiṇiṇu* (Erz. 8,8); *hariṇu* = *hareḥ* (Āv. 36,30; 37,49); *nābhiṇu* = *nābheḥ* (Āv.48,13,33).—M. *pahuṇu* (G. 847.1006.1065) and *pahuṇa* (H. 243) = *prabhoh*; AMg. *bhikkhuṇu* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1; 2,16,8; Sūyag. 133. 144; Uttar. 284) and more frequently AMg. JŚ. *bhikkhuṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1 ff.; Pav. 387,19); AMg. *usussa* = *iṣoḥ* (Vivāhap. 1388); *maccussa* = *mṛtyoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 401); *sāhuṇu* = *sādhoḥ* (Uttar. 418. 571); *vattiṇu* = *vastunoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 398); JM. *bandhuṇu* = *bandhoḥ* (Sagara 8,5); M. *viṇuṇu* = *viṣṇoḥ* (G. 16); *caṇḍaṇuṇu* = *caṇḍāṇiṇu* (Karp. 35,7); *ambuṇu* = *ambunaḥ* (G. 1196). In Ś. Mg. the form in *-ssa* is not used in prose: Ś. *rāeṇiṇu* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Śak. 21,4; 50,1; 130,1; Vikr. 7,2; 22,16; 23,14; 36,8; 80,4; Uttarar. 106,10; 113,1; Pras. 46,9; Anarghar. 111,13), *vihiṇu* = *vidheḥ* (Vikr. 52,18; Mālatim. 361,10); *sahassarasiṇu* = *sahasraraṣṇeḥ* (Prab. 14,17; Venis. 25,6); *paḍvaṇiṇu* = *prajāpateḥ* (Ratn. 306,2; Mālatim. 65,6); *udarambhariṇu* = *udarambhareḥ* (Jivān. 43, 15); *dāsarahiṇu* = *dāsaratheḥ* (Mahāv. 52, 18; Anarghar. 157,10); *guruṇu* = *guroḥ* (Śak. 22,13; 158,3; Vikr. 83,1; Anarghar. 267,12); *muhamahuṇu* = *mukhamadhoḥ* (Śak. 108, 1); *adhamabhīruṇu* = *adharmabhīroḥ* (Śak.129,10); *vikkamabāhuṇu* = *vikramabāhoḥ* (Ratn. 322,33); *sattuṇu* = *śatroḥ* (Venis. 62, 3; 95, 15; Jivān. 19,9); *pahuṇu* = *prabhoh* (Prab. 18,1; Jivān. 9,1); *induṇu* = *indoḥ* (Jivān. 19,10); *mahuṇu* = *madhunaḥ* (Hāsy. 43,23); Mg. *lāeṇiṇu* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Venis. 34,1); *śattuṇu* = *śatroḥ* (Śak. 118,2). In the verse stands Mg. *viśāvaśuṣṭa* = *viśvāvaśoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9). The gen. M. *dahiṇu* (Karp. 15,1) is from *dadhi*. On PG. see § 377.—In A. for the gen. we have to assume the same ending, as in the case of the *a*-stems, as for the abl., therefore *girihe*, *taruhe*. In the loc.

in M. JM. JŚ. the ending is *-mmi*, in JM. *-ñmi* too : M. *pāimmi* = *patyau* (H. 324. 849); *jalāhimmi* = *jaladhau*; *girimmi* = *girau*; *asimmi* = *asau* (G. 146. 153. 222); *uāhimmi* = *udadhau*, *jalāñhimmi* = *jalānidhau* (R. 2,39; 7,2. 7. 12; 5,1); JM. *girimmi* = *girau* (KI. 17); *viñimmi* = *vidhau*, *uñāhimmi* = *udadhau* (Sagara 7,1; 9,3). In AMg. the common form is that in *-ñsi* : *kucchiñsi* = *kukṣau* (Āyār. 2,15,2 ff.; Vivāhap. 1274; Kappas.); *pāñsi* = *pāṇau* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,7,1,5; Vivāhap. 1271; Kappas. S. 29); *rāsiñsi* = *rāṣau* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2). Beside them are found in AMg. *tañmi* *rājarisimmi* *namimmi* *abhinikkhamantañmi* = *tasmin rājarṣau namāv abhinīṣkrāmati* (Uttar. 279); *accimmi*, *accimālinimmi* (Vivāhap. 417); *agiñimmi* (Dasav. 620,24); more often *sahassarassimmi* (366a). Likewise with the *u*-stems : M. *pahummi* = *prabhau* (G. 210); *seummi* = *setau* (R. 8,93); JM. *merummi* = (T. 5,3); JŚ. *sāhummi* = *sādhau* (Kattig. 399,315; MS. °ha°); AMg. *lelūmī* = *leṣṭau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *bāhumsi*, *ūrumsi* = *bāhau*, *ūrau* (Dasav. 617,12); *uunimmi* = *ṛtau* (Thāp. 527; text *udu°*). Corresponding to *rāo* = *rātrau* (§ 386) AMg. has also *ghimso* for **ghimso* = *ghrañse* (§ 105; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58. 109) in the verse. Mg. has in the verse *kedummi* = *ketau* (Mudrār. 176, 4). Ś. has *vatthuni* = *vastuni* (Bālar. 122, 11; Dhūrtas. 9,10). According to Mk. fol. 69 in Ś. the correct forms are *aggimmi* and *vūmmi*.—In A. the ending of loc. is *-hī* = *-ṣmin*: *kaliñhi* = *kalau*; *akkhiñhi* = *akṣṇi*; *sañdhiñhi* = *sañdhau* (Hc. 4, 341, 3. 357, 2. 430, 3), *āhiñhi* = *ādau* (Piṅgala 1, 85. 142). For the *u*-stems the examples are wanting; Hc. 4, 341 teaches *-hi* for *i*- and *u*-stems.—In the voc. beside short vowel is found the long vowel too (§ 71); M. *gahavāi* (H. 297), but AMg. *gāhāvāi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2. 3,3. 5,2; 2,3,3,16) = *grhōpate*; AMg. *muñi* = *mune* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 713. 714. 719); AMg. JM. *mahāmuni* (Sūyag. 419; Kk. II, 505,25); AMg. *maharisi* = *maharṣe* (Sūyag. 182); AMg. *subuddhi* = *subuddhe* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003); AMg. *jambū* = *jambo* (Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often). Vr. 5,27 forbids the long, and so mostly even the short vowel only is found: M. *khaviṣavvari* = *kṣapitaśarvarika*, *diṇavāi* *dinapate* (H. 655); M. *pavaṅgavāi* = *plavaṅgopate* (R. 8,19); JM. *pāvavihi* = *pāpavidhe* (Sagara 7,15); JM. *suravāi* = *surapate* (Kk. 276,19); AMg. *muñi* (Sūyag. 259); AMg. *bhikkhu* = *bhikṣo* (Sūyag. 245. 301); M. JM. *pahu* = *prabho* (G. 717. 719. 736; R. 15, 90; Kk. 269, 35); Ś. *rāsi* = *rājarṣe* (Uttarar. 125,8). Ś. *jaḍḍo* = *jaṭṭyo* (Uttarar. 70,5) is probably a false reading.

§ 380. In the nom. plur. the forms *aggiṇo* and *aggi*, *vūṇo* and *vāu* go side by side in M. JM. AMg. : M. *kaiṇo* = *kavayaḥ* (G. 62) and *kai* = *kapayaḥ* (R. 6,59. 83); *giṇo* (G. 114) and *giri* (G. 450; R. 6,34.60) = *girayaḥ*; *riṇo* (G. 1195) and *riū* (G. 245. 721) = *ripayaḥ*; *pahuṇo* (G. 858. 861. 873. 880. 894) and *pahū* (G. 868) = *prabhavaḥ*; AMg. *amuñi* beside *muñiṇo* = *amunayaḥ*, *munayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *giyaraṇiṇo* = *gitaratayaḥ* beside *giyānaccaparai* = *gitanṣyaratayaḥ* (Ovav. § 35); *nāñārui* = *nānārucayaḥ* (Sūyag. 781); *isiṇo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* beside *muñi* = *munayaḥ* (Uttar. 367); *haya-m-āi* *goṇa-m-āi* *gaya-m-āi* *siha-m-āiṇo* (§ 353; Uttar. 1075); *vinnū* = *vijñāḥ* (§ 105; Āyār. 1,4,3,1); *gurū* = *guravaḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1); *pasū* = *paśavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,3,3); *opasū* (Sūyag. 601); *uū* = *ṛtavaḥ* (Samav. 97; Vivāhap. 798; Apuog. 432); *dhāuṇo* = *dhātavaḥ* (Sūyag. 37); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrayaḥ* (Kk. 264 41; 267,41; 270,6. 36. 42 etc.); *sāhuṇo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Āv. 9,22; 26, 36; 27,7; 46,3. 9; Kk. 274,36) and *sāhū* (T. 4,20); *guruṇo* = *guravaḥ* (Kk. 271,6; 274,28. 36). In AMg. prevalent is the form in *-ī*, *-ū*, which is found perhaps exclusively in certain words, such as *ūrū* (Uvās. § 94; Sūyag. 639 and often; also in M. G. 489), provided that one could see in them something like the old dual, likewise, a few cases as in AMg. *pāñi* (Kappas. S. § 43), AMg. *indaggī* = *indrāgnī* (Thāp. 82), AMg. *do*

vāu = *dvau vāyū* (Thāṇ. 82), *M. bāhū* = *bāhū* (G. 428). The forms other than those quoted are found just sporadically in the three dialects. Thus: AMg. *nāyao* = *jñātayaḥ* (Sūyag. 174. 179. 628. 635), *anāyao* (Sūyag. 628); AMg. *rāgaddosādayo* = *rāgadveśādayaḥ* (Uttar. 707); JM. *bhavedattādayo* (Erz. 17,28); AMg. *risao* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Ovav. § 56, p. 61,29); JM. *maharisao* (Erz. 3,14); AMg. *°ppabhiḥyao* = *°prabhṛtayaḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49,32;73 so to be read; cf. v. 1.); AMg. *jantavo* (verse! Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 712. 798. 799; Sūyag. 105) beside *jantuṇo* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *sāhavo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Uttar. 208). From *bahu* (many) the nom. in AMg. is always formed as *bahave* (§ 345; Āyār. 1,8,3,3. 5. 10; 2,1,4,1. 2; 2,5,2,7; 2,15,8; Sūyag. 852. 916; Uttar. 158.169; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.). So also in JM. (Erz. 17,28), probably falsely for *bahavo* (Erz. 38,24) or *bahū* (Erz. 38,21). In Ś. the forms in -ī, -ū, which are formed according to the nom. of the *a*-stems, are not used. The *i*-stems, like the feminine, partly have the nom. in -īo, as *isīo* = *ṛṣayaḥ*, *gīrīo* = *girayaḥ* (Śak. 61,11; 98,8; 99,12; 126, 15); *risīo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Mṛcch. 326, 14), partly in -no, as *kaīno* = *kapayaḥ* (Bālar. 238, 5); *mahesiṇo* = *maharṣayaḥ* (Bālar. 268, 1); *isiṇo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Unmattar. 3,7); *cintāmaṇipahudiṇo* = *cintāmaṇiprabhṛtayaḥ* (Jivān. 95,1). In the case of the *u*-stems in Ś. beside the forms in -no, as *paṇḍuṇo* = *paṇḍavaḥ* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālataṛuṇo* = *bālataṛavaḥ* (Karp. 62,3); *taṛuṇo* (Karp. 67, 1); *binduṇo* (Mallikām. 83,15) occurs also the form *bindao* = *bindavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 74,21). *bandhū* = *bandhavaḥ* (Śak. 101,13) is not Ś., but M. only *dihagomāo* from **dihagomāao* (§ 165) = *dirghagomāyavaḥ* is traceable in a verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 168, 20); otherwise examples for *i*- and *u*- are almost wanting.

§ 381. According to Vr. 5,14, in the acc. the forms *agginō* and *vāuṇo* alone are permissible. But dialectically almost all the forms of the nom. are found in the acc. too: M. *paīno* = *paṭin* (H. 705); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrīn* (Kk. 267,38; 270,2); AMg. *mahesiṇo* = *maharṣīn* (Āyār. 1,5,5,1); but also AMg. *mittanāi* = *mitrajñātīn* (Uvās. § 69.92; so to be read for *°nām*); *mallai*, *lēcchai* = *mallakin*, *licchavīn* (Vivāhap. 499 f.; Niraṣāv. § 25); *nāyao* = *jñātīn* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 378 [text *nāio*]); AMg. *pasavo* = *paṭin* (Sūyag. 414); JM. *guruṇo* = *gurūn* (Kk. 269,35); JM. *sāhuṇo* = *sādhūn* (Kk. 271,15); AMg. *bāhū* = *bāhū* (Sūyag. 222. 286); AMg. *ṣattū* = *ṣatrūn* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *bahū* = *bahūn* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 216), beside *bahave*, as in the nom. (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9; Uvās. § 119 184), for which is put *vasudhādhipataye* of PG. — Examples of the neuter, of which the nom. and acc. are identical are: M. *acchīm* = *akṣiṇī* (Hc. 1,33; 2,217; G. 44; H. 40.54), *acchī* (H. 314); M. AMg. JM. *acchīni* (H. 314 in Mk. fol. 44; cf. v. 1.; Āyār. 2,2,1,7; Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,20; 30.4); AMg. *acchī* (Vivāgas. 11), falsely in Ś. too (Jivān 89,3) AMg. *aṭṭhīni* = *asthīni* (Sūyag. 590); AMg. *sālīni* = *śālīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10); *vihīni* = *vihīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682); *dariṇi* = *dariḥ* (Āyār. 2,10,11); JM. *āṇi* = *ādīni* (Kk. 274,4); JŚ. *ādīni* (Pav. 384,48); M. *aṃsūim* = *aśrūṇi* (G. 130. 1208); *paṇḍū* = *paṇḍūni* (G. 384. 577) and *paṇḍūim* (G. 462); *bindūim* = *bindūn* (G. 223); AMg. *maṃsūim* = *śmaśrūṇi* (Uvās. § 94); *maṃsūni* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11); *dārūni* (Sūyag. 247); *pāṇūni* = *prāṇān* (Aṇuog. 432; Vivāhap. 423); *kaṇḍūni* = *kaṇḍavaḥ* (Sūyag. 682); *milakkhūni* = **mleicchāni* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8); A. *aṃsū* (Piṅgala 1,61). According to Vr.5,26 only the forms like *dahūi*, *mahūi* would be usable; Kī. 3,28 teaches *dahūim*. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 also. Examples for the ins. are: M. *kaīhī*, *°hī* = *kaṇibhiḥ* (G. 84. 88) and = *kapibhiḥ* (R. 6,64. 78. 94); AMg. *kimihim* = *kṛmibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 278); JM. *āṭhim* = *ādibhiḥ* (Āv. 7, 12); Ś. *isihim* = *ṛṣibhiḥ* (Śak. 70, 6); Mg. *°ppahudihim* = *°prabhṛtibhiḥ* (Śak.

114,2); M. *acchihim*, °hī, °hi (H. 338. 341. 457. 502); Ś. *acchihim* (Vikr. 48,15; Ratn. 319,18); Mg. *akkhihim* (Mṛech. 120,13; 152,22) = *akṣibhyām* M. *riūhim* = *ripubhih* (H. 471; G. 718); M. *sisūh* = *śiṣubhih* (G. 1046); AMg. *vaggūhim* = *vagnubhih* (Vivāhap. 946; Nāyādh. § 25. 79; p. 302. 736. 757. 1107; Rāyap. 266 f.; Uttar. 300; Thān. 527; Ovav. § 53. 181; Kappas.); AMg. *ūrūhim* = *ūrubhyām* (Thān. 401); Ś. *gurūhim* = *gurubhih* (Hāsy. 40,17); Ś. *bindūhim* = *bindubhih* (Venis. 66,21; Nāyādh. 24,13; Karp. 72,1).—The abl. occurs in M. *acchihimto* = *akṣibhyām* (G. 223); JM. *ujjānāhimto* = *udyanādibhyaḥ* (Dvār. 498,20); AMg. *kāmidḍhihimto* = *kāmaraddheḥ* (honorific plural; Kappas.; Th. § 11). As in the case of the a-stems (§ 369), so in the case of i- and u-stems too, the ins. is used as the abl.: *santi egehim bhikkhūhim gārattā samjamuttarā* = *santi ekebhyaḥ bhikkṣubhyaḥ gṛhasthāḥ samyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208) —A. *taruhū* = *tarubhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,341) is properly = *taruṣu*, that is to say = the loc., with which the ablative has become identical, according to Hc. 4,340 the gen. too; yet it will be better to consider *taruhū* as in the loc., whilst *bihū* = *dvayoh* (Hc. 4,383,1), by all means, stands in the sense of the gen.—The examples for the genitive are: M. *kañnam* = *kavīnām* (H. 86); *kañna* = *kapīnām* (R. 6,84); *girīṇa* (G. 137. 449; R. 6,81); AMg. *dhammasārathīṇam* = *dhammasārathinām* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); metrically *iṣṇa* = *ṛṣinām* (Sūyag. 317) and *iṣṇam* (Uttar. 375. 377); *udahiṇa* = *udadhīnām* (Sūyag. 316); *vihīṇam* = *vṛthīnām* (Vivāhap. 421); JS. *jaḍḍam* = *yatinām* (Pav. 385,63); *āñnam* = *ādinām* (Kattig. 401,340); Ś. *mahāvadinām* = *mahāpatinām* (Lalitav. 555,14); Ś. *acchīṇam* = *akṣṇoh* (Vikr. 43,15; Nāgān. 11,9); M. *icchūṇam* = *ikṣūṇam* (H. 740); *riūṇa* = *ripūṇām* (G. 106. 166. 237); *tarūṇa* = *tarūṇām* (G. 140); AMg. *bhikkhūṇam* = *bhikkṣūṇām* (Āyār. 1,7,7 2); *savvaṇṇuṇam* = *sarvajñāṇām* (Ovav. § 20); *milakkhūṇam* = *mlecchāṇām* (Sūyag. 817); Mg. *bāhūṇa* = *bāhvoh* (in the verse; Mṛech. 129,2); *paḥūṇam* = *prabhūṇām* (Kāṁsav. 50,4); JS. *sāhūṇam* = *sādhūṇām* (Pav. 379,4). A. has the ending -hā = -sām of the pronoun: *saūṇihā* = *śakuninām* (Hc. 4,340); on -hū see above.—The loc., for example is found as M. *girīsu* (G. 138); M. AMg. *acchīsu* (H. 132; Āyār. 2,3,2,5); Ś. *acchīsum* (Śak. 30,5); M. *riūsū* = *ripūsū* (G. 241); JS. metrically *ādisu* = *ādisu* (Pav. 383,69); AMg. *uūsū* = *rtūsū* (Nāyādh. 344); Ś. *ūrūsū* = *ūrvoh* (Bālar. 238,7; text °ru°). In A. the form *duhū* corresponds to one **duṣu* (femin.; Hc. 4,340), whilst *tihi* (Hc. 4,347), properly is = *tribhih*, therefore = the instr., as in the case of the a-stems (§ 371).—The voc. occurs in JM. *sayalagunanihiṇo* = *sakalagunaniḍhayaḥ* (Sagara 7,12); AMg. *jantavo* (Sūyag. 335. 424), *bhikkhavo* (Sūyag. 157; text °kkhu°). For JM. *guruo* (Kk. III. 513,22) we should read *gurūo*. On A. see § 372.

§ 382. In AMg. the forms, of the plur. of *bahu* (much) that are valid for the masculine, are mostly used for the feminine too: *bahave pāṇajāi* = *bahvyaḥ prāṇajātayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *bahave sāhamniṇiṇo* = *bahviḥ *sādharmiṇiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11; 2,2,1,2; 2,5,1,2; 2,10,2); *bahave devā ya devīo ya* (Āyār. 2,15,8); *bahave khuddākhuddi jāo vāvīo* = *bahvyaḥ kṣudrāḥ kṣudrikā vāpyaḥ* (Jiv. 476); *bahūṇam samañāṇam bahūṇam samañāṇam bahūṇam sāva jāṇam bahūṇam sāvi jāṇam bahūṇam devāṇam bahūṇam devīṇam* (Kappas. S. § 64; Nāyādh. 498. 518. 615. 654; Vivāhap. 242); *bahūhim āghavanāhi* = *a paṇṇavanāhi ya viṇṇavanāhi ya saṇṇavanāhi ya* = *bahvibhir *ākhyāpanābhiḥ ca *prajñāpanābhiḥ ca *vijñāpanābhiḥ ca *samjñāpanābhiḥ ca* (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539. 889; Uvās. § 222; Vivāhap. 814); *bahūhim khujjāhim* = *bahvibhiḥ kubjābhiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 4; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. § 117; p. 832. 837; Vivāgas. 226; *bahūsū vāvīsū* = *bahvīṣu vāpiṣu* (Nāyādh. 915); *bahūsū vijjāharīsū* = *bahvīṣu vidyādhariṣu* (Nāyādh. 1275; so the commentary; text *bahūsū vijjāsū*). Cf. also Ovav. § 8. On the retained Skt. forms like *girisu*,

vagguhim see § 99, on the stepping over of the *a*-stems into the *u*-declension in M. AMg., § 105, on AMg. *sakahāo* = *sakthini* § 358.

§ 383. The masculine in *-ī* and *-ū* shorten their *ī* and *ū* according to Hc. 3,43; Mk. fol. 42. 43; Sr. fol. 12 and are declined fully as the nouns in *-i*, *-u*. So nom. *gāmaṇī* = *grāmaṇiḥ*; acc. *gāmaṇiḥ*; ins. *gāmaṇā*; gen. *gāmaṇiṇo* and *gāmaṇissa*; voc. *gāmaṇi*; nom. *khalapū* = *khalapūḥ*; acc. *khalapūḥ*; ins. *khalapūṇā*; gen. *khalapūṇo*; voc. *khalapū* (Hc. 3,24. 42. 43. 124). Sr. adds the nom. plur.: *khalavāṇi*, *khalavāo*, *khalavūṇo*, *khalavū*. Examples are: M. *gāmaṇi*, *gāmaṇiṇo* = *grāmaṇiḥ*, *grāmaṇyaḥ* (H. 449.633); *gāmaṇiṇā* (R. 7,60); J.M. *asogasiri*, *asogasiriṇo* = *asokaśriḥ* *asokaśriyaḥ* (Āv. 8,2. 32); Ś. *candasiriṇo*, *candasiriṇā* = *candraśriyaḥ* *candraśriyā* (Mudrār. 39, 3; 56,8; 227,2. 7); Ś. *māhavasiriṇo* = *mādhuvaśriyaḥ* (Mālatim. 211,1); Ś. *aggaṇi* = *aggaṇiḥ* (Mṛcch. 4,23; 327,1). The forms *saambhuṇo*, *saambhuṇo* = *soyambhuvam*, *soyambhuvah* (G. 1.813), *saambhuṇo*, *saambhussa*, *saambhuṇā* (Mk. fol. 42 f.) may be derived from *soyambhū* or from *°bhu*.

b) FEMININE.

§ 384. In Pkt. the feminine forms in *-i*, *-u*, as *bhūmisu*, *suttisu*. (§ 99) are retained only in isolated places in verses. Otherwise the feminine in *-i*, *-u*, with which those in *-ī* and *-ū* have become identical, provided there is differentiation between words of one and more syllables. The declension exactly corresponds to that of the feminine in *-ā* in § 374ff., and it holds good for all the endings, as already noted there. In isolated cases the following one is to be considered.

§ 385. The grammarians give, for the ins. abl. gen. loc. sing. the forms: *ṇaii*, *ṇaie*, *ṇaia*, *ṇaiā* from *ṇai*=*nadī* (Bh. 5,22; Kī.3,26; Mk. fol.43); *ruia*, *ruīā*, *ruīi*, *ruīe* from *ruī* = *ruci* (Sr. fol. 15); *buddhiā*, *buddhiā*, *buddhiī*, *buddhiē* from *buddhi*; *sahia*, *sahīā*, *sahīi*, *sahīe* from *sahī* = *sakhi*; *dheṇūā*, *dheṇūā*, *dheṇūi*, *dheṇūe* from *dheṇu* = *dhenu*; *vahūā*, *vahūā*, *vahūi*, *vahūe* from *vahū* = *vadhū* (Hc. 3, 29). Of these, the forms in *-īā*, *-ūā* are not available, and those in *-īi* *-ūi* are rare in the texts: M. *ṇaii* = *natyāḥ* (G.1000); AMg. *mahii* = *mahyāḥ* (Sūyag. 312), more often correctly in the v. l. for *-īe* of the texts, as G. 139.860.922. For *gabbhiṇi* = *garbhinyāḥ*, now WEBER H. 166 correctly reads *gabbhiṇiā*. In all cases, where the forms in *-īe*, *-ūe* stand in the text, and the metre requires a short, as *mahīe*, *sirīe*, *tajjaniē*, *pavitharaṇiē*, *ṇariē*, *ṇivasiriē*, *lacchiē* etc. (G. 122. 212. 247. 268. 501. 928); *vahūe* (H. 874. 981), the forms in *-īā* or in *-īi*, *ūā* or in *-ūi* are to be put, as WEBER H. 69 has corrected *-īā*, which is attested for all the examples collected by him at p. 40 in Hāla¹ by the manuscripts. At H. 86, there is found the v. l. *hasamīi* beside *hasamīā*, *hasamīe* (cf. IS. 16,53 too). For *vahūe* (H. 874. 981) the old Śāradā manuscripts of Kāvya-prakāśa give the v. l. at 874 *vahūo*, *bahūā*, at 981 *bahūi*, *bahūi*. We have, therefore, to write *vahūā* or *vahūi*, as also H. 786. 840. 874; *vahūā* stands at H. 457. 608. 635. 648, everywhere with the v. l. *vahūe* or *bahūe*. Cf. § 375. The forms in *-īā*, *-ūā* are, likewise those in *-īi*, *-ūi*, confined to verses, but with the stems in *-i*, *-ī* in M. very frequently: ins. *bandīā* = *bandyā*; *vahīā* = *vyādhyā*; *loliaṅgūā* = *lālitaṅgulyā* (H. 118. 121. 458); *āhiāā* = *abhijātyā*; *rāasirīā* = *rājāśriyā*; *diṭṭhīā* = *drṣtyā*; *ṭhīā* = *sthiyā*; *jāṇāā* = *jānakyā* (R. 1,11. 13. 45; 4,43; 6,6); *sippīā* = *śuktyā*; *muṭṭhīā* = *muṣṭyā*; *devīā* = *devyā* (Karp. 2,4; 29,4; 48,14); gen. *koḍīā* = *koṭeḥ*; *ghariṇīā* = *ghriṇyāḥ*; *giriṇāā* = *giriṇadyāḥ* (H. 3,11. 14. 37); *dhaṇariddhīā* *sirīā* a *saliluppaṇṇāi* *vāruṇīā* a = *dhanarddhyāḥ* *śriyā* ca *salilotpannāyā* *vāruṇyā* ca (R. 2,

17); *dharanīa* = *dharanyāḥ* (R. 2,2; 7,28); *sarassaia* = *sarasvatyāḥ*; *rūdhia* = *rūdhēḥ* (Karp. 1,1; 51,3); L. *pānāūdia* = *prānakutyām* (H. 227; on the meaning cf. Pāyāl. 105 with Deśin. 6,38); D. *narāia* = *nagaryām* (Mṛcch. 100,2). For the ablative examples are wanting. The usual forms in all the dialects, except A., that C. 1,9 alone knows, is that in *-ie*, *-ūe*, which, however, is not found in the abl. So ins. M. *bhaṇantīe* = *bhaṇantyā* (H. 123); AMg. *gaie*, Ś. *gadīe* = *gatyā* (Kappas. § 5; Śak. 72,11); Mg. *śattīe* = *śaktyā* (Mṛcch. 29,20); P. *bhagavatīe* = *bhagavatyā* (Hc. 4,323); gen. *lacchīe* = *lakṣmyāḥ* (G. 68); AMg. *nāgasirīe māhaṇīe* = *nāgaśrīyā brāhmaṇyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1151); Ś. *radanāvalīe* = *ratnāvalyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 88,21); Mg. *majjālīe* = *mārjāryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 17,7); loc. *paavīe* = *padavyām* (H. 107); AMg. *vāṇārasīe naṇīe* = *vārānasyām nagaryām* (Antag. 63; Nirayāv. 43. 45; Vivāgas. 136. 148. 149; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Nāyādh. 1516. 1528). AMg. JM. *aḍavīe* = *aḍavyām* (Nāyādh. 1137; Erz. 1,4; 13,30; 21,21); Ś. *masāṇavīdhīe* = *śmaśānavīthyām* (Mṛcch. 72,8); Mg. *dhalaṇīe* = *dharanyām* (Mṛcch. 173,16). The form is found to have been shortened to *-iē* in A. too: ins. *maragaakantiē* = *marakatakāntiyā*; gen. *gaṇantiē* = *gaṇantiyāḥ*; *radiē* = *ratyāḥ* (Hc. 4,349. 333. 446).

§ 386. In the ins., *diṭṭhiā* = *diṭṭyā* (e. g. Mṛcch. 68,2; 74,11; Vikr. 10,20; 26,15; 49,4 etc.) used adverbially, Ś. has retained an old ins. in *-ā*. In the A. of Piṅgala, more than once, we find an ins. in *-ī*: *kittī* = *kīrtiyā* (1,65^a; 2,66); *bhattī* = *bhaktiyā* (2,67), and so is also *eavīsattī* for *°ttā* (S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *°tti* = *ekavimsatyā* to be read at 1,142. — On the dative in *-īe* in AMg. JM.Ś. see § 361. — The abl., except in A., where, according to Hc. 4, 350, like the gen., it ends in *-hē*, has the endings *-io*, *-ūo*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *-ido*, *-ūdo*: AMg. *arairāio* = *aratirateḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *kosio* = *kośyāḥ* (Sūyag. 593); *naṇīario* = *nagaryāḥ* (Nirayāv. § 19; p. 44.45; Nāyādh. 1135); *poḥkharīṇio* = *puṣkarīnyāḥ*; *corapallio* = *corapallyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1060. 1427. 1429); *gaṅgāsindhūo* = *gaṅgāsindhoḥ* (Thāp. 544; Vivāhap. 482 f.) Ś.: *aḍaido* = *aḍavyāḥ* (Śak. 35,8); *ujjainīdo* = *ujjayinyāḥ* (Ratn. 321,22; 322,9); *sacīdo* = *śacyāḥ* (Vikr. 44,8); Mg. *naalīdo* = *nagaryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 159,13). — The gen. has in A., as in the case of *a*-stems (§ 375), the ending *-hē*, before which the vowel is shortened: *joantiḥē* = *paśyantyāḥ*; *mēllantiḥē* = *muṇcantiyāḥ*; *goriḥē* = *gauryāḥ*; *tumbiniḥē* = *tumbinyāḥ* (Hc. 4,332,2. 370,4. 395,1. 427,1); *kaṅguḥē* = *kaṅgoḥ* (Hc. 4,367,4). — In the loc. in AMg. we find frequently *rāo* = *rātrau* as well, the only form (Āyār. 1,8,2,6; Sūyag. 247. 255. 519; Nāyādh. 302. 374), as in the combinations *aho jā rāo* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2; 1,4,1,3; Sūyag. 295. 412. 485; Uttar. 430), or in *aho jā rāo jā* = *ahaś ca rātrau ca* (Paṇhāv. 373), *rāo vā vijāle vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2; 2,2,3,2,23 [so correctly ed. Calc. p. 126]), *diṇḍā jā rāo jā* = *divā ca rātrau ca* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3. 4,1; Uttar. 847), *diṇḍā vā rāo vā* (Sūyag. 846; Dasav. 616,13). Sometimes in AMg. the ending of the masc. and neutr. is extended over to the feminine: *piṭṭhimsi* from *piṭṭhī* (§ 53; Nāyādh. 940); *bhittimsi* = *bhittau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *rājahāṇimsi* = *rājadhānyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,6; 2,1,3,4; 2,3,1,2) between pure loc. in *-īsi* of the masc. and the neutr. Cf. § 355.358. 364. 367. 375. 379. Ś. has *ratimmi* = *rātrau* (Jivān. 9,23; 17,23; Mallikām. 226,4); *bhūmimmi* = *bhūmau* (Mallikām. 337,21). In A. the loc. ends in *-hī* = *-gyām*; *mahiḥī* = *mahyām*; *riddhiḥī* = *ṛddhau*; *sallaḥī* = *sallakyām*; *vāṇārasīhī* = *vārānasyām*; *ujjēṇihī* = *ujjayinyām* (Hc. 4,352.418.8,422,9,442,1); *ṇadiḥī* = *nadyām* (Piṅgala 1,5a), in the A. of Piṅgala, in the case of the *i*-stems, also in *-ī* and shortened: *-ī puhavi* = *prthivyām* (1,121; text *°mī*); *dharanī* = *dharanyām* (1,137^a); *puhavi* = *prthivyām* (1,132^a); *mahi* = *mahyām* (1,143^a). — The vocative ends in *-i*, *-u*: M. *māhavi* = *mādhavi*; *bhāṇravi* = *bhāiravi*; *devi* = *devi* (G. 285. 287. 290. 331);

thorattani = sthūlastani (H. 925); Ś. bhaavadi bhāiradhi = bhagavati bhāgirathi (Bālar. 163,10; Pras. 83,4); JM. Ś. putti = putri (Āv. 12,11. 17; Bālar. 165,3; 174,8); Ś. sahi māladi = sakhi māladi (Mālatim. 94,2); Mg. vuddhakusṭhani = vuddhakusṭhani (Mṛcch. 141,25; 152,22); kaccaṇi = kātyāyani (Caṇḍak. 69,1); M. vevantorū = vepamānorū (H. 52); suaṇu = sutanu (G. 186; H.); kiararorū = karikarorū (H. 925); in Mg. with pluti vāsū (Mṛcch. 127,1).

§ 387. The nom. acc. voc. plur. end in -īo, -ūo, which alternate with -īu, -ūu in verses : nom. M. kattio = kṛttayāḥ (H. 951); riddhio = riddhayāḥ (G. 92); lumbio = *lumbyāḥ (H. 322); ṇaio = nadyāḥ; ṇaario = nogaryāḥ (G. 360. 403); AMg. mahāṇaio = mahānadyāḥ (Thāp. 76. 77. 79); hirannakoḍio = hiranyakotyāḥ (Uvās. § 4), itthio = striyāḥ (Thāp. 121); M. taruṇiu = tarunyāḥ (G. 113; H. 546); JM. palavantio...avarohajuvaio = pralapantayāḥ...avarodhayuvatayāḥ (Sagara 4,13); vasahio = vasatayāḥ (T. 4, 22); Ś. gīdio = gītayāḥ (Mahāv. 121,7); mahuario = madhukaryāḥ (Mṛcch. 29,5. 7; 70,2); āidio = ākṛtayāḥ (Śak. 132,6); paidio = prakṛtayāḥ (Vikr. 73,12; Mudrār. 39,1; 56,8); A. aṅguliū = aṅgulyāḥ (Hc. 4, 333), with a short vowel, as on metrical grounds in the other dialects too (§ 99); M. kulavahūo = kulavadvahāḥ (H. 459); AMg. suravadhūo (Ovav. § [38]); rajjūo = rajjavahāḥ (Jiv. 503). — Acc. M. sahirio = sahanaṣilāḥ (H. 47); AMg. vallio = vallīḥ (Āyār. 2,3,2,15); osahio = oṣadhīḥ (Āyār. 2,4,2,16; Sūyag. 727; Dasav. 628,33); savattio = sapatnīḥ (Uvās. § 239); sajjagghio = sataghnīḥ (Uttar. 285); JM. goṇio (Āv. 7,10); Ś. bhaavadio = bhagavatīḥ (Śak. 79,13); A. vilāsinīu = vilāsinīḥ (Hc. 4,348), and with ī sallaiu = śallakīḥ (Hc. 4,387,1). AMg. bahūo coravijjāo = bahvīḥ coravidyāḥ (Nāyādh. 1421), but also bahave sāhammiṇio = bahvīḥ *sādharmiṇīḥ (§ 382). — Voc. JM. bhajavaio devayāo = bhagavatyo devatāḥ (Dvār. 503,25); M. Ś. saho = sakhyāḥ (H. 131. 619; Śak. 12,1; 90,8; Cait. 73,7; 83,12 etc.); Ś. bhodio = bhavatyāḥ (Viddhaś. 121,1); bhaavadio = bhagavatīḥ (Uttar. 197,10; Anarghar. 300,1); M. sahiu (H. 412. 743). In A. the voc. has the ending -ho : taruṇiho = tarunyāḥ (Hc. 4,346). The forms in -ī, -ū, taught by Hc. 3,27. 124, are likewise found in the texts : nom. M. asaī mha = asatyāḥ smah (H. 417); voc. M. piasahī = priyasakhyāḥ (H. 903); acc. AMg. itthī = striḥ (Verse !; Uttar. 253). For the rest of the cases of the plur. a few examples will suffice. Ins. M. Ś. sahiim = sakhibhīḥ (H. 144; Śak. 167,9); M. diṭṭhiim (G. 752), sahihī, sahihi (H. 15. 60. 69. 810. 840); JŚ. dhūliim (Pav. 384,60); AMg. cilāhiim vāmaṇiim vaḍabhiim babbariim ...daniḥiim sinhalīhiim... = kirātībhīr vāmaṇībhīr vaḍabhiībhīr barbarībhīr draviḍībhīr sinhalībhīḥ (Ovav. § 55); Ś. aṅgulīhiim = aṅgulībhīḥ (Mṛcch. 6,7; Śak. 12,1). Āyār. 1,2,4,3, without a v. l., has thībhi = strībhīḥ; A. puḍḍhavaīhi = puṣṭpavatībhīḥ (Hc. 4,438,3) and with a shortened vowel : asaīhi = asatībhīḥ, deṇtihi = dadatībhīḥ (Hc. 4,396,1. 419,5). — Gen. M. sahiṇa = sakhiṇām (H. 482); thuṇa = stutīṇām (G. 82); taruṇiṇām (H. 545); cf. H. 174; AMg. savattīṇām = sapatnīṇām (Uvās. § 238. 239); M. Ś. kāmīṇiṇām (H. 559; Mṛcch. 71,22); M. vahūṇām = vadhūṇām (G. 1158; H. 526; R. 9, 71. 93) and vahūṇa (R. 9,40. 96; 15,78). Loc. M. rātsu = rātriṣu (H. 45); giriāḍisu = giritaḍiṣu (G. 374); AMg. itthīsu = striṣu (Āyār. 2,16,7; Sūyag. 405. 409); JM. kuṇiṇiṣu = kuyoniṣu (Sagara 11,4); M. AMg. vāviṣu = vāpiṣu (G. 166; Nāyādh. 915); M. °tthaliṣu (G. 256) and °tthaliṣu (G. 350. 421) = °sthalīṣu; Ś. vaṇarāḍiṣu = vaṇarāḍiṣu (Śak. 29,4; Uttarar. 22,13; text °isu); devīṣu (Śak. 141,9). In A. the loc. has become identical with the ins. : diṣiḥ = *diṣiṣu = diḥṣu, but also duḥu = dvayoh (Hc. 4, 340; cf. § 381).

§ 388. In PG. is found only the loc. sing. āpiṭṭiyam (6,37) that is to say āpiṭṭiyam = āpiṭṭiyam, therefore, the form of Pāli. — If the feminine forms

in -i, -u, -ī, -ā enter at the end of a compound, they naturally, as in Skt., take the endings of the masc. or those of the neuter, when they refer to a masc. or neuter. So M. *kareṇa va pañcaṅgulīṇā* (G. 17); M. *sasialāsuttiṇā...* *kaṇḍaṇa* = *śaṣikālāsuktinā . kaṇḍaṇa* (G. 40); Ś. *mae mandabuddhiṇā* = *mayā mandabuddhiṇā* (Śak. 126, 10); Ś. *mohidamadiṇā* = *mohitamatinā, nīdiniṇa-buddhiṇā* = *nītinipūṇabuddhiṇā* (Mudrār. 228,1; 269,3); Ś. *ujjumadiṇo* = *rjumatēḥ* (Pras. 46,9). Mg. *muṣṭie* = *muṣṭiṇā* = *muṣṭāmuṣṭi*, really = *muṣṭyā muṣṭinā* (Mṛcch. 170,15) is also noticed.

3) STEMS IN -r.

§ 389. The distinction, that Skt. makes between *nomina agentis* and words of relationship, has been maintained in Pkt. In the nom. acc. sing. and nom. plur., the forms identical with those of Skt. are retained. Otherwise, corresponding to the change of *r* to *i* or *u* (§ 50ff) the stems in -*r* have become *i*- or usually *u*-stems, or the stem of the acc. sing. is employed as new thema, according to the *a*-declension: *pīi*-, *pīu*-, *piara*- = *pīr*-, *bhaṭṭi*-, *bhaṭṭu*-, *bhaṭṭāra*-. The feminina of the words of relationship too are declined as the *ā*-stems, to which the nom. sing. gave the impulse: *māā*-, *māi*-, *māu*-, *māārā*-. Hence the grammarians (Vr. 5,31—35; Hc. 3,44—48; Kl. 3,30—34; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 13.16.18) teach for the *r*-stems, all the forms that are valid for the *a*-, circumstantial *ā*-, and *u*-stems, and it has not as yet been possible to get all of them authenticated. The forms that have been found in the texts provide with the following paradigms.

§ 390. *Nomina agentis*, — *bhaṭṭu* = *bhaṭṭr* (husband).

Singular.

Nom. *bhaṭṭā*; AMg. *bhaṭṭāre*, also JM. *bhaṭṭāro*.
Acc. *bhaṭṭāraṃ*; Mg. *bhaṭṭālaṃ*.
Gen. *bhaṭṭaṇo*, AMg. *bhaṭṭārassa* also.
Loc. JM. Ś. *bhaṭṭāre*.
Voc. *bhaṭṭā*.

Plural.

Nom. M. AMg. *bhaṭṭāro*; AMg. *bhaṭṭā* also.
Ins. AMg. *bhaṭṭārehiṃ*.
Loc. AMg. *bhaṭṭāresu*.
Voc. AMg. *bhaṭṭāro*.

In the meaning "master" *bhaṭṭr* has become an *i*-stem in Ś. (§ 55.289) and as such is declined in the oblique case. Ś. nom. *bhaṭṭā* (Lalitav. 563, 23; Ratn. 293,32; 294,11 etc.); acc. *bhaṭṭāraṃ* (Mālav. 45.16; 59,3; 60,10); ins. *bhaṭṭiṇā* (Śak. 116, 12; 117, 11; Mālav. 6, 2. 9; 8, 7); gen. *bhaṭṭiṇo* (Śak. 43,10; 117,7; Mālav. 6,22; 40,18; 41,9. 17; Mudrār. 54,2; 149,2); voc. *bhaṭṭā* (Ratn. 305,17. 23; Śak. 144,14), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 34,11. 17).—Examples for individual cases are: nom. AMg. *ne ā* = *netā* (Sūyag. 519; text *netā*); *kaṇṭhaccheṭṭā* (Uttar. 633); JM. *dāyā* = *dātā* (Erz. 58,30); M. JM. Ś. *bhaṭṭā* (Karp. 43,4; Äv. 11,2; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,4.5); JŚ. *nādā* = *jāṭā*, *jhādā* = *dhyātā* (Pav. 382, 42; 386, 70), *kattā* = *kartā* (Pav. 384,36. 58. 60); Ś. *sāsīdā* = *sāsītā*, *dādā* = *dātā* (Kāleyak. 24,16; 25,22); Ś. *rakkhīdā* = *rakṣītā* (Śak. 52,5; Mukund. 15,5); AMg. *udagadā-jāre* [text °*dātāro*] = *udakadātā* (Ovav. § 86); AMg. *bhaṭṭāre* (Nāyādh. 1230); AMg. *uvadamsēṭṭāre* [text °*ro*] = *upadarśayītā* (Sūyag. 593); JM. *bhaṭṭāro* = *bhaṭṭā* (Äv. 12,5. 12. 16. 17; Erz. 6,36; 85,22).—Acc. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhaṭṭāraṃ* (H. 390; Samav. 84; Erz.; Mālatīm. 240, 2); Mg.

bhattālam (Vep̄s. 33,8); AMg. *udagadāyāram* = *udakadātāram* (Ovav. § 85); *pasatthāram neyāram* = *prasāstāram netāram* (Samav. 84); *sathāram* = *śastāram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. JŚ. *kattāram* = *kartāram* (Uttar. 412; Pav. 379,1). — Gen. M. JM.Ś. *bhattuno* (Karp. 7,1; Erz. 41,23; Śak. 81,70; Vikr. 52,14; 82,6. 16; 88,14 etc.); AMg. *udagadāyārassa* = *udakadātuh* (Ovav. § 85). — For the loc. Ś. *bhattari* (Śak. 109,10) we should, with the v. l. read *bhattāre*, that Hc. 3,45 teaches and JM. too has (Āv. 23, 5). False is also the reading *bhattari* of the Kashmirian - (105,15), *bhattuni* of the Devanāgarī- and *bhattummi* of the Drāviḍian recensions (70,12 ed. BÖHTL.; 248,6 ed. Madras). The manuscripts of the Drāviḍian recension waver between *bhattummi*, *bhattari*, *bhattari*, *bhattummi*. — Voc. *bhattā*, see above. — Plural: nom. M. *soāro* = *śrotārah* (Vajjālagga 325,17); AMg. *pasatthāro* = *prasāstārah* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 23. 38); *uvavattāro* = *upapattārah* (Sūyag. 699. 766. 771; Vivāhap. 179. 508. 610; Ovav. § 56. 69. ff.); *akkhāyāro*, *āgantāro*, *neyāro* [text *netāro*], *pannattāro* = *ākhyātārah*, *āgantārah*, *netārah*, **prajñaptārah* (Sūyag. 81. 439. 470. 603); AMg. *gantā* = *gantārah* (Sūyag. 150); *saviyā* = *savitārau*, *taṭṭhā* = *taṣṭārau* (Thān. 82). To it belongs also AMg. *bhājantāro*, which, at Ovav. § 56 appears as *bhavantāro*¹, and is used as the nom. of the sing. too, (Āyār. 2,1,11,11; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 562. 766; Ovav. § 56. 129) and the voc. (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 239. 585. 630. 630. 635). Its meaning is = *bhavantah* or *bhogavantah*, with which the scholiasts inter alia restore, and it is derived directly from *bhavant*, the participle used as a pronoun, like the voc. *āusantāro* = *āyusmantah* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; used as a sing.) from *āyusmant*. There is found also the gen. *bhājantārānam* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Sūyag. 635). Ins. *dāyārehim* = *dātṛbhih* (Kappas. § 112) — Loc. *āgantāresu* = *āgantṛsu* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2. 4. 5; 2,7,2,1. 7. 8.), *dāyāresu* = *dātṛsu* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 17). — The neutra are inflected, according to Sr. fol. 18 either according to the a-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattāra-*, or according to the u-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattu-*.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. considers the word as an admixture of the pres. part. *bhavant* and the fut. part. *bhaviṣṭ*. — 2. The hypothesis of STEINTHAL (Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā p. 40), that the nomina agentis are wanting in Jaina-Prākṛt (i. e. AMg.) is wrong. AMg., on the contrary, is the single dialect, in which they are frequent.

§ 391. Words of Relationship. — *piu* = *pitṛ*.

Singular.

Nom. *piā* [*piaro*]; Ś. Mg. *pidā*.

Acc. *piaram*; AMg. JM. *piyaram*; Ś. *pidaram*; Mg. *pidalam*.

Ins. *piuṇā* [*piareṇa*]; Ś. Mg. *piduṇā*; A. *piara*.

Gen. *piuno*; AMg. *piuno*, *piussa*; JM. *piuno*, *piyarassa*; Ś. Mg. *piduno*; A. *piaraha*.

Voc. [*piā*, *piā*, *piaram*, *piaro*, *piara*].

Plural.

Nom. [*piaro*], [*piuno*]; AMg. JM. *piyaro*; AMg. also *piī*; Ś. *pidaro*.

Acc. [*piare*, *piuno*]; AMg. *piyaro*; Ś. *pidaro*, *pidare*.

Ins. [AMg. *piūhim*, also *piīhim*; [*piarehim*].

Gen. AMg. *piūnam*, also *piīnam*.

Loc. [*piūsum*].

Sing. : nom. is very frequent : M. *piā* (R. 15,26); AMg. JM. *piyā* (Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 1110; Erz. 14,13); Ś. *pidā* (Śak. 21,2; Uttarar. 113,6; Kaleyak. 24,18); Ā. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 104,17); Mg. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 32,11); AMg. JM. *bhāyā* = *bhrātā* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Uttar. 217; Erz. 14,13); Ś. Ā. *bhādā* (Uttarar. 128,10;

Pras 83,6; Venīś. 102,4; 103,22; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,18); *Ś. jāmādā* = *jāmātā* (Mālatīm. 235,4; Mallikām. 210,23; Priyad. 27, 4 [text °do]); Mg. *vāmādā* (Mṛcch. 139,25). Acc. Mg. *piyaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345); *ammāpiyaram* (Thāṇ. 126; Uttar. 573); *Ś. pidaram* (Vikr. 81,10; 82,8; Mālav. 84,5; Venīś. 61,4; Kāleyak. 18,22; Kaṁsav. 50,12 etc.), in Ā. too (Mṛcch. 101,17) and Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,10); JM. *bhāyaram* *Ś. bhādarām* = *bhrātaram* (Erz. 85,4; Venīś. 95,14; 104,12; Mālatīm. 240, 2). — Ins. M. AMg. *piuṇā* (G. 1197; Vivāhap. 820. 827), Mg. *piduṇā* (Mṛcch. 167,24), A. *piara* (Śukas. 32,3); JM. *bhāuṇā* (Erz. 45,28), *Ś. bhāduṇā* (Mālav. 71,2; Mālatīm. 244,2); *Ś. jāmāduṇā* (Ratn. 291,2). — Gen. M. AMg. *piuṇo* (R. 8,28; Kk. 262,28; Nāyādh. 784; Kappas. Th. § 3); AMg. *ammāpiuṇo* (Thāṇ. 125) beside *ammāpiussa* (Thāṇ. 126); JM. *piuṇo* (Erz. 9,19; 17,17) and *ammāpijarassa* (Erz. 77,30); *Ś. piduṇo* (Mṛcch. 95,2. 15; Uttarar. 73,10; Mudrār. 262,6; Pārvatīp. 11,4; 28,6; Mukund. 34,3); *Ś. bhāduṇo* (Mālatīm. 242,1; 245,5; 249,4; Bālar. 113,7; 144,10; Venīś. 60,21; 64,7; Mudrār. 35,9); *Ś. jāmāduṇo* (Venīś. 29,12; Mallikām. 21,4; 212,17; Viddhaś. 48,9); A. *piaraha* (Piṅgala 1,116, in the meaning of the acc.). — Plural: nom. AMg. *piyaro* (Thāṇ. 511. 512), frequently in the compound *ammāpiyaro* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 16; Vivāhap. 809. 926; Thāṇ. 524.525; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 114. 116; p. 292. 887. 965 and often); AMg. JM. *bhāyaro* (Sūyag. 176; Samav. 238; Kk. 267,36; Erz.); also AMg. *bhāyarā* (Uttar. 402.622) and AMg. *do piī*=*dvau pitarau* [as the names of stars; Thāṇ. 82], *Ś. bhādarō* (Uttarar. 12,7; Venīś. 13,9). False are *Ś. mādārapiarā* (sic; Kaṁsav. 50,14) and *bhādarā* (sic; Kaṁsav. 50,10). We should read *mādāpidaro* and *bhādarō*. — Acc. AMg. JM. *ammāpiyaro* (Antag. 4, 23.61. Nāyādh. § 134.138; p. 260.887; Vivāhap. 808; Erz. 37,29); *Ś. pidaro* (Vikr. 87,17); AMg. also *ammāpiyare* (Uttar. 643; Commentary °ram); *Ś. mādāpidare* = *mātāpitarau* (Śak. 159,12). — Ins. AMg. *ammāpiūhim* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nāyādh. § 138; p. 889) and AMg. JM. *ammāpiūhim* (Kappas. § 94; v. l. °piū; Thāṇ. 527; Vivāhap. 1206; Āv. 37,2; 38,2) JM. *māyāpiūhim* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *piūhim*, *bhāūhim* (Sūyag. 694; text °ihim), false, *piyāhim* (104) and *pitāhim* (692); *Ś. bhādarēhim* (Mṛcch. 106,1) is merely conjectural. — Gen. AMg. *ammāpiūṇam* (Kappas. § 90; Nāyādh. § 120; p. 905. 965) and *ammāpiṇam* (Ovav. § 72; v. l. °piū; 103. 107); JM. *māyāpiṇam* (Āv. 37,21). The proper noun AMg. *culāṇipīja*=*culāṇipitr* is declined as: nom. *culāṇipījā*, acc. °piyam, gen. °piyassa, voc. °piyā (Uvās. s. v.).

§ 392. *mātṛ* (mother) forms the nom. M. *mā* (H. 400.508); AMg. JM. *māyā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 115.161.377.635.750; Nāyādh. 1110; Jiv. 355 Kappas. § 46. 109; Erz. 5,19; 10,4. 7); *Ś. Ā. Mg. mādā* (Uttarar. 126,6; Venīś. 29,12; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 129,6). In the meaning 'divine mother', the stem *māārā*, which is declined like the feminine in -ā, makes its appearance according to Hc. 3,46. — Acc. M. *māaram* (Hc. 3,46), AMg. JM. *māyaram*, Dh. *Ś. mādaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345; Erz.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 32,12; *Ś. Mṛcch.* 141,11; Śak. 59,7; Vikr. 82,3; 88,16 etc.); in M. also *mām* (H. 741), and so the word may generally be declined as an ā-stem: sing. ins. JM. *māyāe* (Āv. 11,3,9); gen. *Ś. mādāe* (Karp. 19, 5); voc. M. *māe* (H. s. v. *mā*), *Ś. mādē* (Venīś. 58,17; Viddhaś. 112,8); plur.: ins. AMg. *māyāhim* (Sūyag. 104); gen. A. *māāhā* (Hc. 4,399). The nom. plur. is AMg. *māyaro* (Thāṇ. 512; Samav. 230; Kappas. § 74. 77); besides AMg. JM. have ī- and ū- stems (Hc. 3,46); gen. loc. sing. *māūe* (Kappas. § 93; Āv. 12,9; loc. Vivāhap. 116); ins. plur. *māūhim* (Sūyag. 692 [°i]. 694); gen. plur. *māūnam*, *māūna* (Hc. 1,135; 3,46) which appears more frequently in compounds (§ 55). Voc. sing. *māi* in A. Piṅgala 1,2. — From *duhitṛ* the nom. *Ś. is duhidā* (Mālav. 37,8; Ratn. 291,1; Viddhaś.

47,6. 10; Priyad. 52,6), the acc. Ś. *duhidaram* (Śak. 128,2), the voc. Ś. *duhide* (Viddhaś. 38,3 ed. Calc.). JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhidā* and M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* are mostly used (§ 65.148), JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhidā* which are inflected as *ā*-stems, especially in the combinations JM. *dāsiedhīyā*, Ś. *dāsiedhidā*, Mg. *dāsiedhidā*, comprehended as compounds (cf. *dāsīeutta*). In Ś. Mg. the manuscripts and texts write *dhīā* mostly falsely. Nom. Ś. *dāsiedhidā* (Ratn.302,8); AMg. JM. *dhūyā* (Āyār. 1,2, 1,1; 2,15,15; Sūyag. 635,657; Vivāgas. 105. 214. 228; Antag. 55; Nāyādh. 586 781.1068.1070.1228; Vivāhap. 602.987; Jiv. 355; Āv. 10,23; 11,10; 12,3; 29,14; 37,26ff.; Erz. 5,38); Ś. *ajjādhūdā*=*āryāduhitā* (Mṛcch.53,23; 54, 7; 94,11; 325,14); acc. M. *dhūam* (H. 388), AMg. *dhūyam* (Vivāgas. 228. 229; Nāyādh. 820); ins. M. *dhūāi* (H. 370); *dhūāe* (H. 864); Ś. *dāsiedhidāe* (Nāgān. 57,4). Mg. *dāsiedhidāe* (Mṛcch. 17,8); gen. Ś. *dāsiedhidāe* (Mṛcch. 77,12; Nāgān. 47,10); Ś. *ajjādhūdāe* (Mṛcch. 53,15; 94,4); loc. AMg. *dhūyāe* (Nāyādh. 727); voc. JM. *dāsiedhīe* (Erz. 68,20); Ś. *dāsiedhīe* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 72,19; Karp. 13,2 [Konow °*dhūde*]; Viddhaś. 85,11; Ratn. 294,3; 301,18; Nāgān. 57,3; Caṇḍak. 9,16); Mg. *dāsiedhīe* (Mṛcch. 127,23). Plural: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *dhūyāo* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; 2,2,1,12; Vivāgas. 217; Āv. 10,23; 12,1; Erz. 14,12); ins. JM. *dhūyāhi* (Erz. 14,16); gen. AMg. *dhūyānam* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1); Ś. *dhidānam* (Mālatīm. 288,5); voc. Ś. *dāsiedhidāo* (Cait. 84,7). From the stem *dhūyārā* is found the acc. sing. AMg. *dhūyaram* (Uttar. 641), ins. plur. *dhūyārāhi* (Sūyag. 229).— From *svasr* the nom. sing. is AMg. *sasā* (Hc. 3, 35; Pāyāl. 252; Sūyag. 176).

4) STEMS IN *o* AND *au*.

§ 393. Of the old flexion of *go* only a few remnants are traceable in AMg.: nom. *suṃyago* = *abhinavaprasūtā gauḥ* (Sūyag. 180); nom. plur. *gāo* = *gāvaḥ* (Dasav. 628,15); acc. plur. *gāo* = **gāvaḥ* = *gāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 10); ins. plur. *gahiṃ* = *gobhiḥ* (Aṇuog. 351); gen. plur. *gavam* = *gavām* (Samav. 83; Uttar. 293). The nom. sing. in AMg. is *gave* = **gavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10; Dasav. 628,17), as also at Sūyag. 147 we have to read for *gavam* of the text; the nom. plur. is AMg. *gavā* in *jaraggavā* = *jaradgāvaḥ* (Sūyag. 185). For the mascul. *goṇo* is mostly used in AMg. Mg. (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,104; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; 2,3,3,8. 13; 2,4,2,7; Sūyag. 708. 720. 724 f. 727; Jiv. 356; Paṇḥāv. 19; Samav. 131; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 97,21; 98,20; 99,12; 100,13; 107,18; 112,17; 117,15; 118,5. 12-14. 24; 122,15; 132,16; at the last two places *goṇāim* with a change of gender according to § 358); AMg. *goṇattāe* = *gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51). The fem. is JM. *goṇī* (Āv. 7,10. 12; 43,10), or M. *gāi* (Hc. 1,158; H.), AMg. JM. *gāvī* (C. 2,16; Hc. 2,174; Āyār. 2,1,4,3. 4; Vivāgas. 67; Jiv. 356; Dasav. 618,39; Dasav. N. 658,7; Āv. 43,11. 20; Dvār. 504,12. 14; Erz.). For the masc. Hc. 1,158 mentions *gaūo*, *gāo*, for the femin. *gaūā*, *gāi*. Of them *gaūo* = *gavayaḥ*, *goṇo* is either = **goṇno* for **gunṇo* = **gūṇāḥ* from *ṽgur* according to § 661, or = **gavana*. Cf. also § 8. 152.

1. So more correctly than BB. 3,237.

§ 394. *nau* (ship) always forms, from the strong stem, a femin. *nāvā*, which is inflected according to the *ā*-declension (Hc. 1,164; Sr. fol. 16); sing. nom. AMg. *nāvā*, Ś. *nāvā* (Nāyādh. 741. 1339; Vivāhap. 105; Uttar. 716; Mṛcch. 41,20), A. *nāva* (Hc. 4,423,1); acc. M. *nāvam* (G.812), AMg. *nāvam*, *nāvaṃ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13 ff.; Sūyag. 68. 271. 438; Vivāhap. 105; Nāyādh. 741); ins. gen. AMg. *nāvāe* (Āyār. 2,3,1,15 ff.; Nāyādh. 1339 f.; Uvās. § 218); abl. AMg. *nāvāo* (Āyār. 2,3,2,2. 3); plur. ins. AMg. *nāvāhi* (Dasav. 629,1).

5) STEMS IN -*t*.

§ 395. The nouns in -*t*, having a single stem, of which *t* is preceded by a vowel, cross over to the corresponding vocalic declension after dropping off of the final *t*: M. *indaiṇā* = *indrajitā* (R. 14,16), gen. *indaiṇo* (R. 12,58.84) and *indaissa* (R. 15,61), loc. *indaimmi* (R. 13,99); *taḍi* = *taḍit* (Hc. 1,202), A. *taḍi* = *taḍitam* (Vikr. 55,2); *marū* = *marut* (Ki. 2,123; M. *vijjā* = *vidyut* (Vr. 4,9; Bh. 4,26; Hc. 1,15; Ki. 2,129; H. 585). From *jagat*, the nom. sing. is M. *jaam* (R. 5,20; 9,73), AMg. *jage* (Sūyag. 74), A. *jagu* (Hc. 4,343,1); the acc. AMg. *jagam* (Sūyag. 405.537); the gen. A. *jaassu* (Hc. 4,440); the loc. M. *jaammi* (H. 364; R. 3,12; Karp. 78,4; 80,4) and *jae* (G. 239; H. 303), AMg. *jagai* (Sūyag. 104; text °*tī*) and *jagamsi* (Sūyag. 306), JS. *jagadi* (Pav. 382,26; text °*tī*), A. *jagi* (Hc. 4,404; Kk. 261,1). The feminine nouns mostly take the endings -*ā*: *sarit* becomes *Pāli saritā*, M. *sariā* (G. H. R.), JM. *sariyā* (Erz.), A. *saria* (Vikr. 72,9); M. gen. plur. *sariāhā* (Hc. 4,300); A. also ins. plur. *sariḥ* = **saribhiḥ* = *saridbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11). The transition to the *ā*-declension is prohibited by the grammarians for *vidyut*. Cf. § 244. According to Hc. 1,33 there is found *vijjunā* too beside *vijjā*, according to C. 1,4 nom. plur. *vijjuno* too.

§ 396. The stems in -*at*, -*mat*, -*vat* partly go according to the mode of Skt., especially in AMg., and partly according to that of the *a*-declension of the strong stems in -*anta*, -*anta*, -*vanta*. Thus with the flexion of Skt.: sing. nom. AMg. *jānam* = *jānan* (Sūyag. 1,332); *vijjam* = *vidvān* (Sūyag. 126.306.380 ff.); *cakkhumam* = *cakṣuṣmān* (Sūyag. 546); *diṭṭhimam* = *diṭṭhimān* (Sūyag. 200.531); *āyavam* *nānavam* *dharmavam* *bambhavam* = *ātmavān* *jñānavān* *dharmavān* *brahmavān* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *puṭṭhavam* = *spṛṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8; in the passive sense), *thāmavam* = *sthāmavān* (Uttar. 50.90), *cittam*, *acittam* = *tiṣṭhan*, *atiṣṭhan* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *kuvvam* = *kurvan* (Sūyag. 31,863), *kiṇam*, *haṇam*, *paṇam* = *kṛiṇan*, *ghnan*, *paṇan* (Sūyag. 609); AMg. JM. *maham* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4; Sūyag. 582; Ovav. § 5; Kk. 271.11); JM. *araham* = *arhan* (Dvār. 495,9). In M. I have not been able to find this form. In Ś. Mg. it is confined to *bhagavat* and *bhavat* (pronoun) (Hc. 4,265). So Ś. *bhaavam* (Mṛch. 28,1; 44,19; Mudrār. 20,7; 179,3; Ratn. 296,5.23; Vikr. 10,2; 23,19; 43,11 etc.); likewise Mg. (Mudrār. 178,6; Caṇḍak. 43,7); Ś. *bhavam* (Mṛch. 4,24; 6,23; 7,3; 18,25; Śak. 37.1 etc.), *atthabham* = *atrabhāvān* (Śak. 33,3; 35,7), *tatthabham* = *tatrabhāvān* (Vikr. 46,5; 47,2; 75,3.15); likewise P. *bhagavam* (Hc. 4,323), as in AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,1,1 ff.; Uvās. and very often).—Ins. AMg. *māmayā* = *matimatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4.2,5), *māmayā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,22,2,16.3,14,4,17; Sūyag. 373); AMg. *jāpayā* *pāsayā* = *jānatā* *pāsyatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); AMg. JM. *mahayā* = *mahatā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 718; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. § 15.135 etc.; Kk. 259,37), used also for the femin. in consonance with the following masculine and neuter (§ 355): *mahayā* *iddhi mahayā* *jute mahayā* *balanam*... = *mahatyariddhi mahatyā* *dyutyā mahatā* *balena*... (Jiv. 588 [text *juttie*]; Kappas. 102; Ovav. § 52); M. *bhaavaā* (G. 896), AMg. JM. *bhagavaṇṇā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1.7.3.5 etc.; Uvās.; and very often; Kk. 268,17), Ś. *bhaavadā* = *bhagavatā* (Lalitav. 265,18; Śak. 57,17; Vikr. 23,6; 72,14; 81,2); likewise in Ś. *bhavadā* = *bhavatā* (Śak. 36,16; Vikr. 19,15), *atthabhavadā*, *tatthabhavadā* (Vikr. 16,11; 30,9; 80,14; 84,19; Śak. 30,2), as also in the gen.: Ś. *bhaavado* (Śak. 120,5; Ratn. 294,5; 295,6), likewise Mg. (Prab. 52,6; Caṇḍak. 43,6); Ś. *bhavado* (Śak. 38,6.8; 39,12; Mṛch. 52,12; Vikr. 18,10,20,19; 21,19 etc.), *atthabhavado* (Vikr. 21,10), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛch. 6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,113; 79.16). So also in the proper

noun *Ś. gen. rumappado* = *rumavataḥ* (Ratn. 320,16), of which the nom. is *rumappo*, as of an *n*-stem (Priyad. 5,5). In the case of adjectives and participles only the forms of the *a*-stems are otherwise usual in *Ś. Mg.* Hence false is *Ś. guṇavado* (Śak 84,8 ed. BURKHARD), for which ed. BÖHTLINGK 43,14, ed. Madras. 186,11 and the Kashmir recension 72,15 have likewise the false dative *guṇavade*. On the dative *bhavade* see § 361. — Gen. AMg. *mahao* = *mahataḥ* (Sūyag. 312), *bhagavao* = *bhagavataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,4; 2,15,9 ff.; Kappas. § 16.28; Vivāhap. 1271; Uvās.; and very often), *paḍivajjao* = **pratipadyataḥ*, *viharao* = *viharataḥ* (Uttar. 116), *avijāṇao* = *avijānataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,4,4,2; 1,5,1,1), *akuvvao* = *akurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 540), *pakuvvao* = *prakurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 340), *karao* = *kurvataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5) *haṇao* = *ghnataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3), *kittayao* = *kirtayataḥ* (Uttar. 726), *dhiimao* = *dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,8). On *Ś. Mg.* see above. — Loc. *Ś. sadi* = *sati* (Śak. 141,7); *M. himavai* = *himavati* (Mudrār. 60,9). — Voc. AMg. JM. *bhagavaṃ*, *bhajaṃ* (Vivāhap. 205; Kappas. § 111; Erz. 2,32; 44,18; Dvār. 495,13); *Ś. bhaavaṃ* (Ratn. 296,24; 298,14; 300,33; Prab. 59,4; Śak. 73,5; Vikr. 86,10; Uttarar. 204,8 etc.); P. *bhagavaṃ* (Hc. 4,323). Beside AMg. *āsaṃ* = *āyuṣman* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 1; Sūyag. 792; Samav.1) AMg. very frequently has *āuso* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,1,7. 13, 2,6,1,5. 10. 11; 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1. 2; Sūyag. 594; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.); further *samaṇāuso* (Samav. 31; Ovav. § 140; Nāyādh. 518. 614. 617. 652 ff.), that is used for the plural too (Sūyag. 579.582; Nāyādh. 497.504). *āuso* is rightly equated by LEUMANN (Aup. S. s. v.) as = **āyusmas*, hence it is to be connected with the Vedic vocative in *-as* (WHITNEY § 454). — In the plur. the nom. and the voc. only are formed dialectically according to the old flexion too. Nom.: AMg. *silamanto guṇamanto vaimanto* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *mūlamanto kandamanto khandhamanto tayāmanto sālamananto pavālamanto* etc. (Ovav. § 4), *bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,1,9,1; Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. Ś. § 61), and so also *Ś. nom. bhaavanto* (Mudrār. 20,5). For *Ś. kidavanto* = *kṛtavantaḥ* (Jivān. 40,26) we have to read *kidavantā*, on the other hand for *voc. bhavantā* (Śak. 27, 16 ed. BÖHTLINGK) we should with the ed. Madras. 135,7 read *bhaavanto*, as stands at Venis. 102,2. — Nom. plur. neut. are AMg. *pariggahāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,2,4; cf. 1,5,3,1); *balavanti* (Uttar. 753); *eyāvanti savvāvanti* = *etāvanti *sāvāvanti* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5. 7); *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,2,1. 4; cf. § 357); *jāvanti* (Uttar. 215). The sing. *abhiddavaṃ* = *abhidraṇ* metrically stands for the plural (Āyār. 2,16,2). Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2.227. So also in prose the voc. JM. *bhajaṃ* (T. 4,14. 20) in addressing more than one. — As AMg. *samaṇāuso* is used for the plur. too, so is used very frequently the plural *āusanto* for the singular; hence it is to be taken as pluralis majestatis, since the nom. sing. in prose would be *āusante*: *āusanto samaṇā* = *āyusmañ śramaṇa*, *āusanto gāhāvai* = *āyusmaṇ gṛhapate* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 5,2; 2,1,3,2; 2,3,1,16 ff.; 2,3,2,1. 2. 16; 2,3,3,5 ff. etc.); *āusanto goyamā* = *āyusmaṇ gotama* (Sūyag. 962. 972. 981) beside *āyuso goyamā* (Sūyag. 964); *āusanto udagā* = *āyusmann udaka* (Sūyag. 969. 972. 1012. 1014). A doubtless plural is for example *āusanto niyaṇṭhā* = *āyusmanto nirgranthāḥ* (Sūyag. 989. 992). From the weak stem are formed *jāṇao*, *ajāṇao* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), in case one, with the commentary and JACOBI (S B E. XII, 149) will like to take it as the nom. plur. However, it is not possible for the prose, so that the forms are to be explained as the gen. sing., which gives also a better sense.

§ 397. With the exception of the cases noted under § 396 the formation in *-anta*, *-manta*, *-vanta* prevails in all the dialects: sing. nom. M. *pianto* = *piban*; *calanto* = *calan*; *bahuguṇavanto* = *bahuguṇavān*; *kuṇanto* =

kr̥ṇvan (H. 13. 25. 203. 265); AMg. *sāsanto* beside *sāsam* = *śāsāt* (Uttar. 38); *anusāsanto* (Uttar. 39); *kiṇanto*, *vikkīṇanto* = *krīṇan*, *vikrīṇan* (Uttar. 1010); *mūlamante*, *kandamante* = *mūlavān*, *kandavān* (Ovav. § 5); *vaṇṇamante*, *gandhamante* = *vaṇṇavān*, *gandhavān* (Bhag. 1,420); *virāyante* = *virājan* (Ovav. § 48); *visīyānto* = *viśīdan*, *ramānto* = *ramamāṇaḥ* (Dasav. 613, 16; 641, 21); *cullahimavānto* = *cullahimavān* (Thāṇ. 176); JM. *saṁthuvvānto* = *saṁstūyāmāṇaḥ*; *gāyānto* = **gāyan*; *deṇto* = **dayan*; *agūhānto* = *agūhan*; *paḷoṇto* = *pralokayan* (Āv. 7,25; 8,26; 9,5. 6; 15,21); *kandānto* = *krandān* (Erz. 42,12); JM. *ś. mahānto* (Erz. 8,5; 50,5; 63,28; Kk. 274,4; Vikr. 45,1; Mallikām. 245,5; Mudrār. 43,8); *ś. karēnto* = *kurvan* (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23), *jāṇānto* (Mṛcch. 18,23; 104,1); *puloānto* = *pralokayan* (Mahāv. 99,3), *cittavānto* = *cittavān* (Śak. 87,13); Mg. *puṣcāṁde* = *preccan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *mahānto* = *māhān* (Mṛcch. 132,11; 169,18; Prab. 58,9; Venīs. 35,17; 36,3); *colaānto* = *corayan* (Mṛcch. 165,9); *daṁśānto* = *darśayan* (Śak. 114,11); *maṇṭānto* = *mantrayan* (Prab. 32,10; so to be read; ed. Bomb. 78,12 °to); Dh. *ācakkhānto* = **ācakṣat* (§ 88; Mṛcch. 34,24); P. *cintayānto* = *cintayan*, *paribbhamānto* = *paribhraman* (Hc. 4,323); A. *hasānto* = *hasan*, *daṁśijjānto* = *daṁśyamāṇa* (Hc. 4,383,3,418,6), *jaggānto* = *jāgrat* (Piṅgala 1,62^a), *valānto* = *valan*; *ulhasānto* = *ullasan*; *guṇavānto* = *guṇavān* (Piṅgala 1,4^b; 2,45); nom. neut. *bhaṇantam* = *bhaṇat* (H. 218); *kirantam* = *kirat* (G. 1182); *ś. dīśantam* = *drīśyamāṇam* (Uttarar. 77,6); A. *dhaṇamānto* = *dhanavat* (Piṅgala 2,45). Mg. *dahānto* (more correctly *dahadāhānto* with the v. l.; Venīs. 35,23) is related to the neuter *ṣoṇidam* = *ṣoṇitam*. In the acc. masc. the Skt. form becomes identical with the later formation of Pkt.: AMg. *ś. mahantam* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; Sūyag. 944; Mṛcch. 40,22); M. *pijjantam*, *anupijjantam*, *avalambijjantam*, *paḍasantam* = *piyamāṇam*, *anunīyamāṇam*, *avalambiyamāṇam*, *prakāśayantam* (G. 466–469); AMg. *saṁārambhantam* = *saṁārabhamāṇam*, *kiṇantam* = *krīṇantam*, *giṇhantam* = *grhṇantam* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,5,3; 2,7,1,1); JM. *jampanantam* = *jālpantam* (Kk. 262,5); *ś. jāṇantam*, *santam*, *asāntam* (Mudrār. 38,2; 63,9,10), *kappijjantam* = *kalpyamāṇam* (Mṛcch. 4,10), *uvvahanantam* = *udvahanantam* (Mṛcch. 41,10). False is *ś. bhaavāntam* for *bhaavāntam* (Vikr. 87,17). Mg. *mālantam* = *mārayantam*, *yīlantam* = *jīvantam* (Mṛcch. 123,22; 170,5); *alihantam* = *arhantam* (Laṭakam. 14,19); A. *dārantam* = *dārayantam* (Hc. 4,345); neuter: M. *santam* *asāntam* (H. 513); *ś. mahantam* (Mṛcch. 28,11). — Ins. M. *piantēṇa* = *pibatā*, *padantēṇa* = *patatā* (H. 246. 264); AMg. *vinimuyāntēṇam* = *vinimūcātā* (Ovav. § 48); *anukampantēṇam* = *anukampatā* (Āyār. 2,15,4); JM. *jampanantēṇa* = *jālpatā* (KI. 15; Erz. 10,26); *kuṇantēṇa* = Vedic *kr̥ṇvatā* (KI. 15); *vaccantēṇam* = *vrajatā* (Āv. 11,19); JŚ. *arahantēṇa* = *arhatā* (Pay. 385,63); *ś. calantēṇa* = *calatā* (Lalitav. 568,5); *gāantēṇa* = *gāyatā*, *karēntēṇa* = *kurvatā* (Mṛcch. 44,2; 60,25; 61,24); *harantēṇa* (Uttarar. 52,9) *bhuttavāntēṇa* = *bhuktavātā* (Jivān. 53,11); Mg. *gaṣcantēṇa* = *gaṣchatā* (Mṛcch. 167,24); *āhiṇḍantēṇa* = *āhiṇḍamāṇena* (Caṇḍak. 71,12); A. *pavasantēṇa* = *pravasatā* (Hc. 4,333), *bhamantē* = *bhramatā* (Vikr. 55,18; 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); *roantēṇa* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). — Abl. AMg. *cullahimavāntāo* = *cullahimavātāḥ* (Thāṇ. 177). — Gen. M. *ārambhantassa* = *ārabhamāṇasya*, *ramantassa* = *ramamāṇasya*, *jāṇantassa* = *jānatāḥ* (H. 42,44. 243), *visahantassa* = **viśahatāḥ*, *vōcchindantassa* = *vyavacchinatāḥ* (R. 12,23; 15,62); AMg. *āusantassa* = *āyusmatāḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1); *bhagavantassa* = *bhagavatāḥ* (Kappas. § 118); *vasantassa* = *vasatāḥ* (Uvās. § 83), *cajantassa* = *tyajatāḥ* (Ovav. § 170); *cullahimavāntassa* (Jiv. 388 f.); *kahantassa* = *kathayatāḥ* (Sūyag. 907); *jiṇantassa* = *jayatāḥ* (Dasav. 618,14); JM. *acchantassa* = *rechataḥ*, *dhūvēntassa* = *dhūpayatāḥ*, *sārakkhantassa* = *saṁrakṣatāḥ* (Āv. 14,25; 25,4; 28,16); *karēntassa*, *kuṇantassa* = *kurvatāḥ*

(Erz. 1,24;18,10); JM. *cintantassa*, Ś. *cintaantassa* = *cintayataḥ* (Erz. 11,8; 18,16; Śak. 30,5); Ś. *mahantassa* = *mahataḥ* (Uttarar. 105,5); *maggantassa* *mārgamāṇasya*, *nikkamantassa* = *niṣkrāmataḥ* (Mṛcch. 95,7; 105,24); *haṇumanassa* = *haṇumataḥ* (Mahāv. 125,14); Mg. *vaññamdaṣṣa* = *vrajataḥ* (Lalitav. 566,7); *alihanṭaṣṣa* = *arhataḥ* (Prab. 52,7); CP. *ṇaccantassa* = *ṇṛtyataḥ* (Hc 4,326); A. *mellantaho* = *tyajataḥ*, *dēntaho* = **dayataḥ*, *jujjhantaho* = *judyataḥ*, *karantaho* = *kurvataḥ* (Hc. 4,370,4.379,1.400).—Loc. M. *samāruhantammi* = *samārohati*, *hōntammi* = *bhavati*, *ruantammi* = *rudati* (H. 11. 124. 596); *haṇūmante* and *haṇumantammi* = *haṇumoti* (R. 1,35; 2,43); AMg. *jāṇante* = *jvāṇti* (Kappas. § 59; Nāyādh. § 34; Uvās. § 66; Vivāhap. 169); *sante* = *sati* (Āyār. 2,5,1,5; 2,8,1; 2,9,1), *himavante* = *himavati* (Uvās. § 277); *arahantammi* = *arhati* (Kappas. § 74; Nāyādh. § 46), *abhinikkhamantammi* = *abhinīṣkrāmanti* (Uttar. 279); Ś. *mahante* = *mahati* (Śak. 29,7); D. *jiante* = *jivati* (Mṛcch. 100,9); A. *ṇavasantē* = *pravasati* (Hc. 4,422,12).—Voc. M. *āloanta sasanta jambhanta ganta roanta mucchanta paḍanta khalanta* = *ālokayan śvasan jymbhamāṇa gacchan rudan murchan patan skhalan* (H. 547); *mahanta* (desiring), *muanta* = *muñcan* (H. 510. 643), Mg. *alihanta* = *arhan* (Prab. 54,6; 58,7; Laṭakam. 12,13).—Plural: nom. M. *paḍantā*, *nivāḍantā* = *patantaḥ*, *nipatantaḥ* (G. 122. 129. 442); *bhindantā* = *bhindataḥ*, *jāṇantā* = *jānataḥ* (H. 326. 821); AMg. *silamantā* = *silamantaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *jampantā* = *jalpantaḥ* (Sūyag. 50); *vāyantā* *ya gāyantā* *ya naccantā* *ya bhāsantā* *ya sāsantā* *ya sāvēntā* *ya rakkhantā* *ya = vācayantaḥ* *ca gāyantā* *ca ṇṛtyantaḥ* *ca bhāṣamāṇaḥ* *ca śāsataḥ* *ca śrāvayantaḥ* *ca rakṣantaḥ* *ca* (Ovav. § 49, V); *pūrayantā*, *peccantā*, *ujjoṇṭā*, *karēntā* = *pūrayantaḥ*, *prekṣamāṇāḥ*, *uddyoḷayantaḥ*, *kurvantaḥ* (Ovav. [§ 37]); *buddhimantā* = *buddhimantaḥ* (Sūyag. 916); *arahantā* = *arhantaḥ* (Kappas. § 17. 18), even in the combination *arahantā bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1, 4, 1, 1; 2, 4, 1, 4 [so to be read]; Vivāhap. 1235), likewise *samaṇā bhagavanto silamantaḥ* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 10); JM. *kiddantā* = *kṛidantaḥ* (Āv. 30,15); *gavesantā* = *gaveṣayantaḥ*, *cojjantā* = *codyamāṇāḥ* (Kk. 273, 42; 274, 3); *santā* = *santaḥ*, *carantā* = *carantaḥ* (Erz. 1. 12. 13); Ś. *pūjjantā* = *pūjjyamāṇāḥ*, *sikkhantā* = *śikṣantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 9, 1; 71, 21), *khelantā* = *khelantaḥ* (Uttarar. 108, 2); Mg. *śāsantā* = *śvasantaḥ*, *paḍivaśantā* = *prativasantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 116,17; 169,3); A. *phukkijjanta* = *phūṭkriyamāṇāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,3); *guṇamanta* = *guṇovantaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,118); neuter: AMg. *vaṇṇamantāim* *gandhamantāim* *rasamantāim* *phāsamantāim* = *vaṇṇavanti* *gandhavanti* *rasavanti* *sparsavanti* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Vivāhap. 144; Jiv. 26); acc. M. *uṇṇamante* = *unnamataḥ* (H. 539); AMg. *arahante bhagavante* = *arhato bhagavataḥ* (Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. § 21), *samārambhante* = *samārabhamāṇān* (Āyār. 1,1,3 5); JS. *arahante* (Pav.379,3); neutrum: AMg. *mahantāim* (Vivāhap. 1308 f.).—Ins. M. *visamghaḍantehim* = *visamghaḍadbhiḥ* (H. 115), *viñintehim* = *vinirgacchadbhiḥ* (G. 138); AMg. *jivantehim* = *jivadbhiḥ*, *ovayantehi* *ya uppajjantehi* *ya = apapatadbhiḥ* *colpatadbhiḥ* *ca* (Kappas. § 97); *paññānamantehim* = **prajñānamadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *āvasantehim* = *āvāsadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4); *bhagavantehim* = *bhagavadbhiḥ* (Aṇuog. 95); *araha- ntehim* = *arhadbhiḥ* (Thāp. 288; Aṇuog. 518 [°ri]); *santehim* = *sadbhiḥ* (Uvās. § 220. 259. 262); JM. *āpucchantehim* = *āpucchadbhiḥ* (Āv. 27,11); *maggantehim* = *mārgamāṇāḥ* (Āv. 30,17); *gāyantehim* = *gāyadbhiḥ*, *bhaṇantehim* = *bhaṇadbhiḥ*, *āruhantehim* = *āruhadbhiḥ* (Erz. 1,29; 2,15. 21); Ś. *gacchantehim* = *gacchadbhiḥ* (Mudrār. 254,3); *anicchantehim* = *anicchadbhiḥ* (Bālar. 144,9); *gāntehim* = *gāyadbhiḥ* (Cat. 42,2); Mg. *paviśantehim* = *praviśadbhiḥ* (Caṇḍak. 42,11); A. *nivasantaḥ* = *nivasadbhiḥ*, *valantaḥ* = *valadbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11. 18).—Gen. M. *ēntāṇam* = *āyatām*, *cintantāṇa* = *cintayatām* (H. 38,83); AMg. *arahantāṇam* *bhagavantāṇam* (Vivāhap. 1235;

Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20. 38); *santāṇaṁ* = *satām* (Uvās. § 85); *paṇṇānamantāṇaṁ* = **prajñānamatām* (Āyār. 1.6,1,1); JM. *āyāntāṇaṁ* = *ācaratām* (Dvār. 502,28); *carantāṇaṁ* = *caratām* (Āv. 7,9); *kuṇantāṇaṁ* = *kurvatām* (Kk. 270,40); *joyantāṇaṁ* = *paśyatām* (Erz. 73,18); JŚ. *arihantāṇaṁ* (Pav. 379,4; 383,44 [°ra°]); Ś. *pekkhantāṇaṁ* = *prekṣamāṇānām* (Venis. 64,16; Nāgān. 95,13); Mg. *alihanatāṇaṁ* = *arhatām*, *namantāṇaṁ* = *namatām* (Prab. 46,11; 47,1); *ṇiskamantāṇaṁ* = *ṇiskramatām* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *peccantāṇa* = *prekṣamāṇānām*, *cintantāḥ* = *cintayatām*, *navantāḥ* = *namatām*, *joṇtāḥ* = *paśyatām* (Hc. 4,348. 362. 399. 409).—Loc. M. *dhavalāntesu* = **dhavalāyatsu* (H. 9); JM. *naccantesu* = *ṇṛtyatsu* (Erz. 2,2), *gacchantesu* = *gacchatsu* (Āv. 7,26; Erz. 7,19), *kiḷantesu* = *krīḍatsu* (Erz. 16,16); Ś. *parihariantesu* = *parihriyamāṇesu* (Mudrār. 38,10), *vaḷḷantesu* = *vartamāṇesu* (Pārvatip. 2,5; text *vaḷḷadesu*).—Voc. AMg. *āusantā* = *āyusmantāḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17).

§ 398. In the case of the stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* we find isolated forms, that are built according to the model of the nouns, having a single stem, that is to say, from the weak stem: nom. JM. *bhagavo* (Erz. 25,19); Mg. *haṇūme* = *hanūmān* (Mṛcch. 11,8); cf. Mg. *haṇūmaśihale* (Mṛcch. 133,12) and M. *variahaṇumaṁ* (R. 12,88); AMg. *asaṁ* = *asat* (Sūyag. 35); acc. AMg. frequently *mahaṁ* = *mahantam* and *mahaṭ* (Āyār. 2,15,8; Uttar. 325; Vivāgas. 221; Vivāhap. 1325; Uvās. s. v. *maha*; Nāyādh. § 22. 122), femin. too (Vivāhap. 105), and *bhagavaṁ* = *bhagavantam* (Uvās. s. v.; Kappas. § 15. 16. 21; Bhag. 1,420; Ovav. § 33. 38. 40 etc.).—Forms from the weak stem in *-ta*, transported to the *a*-declension, are also found. So nom. sing. AMg. *ajāṇao* = **ajāṇataḥ* = *ajāṇan* (Sūyag. 273; text *avijāṇao*), *viḷāṇao* = *viḷāṇan* (Nandis. 1); nom. plur. femin. *amaīmayā* = **amatimatāḥ* = *amatimatyah* (Sūyag. 213); gen. plur. mascul. *bhavaḷāṇaṁ* = **bhavatānām* = *bhavatām* (Uttar. 354). For Ś. *himavadassa* (Pārvatip. 27,13; 32,19; 35,1) we should read *himavantassa*, as in the last place GLASER (31,15) has.—From *arhat* are always formed the nom. *arahā*, *arihā*, as from the stem *arhan* (e. g. Uvās. § 187; Kappas.; Ovav.); likewise is found M. *haṇumā* (Hc. 2,159; Mk. fol. 37; R. 8,43). Cf. also § 601.—On AMg. *āusantāro*, *bhojantāro* see § 390).

6) STEMS IN *-n*.

§ 399. 1) Stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*. *-rāa*-, AMg. JM. *rāja*-, Mg. *lāa* = *rājan*. In the declension of *rājan*, the old *n*-stem and the *a*-stem, that appears at the beginning of a compound come beside one another. Besides an *i*-stem should be deduced from the original separation-vowel *i* (§ 133).

Singular.

Nom. *rāā*, [rāo]; AMg. JM. *rājā*; Mg. *lāā*; P. *rājā*; CP. *rācā*.
 Acc. *rāāṇaṁ*; [rāiṇam, rāuṁ]; AMg. JM. *rājāṇaṁ*, *rājāṁ*; Mg. *lāāṇaṁ*.
 Ins. *raṇṇā*, *rāiṇā*; JM. also *rāeṇa*; [rāṇā, rāṇā]; Mg. *laññā*; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā*.
 Abl. [raṇṇo, rāiṇo, rāāo, rāādo, rāāu, rāādu, rāāhi, rāāhimto, rāā, rāāṇo].
 Gen. *raṇṇo*, *rāiṇo*; AMg. JM. also *rājyassa*; [rāāṇo, rāāṇo]; Mg. *lañño*, *lāiṇo*; P. *rañño*, *rāciṇo*.
 Loc. [rāimmi, rāammi, rāe].
 Voc. [rāa, rāā, rāo]; AMg. JM. *rāja*, *rājā*, AMg. also *rājāṁ*, Ś. *rāaṁ*; Mg. [lāaṁ]; P. *rājāṁ*.

Plural.

Nom. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rājāṇo*, *rāiṇo*; [rāā]; Mg. *lāāṇo*.
 Acc. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rājāṇo*; [rāiṇo, rāe, rāā].

Ins. *rāhiṃ*; [*rāehiṃ*].

Abl. [*rāhiṃ*, *rāhiṃto*, *rāāhiṃto*, *rāisumto*, *rāāsumto*].

Gen. *rāiṇaṃ*, [*rāiṇaṃ*, *rāāṇaṃ*]; JM. *rāiṇaṃ*, *rāyāṇaṃ*.

Loc. [*rāisum*, *rāesum*].

Voc. = nom.

On the declension of *rājan* see Vr. 5,36—44; Hc. 3,49—55; 4,304; Kī. 3, 35—40; Mk. fol. 44. 45; Sr. fol. 20. Cf. § 133. 191. 237. 276. Most of the cases are found in the texts often in AMg. JM.Ś.:sing. nom. Ś. *rāā* (Mṛcch. 28,2. 12; 68,8; Śak. 40,7; Vikr. 15,4; 39,13; 75,3; 79,7 etc.); AMg. JM. *rājā* (Sūyag. 105; Ovav. § 11. 15; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,37; 21,1 ff.; Erz.); Mg. *lāā* (Mṛcch. 128,10; 139,25; 140,1; Caṇḍak. 43,5); P. *rājā*, CP. *rācā* (Hc. 4,304. 323. 325).—Acc. JM. *rājāṇaṃ* (Erz. 2,5; 24,26; Kk. III, 510,32) and *rāyaṇaṃ* (Uttar. 443; Ovav. § 55; Nāyādh. § 78; Nirayāv. § 8. 22; Erz. 33,23); Mg. *lāāṇaṃ* (Mṛcch. 138,25).—Ins. AMg. JM. *raṇṇā*, *rannā* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 41; Kappas.; Āv. 8,23. 30. 33. 40. 53; Erz. 24,23; 25,11) and JM. *rāiṇā* (Āv. 8,35. 38; 9,17; Erz. 1,22; 18,19; 24, 28; 25,6; Kk. 260,30; 261,7; 270, 42; III, 510, 6); JM. *rāeṇa* (Āv. 8,6); Ś. *raṇṇā* (Mṛcch. 4,10; 102,1; 103,15; Śak. 57,4); Mg. *laññā* (Śak. 113,7; 117,3) in agreement with Hc. 4,302, whilst at Mṛcch. 158,23. 25 *laṇṇā* stands; P. *raññā*, *rāciññā* (Hc. 4,304. 320).—Gen. AMg. JM. *raṇṇo*, *ranno* (Uvās. § 113; Ovav. § 12. 13. 47. 49; Kappas.; Āv. 8,12. 27. 29. 54; Erz. 1,2; 32,13; 33,25); JM. also *rāiṇo* (Erz. 46,24; 47,3. 4; 49,1) and *rāyassa* (Kk. II, 505,17; III, 512,34); Ś. *raṇṇo* (Mṛcch. 99,25; 101,21. 23; Śak. 29,3; 54,2; Vikr. 28,19) and *rāiṇo* (Mālatīm. 90,6; 99,4; Kāṇṣav. 49,10); Mg. *lañño*, written as *laṇṇo* (Mṛcch. 168,3) and *lāiṇo* (Mṛcch. 171,11); P. *rañño*, *rāciñño* (Hc. 4,304).—Voc. AMg. *rājā* (Nirayāv. § 22); mostly *rāyaṇaṃ* (Uttar. 409.414.417.418.444.503 etc.); JM. *rājā* (Kk. 261,12); Ś. *rāam* (Hc. 4,264; Śak. 31,10); Mg. *lāam* (Hc. 4,302); P. *rājam* (Hc. 4,323); A. *rāa* (Hc. 4,402).—The nom.voc. *rāo*, ins. *rāaṇā*, abl.gen. *rāāno* are mentioned only by Sr., and the abl. *rāādo*, *rāādu* by Bh. Kī. 3,40 mentions also the ins. *rāā*, which is meant by C. 3,19, p. 49 too, where we should read *rājñā* in place of *rājā*.—Plural: nom. AMg. JM. *rājāṇo* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; Sūyag. 182; Nāyādh. 828. 830; Jiv. 311; Erz. 17,29; 32,24. 32; Kk. 263, 16), JM. also *rāiṇo* (Erz. 9,20; Kk. III, 512,13 [so to be read for *rāyaṇo*]); Ś. *rāāno* (Śak. 58,1; 121,12; Mudrār. 204,1); Mg. *lāāno* (Śak. 115,10).—Acc. AMg. JM. *rājāṇo* (Nāyādh. 838; Kk. 263,16).—Ins. AMg. JM. *rāhiṃ* (Nāyādh. 829. 833; Erz. 33,12).—Gen. AMg. JM. *rāiṇaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Nāyādh. 822 ff. 832 ff.; Āv. 15,10; Kk. 263,11), JM. also *rāyāṇaṃ* (Erz. 28,22).

§ 400. At the end of compounds, the *a*-stem does not prevail, as in Skt., but all the stems appear dialectically as unconnected words: sing. nom. AMg. *ikkhāgarājā* = *aikṣvākarājā* (Thāp. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729); *devarājā* = *devarājā* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Uvās. § 113; Kappas.); JM. *vikkamārāo* = *vikramarājā* (Kk. II, 507,12), but *diharājā* = *dīrgharājā* (Erz. 6,2); Ś. *mahārāo* = *mahārājā* (Śak. 36,12; 56,11; 58,13; Vikr. 5,9; 9,4; 10,20); *juarāo* = *yuvārājā* (Śak. 45,6); *aṅgarāo* (Venis. 66,3); *vaccharāo* = *vatsarājā* (Priyad. 32,2; 33,7); *vallaharāo* *nāma rāa* (Karp. 32,4).—Acc. JM. *gaddabhillarājāṇaṃ* (Kk. 261,29); Ś. *mahārāam* (Vikr. 27,17).—Ins. AMg. *devarannā* (Kappas.); Ś. *aṅgarāeṇa* (Venis. 60,5); *nāārāeṇa* = *nāgarājena* (Nāgān. 69,18); *mahārāeṇa* (Vikr. 8,9; 29,13). Nāyādh. 852 has the mixed form AMg. *devarañṇeṇaṃ*.—Gen. AMg. *asurakumāraraṇṇo*, *asuraraṇṇo* (Vivāhap. 198); *devararaṇṇo* (Vivāhap. 220 ff.), *devaranno* (Kappas.); JM. *sagaraṇṇo* = **śakarājñā* (Kk. 268,15); *vāirasimharājassa* (Kk. II, 505, 17); Ś. *vaccharāssa* (Priyad. 33, 9); *kaliṅgararaṇṇo* (Priyad. 4, 15);

riurāṇo = *ripurājasya* (Lalitav. 567. 24); *mahārāssa* (Vikr. 12,14; 28,1); *aṅgarāssa* (Venis. 62,13); Mg. *mahārāssa* (Prab. 63,4). — Voc. AMg. *pañcālārājā* (Uttar. 414); *asurarājā* (Vivāhap. 254), both with pluti; Ś. *aṅgarā* (Venis. 66, 14); *mahārā* (Vikr. 12, 13). — Plural nom. AMg. *gaṇarājāṇo* (Kappas. § 128); JM. *lāḍajavisajarājāṇo* = *lāṭakaviṣajarājāḥ* (Kk. 264, 18); Ś. *bhīmasenāṅgarā* = *bhīmasenāṅgarājau* (Venis. 64,9). — Acc. AMg. *gaṇarājāṇo* (Nirayāv. § 25). — Ins. AMg. *devarāṭhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 241). — Gen. AMg. *devarāṭhiṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 240 f.; Kappas.); JM. *sagarāṭhiṇaṃ* (Kk. 266,41). For Ś. Mg. only the forms of the *a*-stems will be correct.

§ 401. *ātman* forms: sing. nom. AMg. *ājā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3, 4; Sūyag. 28.35.81.838; Uttar. 251; Vivāhap. 132.1059 ff; Dasav. N. 646,13); JŚ. *ādā* (Pav. 380,8 etc.; § 88); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *appā* (G. 333. 798. 887. 899. 952. 956. 1120; H. 39. 193. 361. 672. 754. 880; R.; Uttar. 19; Dasav. N. 646,5; Nāyādh.; Bhag. 1,420; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 380,11; 382,27; 385,61; Mṛcch. 12,7; 78,11; Śak. 19,7; 137,6; 140,7; Ratn. 291,2; 295,9; 299,17; 307,31 etc.); Ś. Mg. *attā* (Śak. 104,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 140,21)¹. — Acc. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Dh. *appāṇaṃ* (G. 240. 860. 898. 953. 1070. 1201; H. 516. 730. 756. 902. 953; R.; Āyār. 1,3,3,2; 2,3,1,21; Sūyag. 415 [°nā]; Vivāhap. 178; Kappas. § 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,9. 10; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382, 27; 385, 65; 386, 70; Kattig. 399, 313; Mṛcch. 32, 14); AMg. also *attāṇaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3; 1,3,3,4; 1,6,5,4; 2,5,2,2 [so to be read for *attā ṇaṃ*]; Sūyag. 474 [°nā]) and *āyāṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 367); Ś. Mg. only *attāṇaṃ* = **ātmānakam* (Mṛcch. 90,21; 95,4; 96,7. 10. 14; 141,17; Śak. 14,3 [so to be read]; 24,1; 60,8; 63,9; 64,2; 74,5; 124,8; 137,12; 159,12; Vikr. 7,17; 23,13 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 37,13; 133,21; 162,21. 24; 169,7); false *attāṇaṃ* (Mṛcch. 327,3; Priyad. 41,14); *appāṇaṃ* (Priyad. 12,9; 23,10; 28,1. 5) and *appāṇaṃ* (Cait. 75,16)². — Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *appāṇā* (G. 78. 83. 910; H. 159; R.; Āyār. 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 170; Vivāhap. 67. 178; Kappas. S. § 59; Erz.; Vikr. 84,7). — Abl. AMg. *ājao* = **ātmataḥ* (Sūyag. 474), and so, or we have to read *attao* for *āttao* of the text at Sūyag. 472 too; JM. *appappāṇo* (T. 5,18). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. Ā. *appāṇo* (H. 6.281.285; R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,1,1. 5; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 16; Kappas. § 8. 50. 63. 112; S. 2; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Pav. 380,7; D. Mṛcch. 103,20; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,9); M. *attāṇo* (G. 63. 90 [v. l. °ppa°]. 96; H. 201 [v. l. °ppa°]), and so always stands in Ś. Mg. (Mṛcch. 141,15; 150,13; 166,15; Śak. 13,10; 25,1; 32,1,8; 51,4; 54,7 etc.; Vikr. 13,4; 15,3; 32,17; 46,7; Ratn. 297,32; 303,32; 304, 11 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,14; 116,19; 154,20; 164,4). — Voc. *appāṇ* (Hc. 3,49). — Plur. nom. *appāṇo* = *ātmānaḥ* (Bh. 5,46; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45). — From *appa-* = *ātma-*, that appears in the beginning of a compound, has been deduced a substantive *appa-*, that is declined according to the *a*-declension (Hc. 3,56; Mk. 45): nom. *appo*; abl. *appāo*, *appāu*, *appāhi*, *appāhinto*, *appā*; loc. *oppe*; voc. *appa*, *appā*; Plur. ins. *appehi*; abl. *appāsumto*; gen. *appāṇaṃ*; loc. *appesu*. Found in the texts are: acc. AMg. *appāṇ* (Sūyag. 282); ins. AMg. *appāṇa* (Sūyag. 282), *appāṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 207); gen. A. *appāho* = **ātmasyaḥ* (Hc. 4,346); loc. AMg. *oppe* (Uttar. 293); plur. *appā* in M. *suhambharappa ccia* = *sukhambharātmāna eva* (G. 993). With *kaḥ svārthe*, this stem occurs in JM. *appāyaṃ* (Erz. 52,10) and A. *appāū* (Hc. 4,422,3) = *ātmakam*. Further new *a*-stems are built from the old strong and weak stems. Thus from the strong stem: sing. nom. M. JM. *appāṇo* = **ātmānaḥ* = *ātmā* (Vr. 5,45; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45; G. 882; H. 133; R.; Sagara 10,1); *attāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); AMg. *ājāṇe* (Vivāhap. 132). — Ins. AMg. *appāṇeṇaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1,7,6; 1,5,5,2; 2,1,3,3. 5; 2,15,2.24; Vivāhap. 178). — Gen. JM. *appāṇassa* (Erz.). — Loc. M. *appāṇe* (R.). — Plur. nom. AMg. *ājāṇā* (Sūyag. 65); *appāṇā* (Hc. 3,56). With *kaḥ svārthe*:

acc. JM. *attāṇajam* (Erz.); Ś. Mg. *attāṇaam* (see above). — Gen. M. *appāṇaassa* (G. 955). In the first member of a compound there appears the strong stem in AMg. *appāṇarakkhī* = *ātmarakṣī* (Uttar. 197); JŚ. *appāṇasamaṃ* (Kattig. 400,331). From the weak stem: sing. nom. *appāṇo* (Kl. 3,41). — Acc. A. *appāṇu* (Hc. 4,337). — Ins. M. *appāṇeṇa* (Kl. 3,41; H. 827); A. *appāṇeṃ* (Hc. 4,416). With *kaḥ svārthe*: acc. *appāṇaam* (Hc. 2,153); A. *appāṇāṃ* (Hc. 4,350,2); gen. Mg. *attāṇaāśśa* (Mṛcch. 163,20). — In the first member of a compound the weak stem appears in Ś. *attāṇakeraka* (Mṛcch. 74, 8; 88, 24), Mg. *attāṇakelaka* (Mṛcch. 13, 9; 21, 20; 118, 17; 130, 10; 139, 16; 164, 3; 167, 2); A. *appāṇachandaṃ* = *ātmacchandakam* (Hc. 4,422,14). It occurs also in the ins. *appāṇiā*, *appāṇiā* (Hc. 3,14. 57) of which the explanation is uncertain and in JM. *savvappāṇayāe* = **sarvātmanatayā* (Erz. 58, 31). Whilst the nom. sing. AMg. *āyā* would be taken as in the fem. (§ 358), one built as ins. sing. AMg. *āyāe* = *ātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76. 845), *aṇāyāe* = *anātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76).

1. In Śak. 104,4 we should probably read with I *appā*. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,56. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14,235.

§ 402. The stems, appearing in Skt. in compounds and as the strong-stems, also of other masculine nouns ending in *-an*, are used, as independent *a*-stems, beside the old flexion of Skt., as in the case of *ātman* (§ 401); So sing. nom. *addhā* and *addhāṇo* = *adhvā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mk fol. 45) — acc. AMg. *addh'* for *addham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59) and in the bahuvrīhi *dīha-mt addham* = *dīrghādhvānam* (§ 353); loc. AMg. *addhāṇe* (Uttar. 712). In the first member of a compound stands the strong *a*-stem in AMg. *addhāṇapaḍivanna* = *adhvapratiṭipanna* (Vivāhap. 153). Since *addhā* elsewhere in AMg. is used as feminine (§ 358), the acc. *addham* too may be derived from it. — Sing. nom. D. *bamhā* (Vr. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mṛcch. 105,21), JM. *bambho* (Erz. 30,20), AMg. *bambhe* (Kappas. Th. § 6) = *brahmā*; acc. M. *bamham* (H. 816); gen. AMg. *bambhassa* (Jiv. 912); plur. nom. AMg. *bambhā*, as *ajjamā* = *aryamaṇau* (Thāṇ. 82). — Sing. nom. *muddhā* and *muddhāṇo* = *mūrdhā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); acc. AMg. *muddhāṇam* (Ovav. § 19; Kappas. § 15); ins. AMg. *muddheṇa* (Uttar. 788) and *muddhāṇeṇam* (Uvās. § 81. 83); loc. AMg. *muddhi* = *mūrdhni* (Sūyag. 243) and *muddhāṇamsi* (Vivāhap. 1442); plur. nom. AMg. **kajamuddhāṇā* = **kṛtāmūrdhāṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 40). — M. *mahimam* = *mahimānam* (G. 885). — M. *savvatthāmeṇa* = *sarvasthāmnā* (H. 567). — Ś. *vijavammā* = *vijayavarmā* (Ratn. 320,16), voc. *vijavammam* (Ratn. 320,19. 32); Ś. *dīdhavammā* = *dīdhavarmā* (Priyad. 4,15); but PG. *sivakhandavamo* = *śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *bhaṭṭisammāsa* = *bhaṭṭisarmāṇaḥ* (7,50), VG. *sirivijayabuddhavammassa* (101,3); Ś. *cittavammo* = *citravarmā* (Mudrār. 204,2); Ś. *miaṅkavammo* (Viddhaś. 73,2), *miaṅkavammassa* (Viddhaś. 43,7; 47,6; 113,2); A. *vaṅkima* = *vakrimāṇam* (Hc. 4,344); *ucchā* and *ucchāṇo* = *ukṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45), also *ukkhāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); *gāvā* and *gāvāṇo* = *grāvā*; *pūsā* and *pūsāṇo* = *pūsā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); *takkhā* and *takkhāṇo* = *takṣā* (Hc. 3,56). So is explained also AMg. *siṅghāṇa* = *śleṣman* (§ 267). At the end of bahuvrīhi the words mostly go over to the *a*-declension from the stem of the composita, particularly when the last member is a neuter (cf. § 404): M. *thirapēmmo* = *sthīrapremā* (H. 131; so to be read with H. 134, as also Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,117) has **pimmo*); M. *apṇoṇṇapparūḍḍhapēmmāṇam* (Pārvatīp. 45. 13); AMg. *akamme* = *akarmā* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1); AMg. *kajabalikamme* = *kṛtabalikarmā* (Ovav. § 17), fem. **kammā* (Kappas. § 95); JŚ. *rahidaparikammo* = *rahitaparikarmā* (Pav. 388,27); AMg. *samvuddhakammassa* = *saṃvyākarmaṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 144); AMg. *bahukūrakammā* = *bahukūrakarmāṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 282);

JM. *kayāyamaṇakammā* = *kyācamanākarmāṇaḥ* (Dvār. 500,39); AMg. *jāyathāme* = *jāstathāmā* (Kappas. § 118); AMg. *itthijāo... parūḍhanahakesakkharomāo* = *striyaḥ ... prarūḍhanahakeśakṣaromnyaḥ* (Ovav. § 72); JM. *namuñāmo* = *namucināmā* (Erz. 1,20), but also *cittasambhūjanāmāno* = *cittasambhūtanāmānau* (Erz. 1,19); Ś. *laddhaṇāmassa* = *labdhanāmnaḥ* (Ratn. 321,29); Ś. *kidāraparikammaṁ* = *kyācāraparikarmāṇaṁ* (Śak. 30,6); Ś. *aṇṇasaṁkantoppēmmā* = *anyasaṁkrāntapremāṇaḥ* (Vikr. 45,2); Mg. *diṇṇakalaviladāme* = *datṭakaravirōdāmā* (Mṛcch. 157,5), *uddāme* = *uddāmā* (Mṛcch. 175,14). For Mg. *uddānēṭva kiṣolī* (Mṛcch. 161,5) we should read *uddāma vva kiṣolī*.

§ 403. From *maghavan* the nom. sing. is *maghoṇo* (Hc. 2,174) from the extended weak stem, the acc. is AMg. *maghavaṇ* (Vivāhap. 249). — *yuvan* is inflected as: sing. nom. M. JM. *ś. juvā, juā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; H.; Dvār. 501,15; Mṛcch. 28,5,9; Pārvatīp. 31,8); beside M. JM. *juvāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45; H.; Prab. 38,10; Dvār. 506,31 also at the end of compounds), AMg. *juvāṇe* (Vivāhap. 212,214, 218,222,280,287,349) and *juvaṁ*, as from a *t*-stem (§ 396; Āyār. 2,4,2,10; 2,5,1,1); with *kaḥ svārthe*: M. *haṁsojuvāṇao* (Vikr. 64,5; 74,4); femin. M. *juvāṇā* (H.); ins. M. *juvāṇeṇa* (H.), JM. *juvāṇeṇa* (Erz. 43,18); voc. M. *juvāṇa* (H.); plur. nom. M. *juvāṇā*, AMg. *juvāṇā* (H., also at the end of compounds; Thāp. 371; Antag. 55); ins. M. *juvāṇehi* (H.); gen. AMg. *juvāṇāṇaṁ* (Aṇuog. 323); voc. AMg. *juvāṇā* in *he juvāṇa tti* (Thāp. 488; Aṇuog. 324). — From *śvan* are found: sing. nom. *sāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56), AMg. *sāṇe* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8), A. *sāṇa* (Piṅgala 1,99), therefore, the stem, which likewise occurs in AMg. (Panhāv. 20); gen. AMg. *sāṇassa* (Uttar. 12). — From the different stems, which one tends to put together under *panthan* or *pathin* or *pathi* or *path*, are found exclusively from *patha*: sing. nom. *pantho* (Hc. 1,30) and *paho* (Vr. 1,13; Hc. 1,88; Kī. 1,18; Mk. fol. 7); acc. AMg. JM. *panthaṁ* (Hc. 1,88; Āyār. 1,7,1,2; Thāp. 248; Āv. 22,26; 46,5,11,15), AMg. *panth'* = *pantham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59), AMg. *pahaṁ* (Sūyag. 59; Uttar. 324); ins. M. JM. *pahena* (G. 423; Kk. 269,29; Āv. 36,33), AMg. *pahenaṁ* (Uttar. 635); abl. JM. *panthāo* (Kk. 264,4); loc. JM. *panthe* (Erz. 36,28); A. *panthi* (Hc. 4,429,1), AMg. *pahe* (Uttar. 324), JM. *pahammi* (Dvār. 504,1); plur. nom. M. *panthāṇo* (H. 729), AMg. JM. *panthā* (Sūyag. 110; Erz. 7,3); gen. AMg. *panthāṇaṁ* (Sūyag. 189); loc. AMg. *panthesu* (Uttar. 53). — In compounds appear the stems M. JM. *pantha*, °*vantha* (H.; R.; Āv. 46,6) and *paha*, °*vaha* (G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.).

§ 404. The neutra in *-an* sometimes become masculine (§ 358); but they are inflected mostly like the neutra in *-a*. Thus e.g. *pemma* = *preman*: sing. nom. M. Ś. *pemmaṁ* (H. 81,95,124,126,232; Ratn. 299,18; Karp. 78,3,6); acc. M. Ś. *pemmaṁ* (H. 522; Vikr. 51,16; Karp. 76,8,10); ins. *pemmaṇa* (H. 423,746,966); gen. M. Ś. *pemmaṣsa* (H. 53,390,511,910,940; Karp. 75,9); loc. M. *pemmammi* (Karp. 79,5), M. Ś. *pemme* (H. 304; Karp. 75,10); plur. nom. M. *pemmaṁ* (H. 127,236,287); gen. M. *pemmaṇaṁ* (H. 10). — Sing. nom. M. Ś. Mg. *nāmaṁ*, AMg. JM. *nāmaṁ* (H. 452; Kappas. § 108; Āv. 13,29; 14,19; Erz. 4,34; Vikr. 30,9; Mg. Mudrār. 191,5; 194,7); acc. Ś. Mg. *nāmaṁ* (Mṛcch. 28,21; 37,25); ins. Ś. Mg. *nāmeṇa* (Vikr. 16,9; Mṛcch. 161,2), JM. *nāmeṇa* (Āv. 8,5), AMg. *nāmeṇaṁ* (Ovav. § 105), *nāmeṇaṁ* (Kappas. § 107); loc. M. *nāme* (G. 89); plur. nom. JM. *nāmāṇi* (Āv. 13,28) and AMg. JM. *nāmāṁ* (Uvās. § 277; Āv. 14,18). Skt. *nāma* (by name; namely) becomes M. Ś. Mg. *nāma* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 23,22; 28,23; 40,22; 94,25; 142,12 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,10; 38,2; 40,9), JM. *nāma* (Āv. 15,8; 16,29; 39,2;

Erz. 1,1. 20; 11,17 etc.), but AMg. *nāmañ* (Ovav. § 11; Kappas. § 124; Uvās.; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Niraṣāv.) and *nāma* (Ovav. § 1. 12; Kappas. § 42. 129).—Sing. nom. AMg. *JŚ. jammañ* = *janma* (Uttar. 636; Kattig. 399,321); acc. M. AMg. *jammañ* (H. 844; Āyār. 1,3,4. 4; Sūyag. 689); ins. Ś. *jammaṇa* (Śak. 141,10); abl. AMg. *jammāo* (Sūyag. 689. 756); gen. AMg. *jammassa* (Sūyag.); loc. JM. Ś. *jamne* (Āv. 12,13; 25,37; Nāgān. 35, 5), A. *jami* (Hc. 4, 383, 3; to to be read).—Sing. nom. M. AMg. *kammam* = *karma* (R. 14, 46; Uttar. 247. 413. 505); acc.; AMg. *JŚ. kammañ* (Sūyag. 381. 382. 456. 496; Kattig. 399,319; 400, 327; 403,373. 374. 377); ins. AMg. *kammeṇaṇ* (Vivāhap. 168. 190; Uvās. § 72. 76); gen. M. AMg. *JŚ. kammassa* (H. 614; Uttar. 178; Paṇḥav. 665. 671 f.; Kappas. § 19; Pav. 383,27), Mg. *kammāha* (Hc. 4,299, with note; the Kashmir recension of Śak. reads 108,13 *kammaṇo*); loc. AMg. *kammañsi* (Thān. 208; Rāyap. 249), JM. *kamme* (Erz. 38,31); against the dialect is Ś. *kammammi* (Kaṁsav. 50,2) for the correct *kamme* (Kāleyak. 25,8); plur. nom. AMg. *kammā* (Uttar. 113); acc. AMg. *kammāñ* (Sūyag. 284; Uvās. § 138; Ovav. § 153) and *kammā* (Uttar. 155), *ahākammāñi* (Sūyag. 873), *JŚ. kammāñi* (Pav. 384,59); ins. AMg. *kammehiñ* (Āyār. 1,4, 2,2,3,3; 1,5,2,3; Sūyag. 716. 718. 719. 721. 771; Uttar. 155. 175. 205. 218. 221. 593; Vivāhap. 147. 168. 185), *ahākammehiñ* (Uttar. 155. 205); gen. AMg. *kammāṇaṇ* (Sūyag. 1012; Uttar. 156. 205; Samav. 112; Uvās. § 74), *kammāṇa* (Uttar. 177); M. according to Hc. 4,300 also *kammāḥā*; loc. Ś. *kammesu* (Viddhaś. 28,6), Mg. *kammeṣu* (Mudrār. 191,9). On the nom. Ś. *kamme* see § 358. Of the isolated forms may be mentioned: sing. loc. AMg. *cammañsi* = *carmañi* (Kappas. § 60), *romañsi* = *romṇi* (Uvās. § 219), *ahañsi* = *ahani* (Āyār. 2.15,11); Ś. *paṇve paṇve* = *parvaṇi* (Kāleyak. 13,20); plur. acc. M. *cammañ* (H. 631); ins. AMg. *lomehiñ* = *lomabhiñ* (Uvās. § 94. 95); AMg. Ś. *dāmehiñ* = *dāmbhiñ* (Jīv. 348; Rāyap. 63; Mṛcch. 69,1); loc. M. *dāmesu* (G. 784); *JŚ. paṇvesu* = *parvasu* (Kattig. 402,359). Dialectically the old Skt. forms have sometimes been retained: sing. nom. M. *camma* = *carma* (H. 955); nom. acc. AMg. *JŚ. Ś. Mg. kamma* = *karma* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 2,2,2,13. 14; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 113. 178; Pav. 386,4; Venis. 62,5; Uttarar. 197,10; Mg. Śak 114,6 [verse]; Venis. 33,5). For Ś. Mg., except in verses, the form will be false for *kammañ*. In Mṛcch. 70,24 we should read *amūñ...kammatoraññiñ*, which is pointed to by the v. l. in GODABOLE p. 201; for Ś. *pema* (Prab. 41,6) the ed. Bomb. 91,6 reads *ppema* for *pemma* (Karp. 77,10 ed. Bomb.) KONOW 76,8 rightly has *pemmañ*. Ins. AMg. *kammaṇā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4); probably wrongly for *kammunā*, as AMg. JM. otherwise have (§ 104; Āyār. 1,4,4,3¹; 1,8,1,13. 17; Sūyag. 108. 151. 377. 542. 873. 978; Uttar. 28. 43. 177. 217. 505. 592. 753 f.; Jīv. 796; Paṇḥav. 134. 391; Vivāhap. 283. 1808; Erz. 25,20; Sagara. 2,9). Likewise there appears *u* for *a* in the gen. sing. AMg. *kammunō* (Uttar. 170. 223. 312), in the gen. plur. AMg. *kammunāṇ* (Sūyag. 542) and in the ins. sing. AMg. *dhammunā* from *dharmān* in the combination *kāladhammunā sañjutta* = *kāladharmāṇā sañyukta* (Thān. 157; Vivāgas. 82 ff. 117. 155. 207. 217. 225. 238; Nāyādh. 329. 1099. 1421). Corresponding to Skt. *karmataḥ* AMg. has *kammāo* (Uvās. § 51), and Ś. *jammado* (Raṁ. 298,11) is = Skt. *janmataḥ*. The loc. Ś. *kammañi* (Bālar. 251, 8) will be false. A loc. plur. AMg. *kammasu* = *karmasu* stands at Sūyag. 403 in the verse.—As the masculina form a new stem in *-āṇa* (§ 401. 402), so the neutra dialectically form a stem in *-āṇa*: AMg. *jammaṇaṇ* = *janma* (Hc. 2,174; Jīv. 122. 123. 136 ff.); AMg. JM. *jammaṇa*° (Uttar. 1105; Paṇḥav. 72 ff.; Nāyādh. 290; Vivāhap. 1159. 1738. 1741 f. 1773; Sagara 6,10; Erz.); JM. *kammaṇaṇ* = *karma* (Erz. 52,17; 56,31), *kammaṇa*° (Erz. 29,23). The same stem with *u*, as in the ins. gen. sing., gen. plur. of *karman*, occurs in the abl. sing. AMg. *kammunāu*

(Āyār. 1,7,8,2; Sūyag. 17)². *bamhaṇa* = *brahman* (Ki. 3,41) too is to be included in the neuter.

1. JACOBI reads with the ed.Calc. against the MSS. *kammāṇi*, to accept which he is constrained to refer to this acc. plur. by *saphalaṇi* (SBE. XXII, p. 4.). We should with the MSS. read *kammūḍa*, and *saphalaṇi* is to be assumed as = *scaphalam*.—2. *kammūḍa* u can also be deduced. Yet perhaps the interpretation given above is better.

§ 405. 2) Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*. The stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, partly according to the style of Skt., and partly on the basis of the stem in *-i*, that appears in the beginning of the composita, are declined according to the *i*-declension. Sing. nom. M. AMg. JM. *Ś. hatthī*, Mg. *hastī*, A. *hatthi* = *hastī* (R. 8,36; Ovav. § 11; Erz. 16,18; Mṛch. 40,22,25; Mg. Hc. 4,289; Mṛch. 40,9; 168,4; A. Hc. 4,443); M. *sihi* = *śikhi* (H. 13); AMg. JM. *Ś. tavassī*, Mg. *tavaṣṣī* = *tapasvī* (Kappas. S § 61; Āv. 32,18; Erz. 25,6; Śak. 132,8; Mg. Mṛch. 97,3); AMg. *mehāvi* = *medhāvi* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,6,2. 5; 1,6,4,2. 3), metrically also *mehāvi* (Sūyag. 414); JŚ. *nāṇi*, AMg. *nāṇi*, = *jñāṇi* (Kattig. 402. 358. 360; 403,377. 379. 382. 384; 404,386; Sūyag. 318); neuter M. *viāsi* (Mukund. 14,10); *Ś. kārī* (Bālar. 56,14). The acc., in majority of cases, is formed according to the *i*-declension: M.AMg. JM. *hatthim* = *hastinam* (Mṛch. 41,16; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Vivāhap. 850; Nirayāv. § 18; Erz. 72,21); AMg. *tavassim* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Vivāhap. 232), *bambhajāriṇim* = *brahmacāriṇam* (Uttar. 487), *oṇassim tejassim* *vaccassim jasassim* = *oṇasvinam tejasvinam varcasvinam yaśasvinam* (Āyār. 2,2,1,12), *paḥkhiṇim* = *paḥṣiṇam* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8; 2,4,2,7), *śeṭṭhiṇim* = *śreṣṭhiṇam* (Samav. 84); JM. *sāmiṇ* = *svāminam* (Āv. 32,14. 32; 33,6); *Ś. kañcuim* = *kañcukinam* (Vikr. 45,10; Priyad. 48,21), but otherwise *Ś. piāriṇam* (Vikr. 10,14), *uāriṇam* (Vikr. 12,11; 13,18), *jālovajivīṇam* = *jālopaṇivīṇam* (Śak. 116,7), *vāliṇam* (Mahāv. 55,12).—Ins. M. *sasiṇā* (R. 2,3; 10,29. 42), *avalambiṇā* (G. 301); AMg. *gandahatthiṇā* (Nirayāv. § 18), *nihāriṇā* = *nirhāriṇā* (Ovav. § 56), *tāmaṇiṇā* *bālatavasiṇā* (Vivāhap. 235); JM. *Ś. sāmiṇā*, Mg. *śāmiṇā* = *svāminā* (Āv. 32,24; Kk. 260,29; Śak. 116,8; Mahāv. 120,12; Venis. 62,23; 64,5; 66,8; Mg. Mṛch. 118,21; 162,17. 19; Venis. 35,12); JM. *visambhaghāiṇā* = *visrambhaghātīṇā* (Erz. 68,4), metrically also *manṭiṇā* for *mantriṇā* = *mantriṇā* (Āv. 13,13); *Ś. kaṇṇovaghāiṇā* = *kaṇṇopaghātīṇā* (Śak. 29,8); Mg. *kāliṇā* = *kāriṇā* (Mṛch. 158,21; Prab. 54,6).—Abl. AMg. *sihāri* = *śikhariṇaḥ* (Thān. 177).—Gen. M. *piṇāiṇo* = *pinākinah* (G. 41), *sasiṇo* (G. 60. 953. 1108. 1132; H. 319; R. 10,46), *guṇasāliṇo* *vi kariṇo* = *guṇasālino'pi kariṇaḥ* (H. 788); AMg. *jasassiṇo* = *yaśasvinah* (Sūyag. 304), *gihiṇo* = *grhiṇaḥ* (Uvās. § 83. 84); JM. *sāmiṇo* (T. 5,12) and AMg. JM. *sāmissa* (Vivāhap. 188; Āv. 32,27); JM. *egāgiṇo* = *ekākinah* (Erz. 9,16). In AMg. JM. more frequent is the ending *-issa*, that is yet otherwise traceable in JŚ. only: AMg. *māyissa*, *amāyissa* = *māyinaḥ*, *amāyinaḥ* (Thān. 150), *bambhajāriṣsa* = *brahmacāriṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 87; Uttar. 917 f.), *vatthadhāriṣsa* = *vastradhāriṇaḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,2,1), *abhikaṇṭhiṣsa* = *abhikaṇṭhiṇaḥ* (Uttar. 921), *tavassissa* (Vivāhap. 231. 233. 236), *hatthissa* (Rāyap. 270; Vivāhap. 491. 493); both forms stand beside one another in AMg. *egantacāriṣsa* *tavassiso* (Sūyag. 909); JM. *paṇaissa* = *praṇayinaḥ*, *virahissa* = *virahinaḥ* (Kk. 270,23; 274,4), *kāmissa* = *kāminah* (Erz. 71,4), *śeṭṭhiṣsa* = *śreṣṭhiṇaḥ* (Āv. 37,26); JŚ. *kavalanāṇissa* = *kevalojñāninaḥ* (Pav. 381,20); *Ś. virohiṇo* = *virodhinaḥ*, *vāsiṇo*, *paribhoiṇo* = *paribhoginaḥ* (Śak. 18,11; 23,8; 38,5), *ahinivesiṇo* = *abhinivesinaḥ* (Mālav. 41,17), *sohiṇo* = *śobhinaḥ* (Ratn. 292,12); Mg. *śāmiṇo* = *svāminah* (Śak. 117,6), *aṇumaggāmiṇo* = *anumārgagāmiṇaḥ* (Venis. 35,6).—Loc. AMg. *ruppimmi* = *rukmiṇi* *siharammi* = *śikhariṇi* (Thān. 75), *cakkapaṭṭimsi* = *cakravartini* (Nāyādh. § 46).—Voc. AMg. JM. *sāmi* (Kappas. § 49; Nāyādh. § 46. 73; Āv. 32,

26); JM. *sāmi* (Āv. 15,24; Erz. 6,34; 8,19); Ś. *kañcui* (Vikr. 45,15; Ratn. 327,7; Priyad. 50,8 [text °i]).—Plural: nom. M. *phaṇiṇo*, *virāviṇo*, *saṅkiṇo* (G. 390. 611. 863. 880), *guṇiṇo* = *guṇinaḥ*, *cāiṇo* = *tyāgiṇaḥ* (H. 673), also *sāmi* = *svāminah* in *sāmi ccia* (H. 91), *vaṇahatthi* = *vaṇahastinaḥ* (R. 8,36); AMg. *duvālasaṅgiṇo* = *dvādaśaṅgiṇaḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *daṇḍiṇo* *muṇḍiṇo* *sihaṇḍiṇo* *jaḍiṇo* *picchiṇo* beside *daṇḍi* *muṇḍisihaṇḍi* *picchi* in the similar following verses (Ovav. § 49, V), *agāriṇo*, *daṁsiṇo* = *darśinaḥ* (Sūyag. 301. 368. 370), *tassaṅkiṇo* = *tacchaṅkiṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 936), *abambhacāriṇo* = *abrahmacāriṇaḥ* (Uttar. 351), *pāragāmiṇo*, *dhuvacāriṇo*, *sammattadaṁsiṇo* = *samyaktvadarśinaḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,2,3,4; 1,2,6,3), beside the more frequent nom. in -i, as *nāni* = *jñāninaḥ*, *akkandakāri* = *ākrandakāriṇaḥ*, *pakkhi* = *pakṣiṇaḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,6,1,6; 2,3,3,3), *hatthi* = *hastinaḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Sūyag. 172; Nāyādh. 348), *oṇaṁsi* *teyaṁsi* *vaccaṁsi* *jasāṁsi* = *oṇasvinas* *tejasvino* *varcasvino* *yaśasvinaḥ* (Vivāhap. 185), *rūvi* *ja arūvi* *ja* = *rūpiṇaḥ* *ca cārūpiṇaḥ* *ca* (Vivāhap. 207), *cakkavatti* = *cakravartinaḥ*, *cakkajohi* = *cakrayodhiṇaḥ* (Thāp. 197. 512). JM. too has both the forms beside one another: *mantiṇo* = *mantriṇaḥ* (Kk. 262,30), *dariddiṇo* = *daridriṇaḥ* (Erz. 50,2), beside *mahātavassi* = *mahātapasvinaḥ* (Kk. 269,24), *hatthi* = *hastinaḥ* (Erz. 32,6). In Ś. and presumably in Mg. too the form in -i is not used so little, as in the case of the i-stems (§ 380): Ś. *pakkhiṇo* = *pakṣiṇaḥ*, *sippiṇo* = *śilpiṇaḥ*, *avvattabhāsiṇo* = *avyaktabhāsiṇaḥ* (Mṛcch. 38,21; 71,2; 103,6), *kusumadāiṇo* = *kusumadāyinaḥ*, *dhammacāriṇo* = *dharma-cāriṇaḥ* (Śak. 10,2; 20,1), *parivanthiṇo* = *paripanthinaḥ* (Vikr. 8,9), *kañcuiṇo* = *kañcukinaḥ* (Mallikām. 186,16). Very seldom and probably a false reading is the ending -io in Ś.: *sāmiṇo* = *svāminah* (Kaṁsav. 48,19; 50,1). Neuter: AMg. *akālopaḍibhoṇi* *akālopaḍibhoṇi* = *akālapratibodhiny* *akālapratibhogiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8), *rājakulagāmiṇi* (Nirayāv. § 21).—Acc. AMg. *pāṇiṇo* = *prāṇinaḥ* (Sūyag. 266), *mauli* = *mukulinaḥ* (Paṇhāv. 119), *thāni* = *sthāninaḥ* (Sūyag. 266); JM. *bharahaṇivāsiṇo* (Sagara 9,8).—Ins. AMg. *pakkhihiṇi* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 289), *savvadarisihiṇi* = *sarvadarśibhiḥ* (Nandis. 388), *paravāhiṇi* = *paravādibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *mehāvihhiṇi* = *medhāvibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *hatthihi* (Nāyādh. 330. 344); JM. *mantihi* = *mantribhiḥ* (Āv. 8,36; Kk. 262,17); Mg. *vamdihiṇi* = *vandibhiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13).—Abl. AMg. *asaṇṇihimto* = *asaṇṇibhiḥ*, *pakkhihimto* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Jiv. 263. 265); A. *sāmiḥu* = *svāmibhiḥ* (Hc. 4,341,2).—Gen. M. *barahiṇa* = *barhiṇām* (G. 349); AMg. *mahāhimavantaruppiṇaṁ* = *mahāhimavadrukmiṇoḥ* (Samav. 114. 117), *pakkhiṇaṁ* = *pakṣiṇām* (Jiv. 325), *gandahatthiṇaṁ*, *cakkavattiṇaṁ*, *savvadarisiṇaṁ* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); JM. *kāmattiṇaṁ* = *kāmārthinām*, *vāiṇaṁ* = *vādinām* (Erz. 29,31; 69,20), *paṇaṇiṇa* = *prapaṇinām* (Kl. 15); JS *dehiṇaṁ* (Kattig. 402, 363); Mg. *sāmiṇaṁ* = *svāminām* (Kaṁsav. 48,17; 49,12; so to be read for °mi).—Loc. M. *paṇaṇisu* = *prapaṇiṣu* (G. 728); AMg. *hatthisu* = *hastiṣu*, *pakkhisu* = *pakṣiṣu* (Sūyag. 317), *tavassisu* = *tapasviṣu* (Paṇhāv. 430); Ś. *sāmisu* (Mahāv. 119,14; so to be read).—Voc. Ś. *saṁkaragharādhivāsiṇo* (Mālatim. 128,7); Mg. *vamdiṇo* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5.15). Numerous forms built according to Skt. flexion are retained in verses, especially in AMg. (§ 99).

§ 406. Sometimes also in the case of nouns in -in, we find a stem extended by a: *sakkiṇo* = *sākṣi* (Hc. 2,174), but JM. Ś. *sakkihi*, Mg. *sakhi* (Āv. 38,5; Mṛcch. 53,11; 164,25), Ś. *sakkihi* *akadua* = **sākṣikṛtvā* (Vikr. 45,20), plur. nom. M. Ś. *sakkiṇo* (Karp. 86,5; Ś. Uttarar. 77,4; Karp. 14,2); M. *sihiṇaṁ* = *śikhi*, plural nom. *sihiṇā*, ins. *sihiṇehi* (bosom; Deśin. 8,31; Triv. 1,4,121; Karp. 31,7; 79,10; 95,10); AMg. *kimiṇa* = *kṛmin*, *sakimiṇa* = *sakṛmi* (Nāyādh. 995; Paṇhāv. 525. 529); AMg. Ś.

barahiṇa, A. *barhiṇa* = *barhin* (Paṇṇav. 54; Ovav. § 4; Nāyādh. § 61. 62; p. 914; Uttarak. 21,9; A. Vikr. 58,8), A. *bariṇa* (Hc. 4,422,8), beside M. Ś. *barahi-* (G.; Viddhaś. 51,7); M. JM. *gabbhiṇa* = *garbhin* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Kī.2,31; Mk.fol.15; G.R.; Sagara 4,11; cf. § 246). — In PG. the following forms are found: °yāji (5,1), gen. °ppadāyino = *pradāyinaḥ* (6,11), but also *khamdakoṃḍisa* = *skandakunḍinaḥ* (6,19), *nāganamḍisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *golisa* = *goḍinaḥ* (6,25) from *goḍa* = *gonda* 2) in B.-R. appropriately; ins. plur. °sāmīhi = °*svāmibhiḥ* (6,11). °*vāsīhi* = °*vāsibhiḥ* (6,35.36).

7) STEMS IN -s.

§ 407. Like the nouns in -t and -n, those in -s too have three stems: 1) the old stem in -s, 2) after dropping off of s, a stem in -a, -i, -u, i. e. in the vowel that was immediately before the s, and 3) a stem in -sa, formed by extension with a. So: M. *siroampa* = *śiraḥkampa* (R. 12,31), *sirakavalāṇa* = *śiraḥkavalāṇa* (G. 351); AMg. *devio...* °*raīyasirasāo* = *devyaḥ...* °*racitaśiraśkāḥ* (Ovav. § 55); Mg. *śiḥācālāṇa* (Mṛcch. 126,7). Cf. § 347. AMg. *joiṭhāna* = *jyotiṭhāna*, *joisama* = *jyotiṭhsama* (Uttar. 375.1009); PG. *dhamāyubalayasovadhanike* = *dharmāyurbalayašovardhanakān* (6,9; cf. VG. 101,8); M. JM. *āukkhāe* = *āyuhkṣaye* (H. 321; Erz. 24,36), JM. *āudalāṇi* = *āyurdalāṇi* (Kk. 268,22). In M. JM. AMg. the neuter nouns in -as are used as masculine as a rule (§ 356).

§ 408. Nouns in -as. — The forms built from the old s-stem are: sing. masc. nom. AMg. *dummaṇā*, *sumaṇā* (Sūyag. 692), Ś. *duvāsā* = *duvāsāḥ* (Śak. 72,10), the stem also in the compound *duvāsāsāvo* = *duvāsāḥśāpaḥ* (76,5), with a long vowel according to § 64; Ś. *purūravā* = *purūravāḥ* (Vikr. 40,21), Mg. *samaśśaśidamaṇā* = *samāśvastamanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 134,23). One must consider, M. JS. Ś. Mg. *ṇamo*, AMg. JM. *namo* = *namas*, as neuter, since Ś. Mg. do not turn the neuter in -as to masc. (e. g. M.: G. H.; AMg.; Vivāhap. 172; Ovav.; Kappas.; JM.: Kk.; Rṣabhap.; JS.: Pav. 379,4; 389,4; Ś.: Mṛcch. 128,18.21; Śak. 120,5; Mg.: Mṛcch. 114,10.22; 133,17; Prab. 46,11). Cf. § 175. 498. Neuter is also JS. *tao* = *tapāḥ* (Pav. 387,26). Acc. Ś. *purūravasaṃ* (Vikr.36,9); neut. AMg. JS. *maṇo* = *manas* (Kappas. § 121; Pav. 386,70). The old forms in the ins. are frequent in AMg. JM.: AMg. *maṇasā vajāsā* = *manasā vacasā* (Thāp. 40), more often *maṇasā vajāsā kāyasā* (§ 364), *na cakkhusā na maṇasā na vajāsā* (Paṇḥāv. 461); AMg. JM. *tejasā* = *tejasā* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Paṇḥāv. 507; Thāp. 568; Ovav. § 22; Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Kappas. § 39.59.118; Erz. 39,8); AMg. JS. *tavasā* = *tapasā* (Sūyag. 348; Uttar. 174; Uvās. § 76.264; Ovav. § 21.24.38.62; Pav. 388,27); AMg. *rajasā* = *rajasā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1.3,4; Sūyag. 551), *sahasā* (Thāp. 368), *cejasā*, *jasasā* (Samav. 81.83.85), *sirasā* (Kappas.; Ovav.), also in Ś. (Vikr. 27,17). On the ins. in -sā of a-stems see § 364. — Loc. *urasi*, *sirāsi*, *sarasi* (Hc. 4,448); AMg. *tamasi* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); Ś. *purūravasi* (Vikr. 35,15), *tavasi* (Śak. 21,5); Mg. *śilasi* (Mṛcch. 17,1; 116,15).

§ 409. The usual flexion is with the a-stem: sing. nom. M. *vimaṇo* (R. 5,16); AMg. *uggatavo* = *ugratapāḥ* (Uttar. 362), *tammaṇe* = *tanmanāḥ* (Vivāhap. 114), *piṭmaṇe* = *prīṭimanāḥ* (Kappas. § 15,50; Ovav. § 17), *uggatave dittatave tattatave mahātave ghoratave* (Ovav. § 62); °*raīyavacche* = °*racitavakṣāḥ* (Ovav. § 19); JM. *tammaṇo* = *tanmanāḥ*, *bhāsurasiro* = *bhāsuraśīrāḥ* (Erz. 12,6; 69,6); JS. *adhikatejo* = *adhikatejāḥ* (Pav. 381,19); fem. M. *vimaṇa vva* (R. 4,31), AMg. *piṭmaṇā* (Kappas. § 5); Ś. °*saṃkantamaṇā* = °*saṃkrāntamaṇāḥ* (Mṛcch. 29,3); *pajjassuamaṇā* = *pratyuṭsukamaṇāḥ*

(Śak. 50,2); neut. M. *dummaṇaṁ* (R. 11,14); AMg. JM. *sejaṁ* = *śreyāḥ* (Uttar. 204. 672. 678; Vivāgas. 218; Vivāhap. 232; Nāyādh. 333. 482. 574. 609. 616; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Mg. *śila* (Mṛcch. 112,8,9) stands on account of metre for *śile* = *śiraḥ*. Cf. § 364. In the masc. the comparative in *-yas* in AMg. JM. partly have extended their strong stem with *a*, as *sejaṁse* = *śreyān*, *pāvijaṁse* (text *pāvaṁse*) = *pāpiyān* (Thāp. 314. 315), and partly have weakened them, as AMg. *kaṇiyase* = *kaṇiyān* (Kappas. Th. § 1; Antag. 32), JM. *kaṇiyaso* (Dvār. 501,29), which, however, as the acc. AMg. JM. *kaṇiyasaṁ* (Uvās.; Dvār. 495,30) too can be equated as = Skt. *kaṇiyasa*, which, however, is probably itself a first secondary. From the old comparative *bālīyas* has developed an adjective **bālīya*, nom. Ś. *balīo* (Śak. 50,5; 51,2), which has regularly shortened its *i* under the influence of the old accent: *balīa* (strong, thick, dense; Deśin. 6,88; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,10; JM. Āv. 35,17; Erz. 9,17; Kk. 261,42) and of which the neuter *balīam* is used adverbially in the meaning "very" (Pāiyāl. 90; M. Śak. 55,16; Ś. Vikr. 27,21; 51,15; Mālav. 68,11; Mg. Śak. 154,13; Veṇis. 34,3).— Acc. AMg. masc. *dummaṇaṁ* (Kappas. § 38), *jāḍavejaṁ* = *jātavedasam* (Uttar. 365), *jāḍatejaṁ* = *jātatejasam* (Samav. 81); femin. M. *viṁmaṇaṁ* (R. 11,49); very frequently in the neuter: M. AMg. *uraṁ* (R. 1, 48; 4,20. 47; Āyār. 1,1,1,5; Vivāgas. 127); M. AMg. *jaṣaṁ* = *yaśas* (R. 2, 5; 4,47; Uttar. 170), Dh. *jaṣaṁ* (Mṛcch. 30,9); M. *naḥaṁ*, AMg. *naḥaṁ* (R. 1,7; 5,2. 64; Ovav.); AMg. *tamaṁ* (Sūyag. 31. 170); M. *siraṁ* (R. 11,35. 64. 73. 90. 94); AMg. Mg. *maṇaṁ* (Uttar. 198; Mṛcch. 30,24); AMg. *vajaṁ* = *vayas* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2. 5 beside nom. *vao* in 1,2,1,3); JM. *tejaṁ* = *tejas* (Erz. 3,10; 8,24); AMg. JS. *rajaṁ* = *rajas* (Sūyag. 113; Pav. 385,61); A. *taḥ*, *tau* = *tapas* (Hc. 4,441,1. 2).— Ins. M. *vaccheṇa* = *vakṣasā* (G. 301); *sireṇa* = *śirasā* (Hc. 916), also in A. (Hc. 4,367,4) and Ś. (Bālar. 246,6), AMg. *sireṇaṁ* (Thāp. 401); M. *tameṇa* = *tamasā* (R. 2, 33); AMg. *teeṇa* (Uttar. 363), *teeṇaṁ* = *tejasā* (Uttar. 341; Vivāhap. 1250; Uvās. § 94); M. AMg. *raeṇa*, AMg. *raeṇaṁ* = *rajasā* (H. 176; Uttar. 109; Ovav. § 112); M. *maṇeṇa*, AMg. *maṇeṇaṁ* = *manasā* (G. 347; Sūyag. 841 f. 844; Panhāv. 134); JM. *parituṭṭhamaṇeṇaṁ* = *parituṭṭhamanasā* (masc.; Erz. 39,9); Ś. *purūraveṇa* (Vikr. 8,14); A. *chandeṇa* = *chandasā* (Piṅgala 1,15); femin. M. *viṁmaṇā* (H. 118); Ś. *taggadamaṇā* = *tadgatamanaskayā* (Viddhaś. 43,8).— Abl. M. *sirāhi* (G. 58), *ṇahāhi* (G. 1164; R. 13,51); AMg. *tamāo* and metrical *tamao* = *tamasah* (Sūyag. 31. 170), *pējjāo* = *preyasah* (Ovav. § 123).— Gen. M. *asuddhamaṇassa* = *asuddhamanasah* (masc.; H. 35); Ś. *purūravassa* (Vikr. 22,16), *tamassa*, *rojassa* (Prab. 48,1; 56,14); JM. *jasassa* (KI. 21), A. *jasaha* = *yaśasah* (Erz. 86,19).— Loc. M. AMg. *ure* (G. 773; H. 31. 276. 299. 671; R. 11,76; 12,56. 62; 15,50. 53. 64; Vivāgas. 168), M. also *urammi* (G. 1022; R. 11,100; 15,46) and AMg. *uraṁsi* (Kappas. S. § 29; Uvās.); M. *naḥammi* (G. 135. 476. 819. 829; R. 13,53; 14,23. 83), *ṇahe* (R. 13,58), AMg. *ṇabhe* (Sūyag. 310); AMg. *tamaṁsi* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); Ś. *soṭte* = *srotasi* (Karp. 71,1); AMg. *tave* = *tapasi* (Vivāhap. 194); AMg. M. *sire* (R. 4,4; Uttar. 664); JM. *sirammi* (Erz. 58,1; Kk. 268,39); M. *sarammi* = *sarasi* (H. 491. 624); M. JM. D. *maṇe* = *manasi* (R. 5,20; Erz. 79,34; Mṛcch. 104,2); AMg. A. *chande* = *chandasī* (Vivāhap. 149; Piṅgala 1,93); A. *maṇi*, *siri* (Hc. 4,422,15. 423,4).— Plural: nom. M. *sarā* = *sarāṁsi* (masc.; G. 524); AMg. *ahosirā* = *adhahśīrah*, *mahājasā* = *mahāyaśasah*, *hāravirāḍjavacchā* = *hāravirāḍjitavakṣasah* (Ovav. § 31. 33), *thūlavaḍā* = *sthūlavacasah* (Uttar. 15), *pāvaceḍā* = *pāpacetasah* (Sūyag. 289); A. *āsattamaṇa* = *āsaktamanasah* (Kk. 261,4); femin. M. *gaavaḍāo* = *galavayaskāḥ* (H. 232); AMg. *°raiḍyasirasāo* = *°racitaśīraskāḥ* (Ovav. § 55), *miḍyasirāo* = *mṛgaśīrasī* (Thāp. 81).— Acc. femin. Ś. *sumaṇāo* = *sumanasah* (Mṛcch. 3,1,21); neut. AMg. *sarāṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2).

—Ins. M. *sarehi* (H. 953), *sirehi*, *sirehiṃ* (H. 682; R. 6,60), °*maṇehi* (masc.; G. 88), *urehi* (R. 6,60); femin. M. *vimaṇāhiṃ* (R. 11,17), *maṇḡalamāṇāhi* (R. 15,43).—Gen. M. *sarāṇa* (H. 953); JM. *gaṇavajāṇa* (KI. 14), femin. M. *gaavaṇa* (H. 233).—Loc. AMg. *tavesu* (Sūyag. 318), *saresu* (Nāyādh. 412). Like *āpas* becoming *āu* and *tejas* becoming *teū* (§ 355), *vacas* too becomes AMg. *vaū* (femin.): *itthivaū* = *strīvacaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369); *puṇvaū* (Paṇṇav. 363), *ṣumavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369), *napuṇsagavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369), *egavaū*, *bahuvaū* (Paṇṇav. 367).—In the case of words in -*as* the stem -*sa* is rare: AMg. *adīṇamaṇaso* = *adīṇamanāḥ* (Uttar. 51); JM. *viuso* = **viduṣaḥ* = Vedic *viduḥ* = *vidvān* (Erz. 69,18).

§ 410. *apsaras* is declined in all the dialects as an **ā*-stem, which is found in Skt. too: sing. nom. AMg. JM. *Ś. accharā* (Paṇḥāv. 229; Thāp. 269. 489; Nāyādh. 1525; Erz. 64,26; Śak. 21,6; Vikr. 16,15; Karnas. 15,2); *Ś. anaccharā* = *anapsaraḥ* (Vikr. 7,18); plur. nom. AMg. *Ś. accharāo* (Ovav. [§ 38], Paṇḥāv. 288; Vivāhap. 245. 254; Bālar. 218, 11); ins. AMg. *Ś. accharāhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 245; Ratn. 322,30; Bālar. 202, 13), and so to be read also at Vikr. 40,11 for *accharohiṃ*. On the suggested form *accharehiṃ*, that is correct at R. 7, 45, at the end of a bahuvrīhi relative to *dharāharehiṃ*, see § 328. 376, on the stem *accharā*°, AMg. *accharā*° see § 97. 347. According to Hc. 1,20; Sr. fol. 25 the stem *accharasā* is also formed: nom. sing. *accharasā*, nom. plur. *accharasāo*. To it belongs the acc. M. *accharasam* R. 13,47.

§ 411. 2) Nouns in -*is* and -*us*. The old forms are: sing. ins. AMg. *cakkhusā* = *cakṣuṣā* (Paṇḥāv. 461; Uttar. 726. 734. 779); AMg. *viusā* = *viduṣā* (Hc. 2,174 p. 68).—Gen. *Ś. āuso* = *āyuṣaḥ* (Vikr. 80,4), *dhanuho* = *dhanuṣaḥ* (§ 263; Bālar. 113,17; rightly?).—Plur. gen. AMg. *joisām* = *jyotiṣām* (Ovav. § 36; so to be read with the MSS. ABβD), also *joisām* in the combination *joisām ayaṇe* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77). The nominative sing. in -*ū* may be tugged either with it or with the *ū*-stem: AMg. *viū* = Vedic *viduḥ*¹ (Sūyag. 89. 147. 342. 560. 665; Uttar. 644. 691; Āyār. 2,16,5²), *dhammaviū* = *dhammaviduḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *egaviū* = *ekaviduḥ*, *dhammaviū* = *dhammaviduḥ*, *maggaviū* = *mārgaviduḥ*, *pāraviū* = *pāraviduḥ* (Sūyag. 560. 565. 665), *ekkārasaṅgaviū* = *ekādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Nāyādh. 967), *bārasaṅgaviū* = *dvādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Uttar. 691), *cakkhū*, *ega*°, *bi*°, *ti*° = *cakṣuḥ*, *eka*°, *dvi*°, *tri*° (Thāp. 188); *dhanū* = *dhanuḥ* (Hc. 1,22); *Ś. āū* = *āyuh* (Vikr. 81,20; cf. *āuo* = **āyukaḥ* 82, 13); *Ś. dīhāū* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20; Mṛch. 141,16; 154,15; Śak. 165,12; Vikr. 80,12; 84,9; Uttar. 71,8 etc.).—From the *i*- or *u*-stem are derived: sing. nom. AMg. *sappī* = *sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291; neuter), *joī* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 374 f.; mascul.); cf. 358³; M. *haviṃ* = *haviḥ* (Bh. 5,25); M. *dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 603. 620; R. 1,18. 24. 45); AMg. *āum* = *āyuh* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2).—Acc. AMg. *joim* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 375. 677. 1009; Nandis. 146), *sajoi* = *sajjyotiṣam* (Sūyag. 270), *sappim* = *sarpiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Kappas. § 17; Ovav. § 73), *cakkhum* = *cakṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4), also *cakkhu* (Sūyag. 223), as in the nom. (Uvās. § 5; so to be read), *paramāum* (Ovav. § 53; Samav. 112); M. AMg. *Ś. dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 177. 631; Nirayāv. § 5; Venis. 62,17); *Ś. dīhāum* = *dirghāyusaṃ* (Uttar. 132,9).—Ins. AMg. *joindā* = *jyotiṣā* (Āyār. 2,16,8; Sūyag. 460. 731), *accīe* = *arcisā* from *arcis* has become feminine (Ovav. § 33. 56); *Ś. dīhāunā* (Śak. 44,6; so to be read).—Abl. AMg. *cakkhūo* (Āyār. 2,15,5,2).—Gen. AMg. *āussa* (Sūyag. 504), *cakkhussa* (Uttar. 924 f.).—Loc. AMg. *āummi* (Sūyag. 212); JM. *cakkhummi* (Āv. 15,17).—Plur. nom. masc. AMg. *vejaviū joisaṅgaviū*, *viū* (Uttar. 743. 756), *dhammavidū* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1), *anāū* = *anāyusaḥ* (Sūyag. 322); neuter *cakkhūim* (Hc. 1,33); AMg. *cakkhū* (Sūyag. 549. 639).—Ins. *dhanūhiṃ* (Nirayāv. § 27).—The stem in -*sa* occurs: nom. *Ś. dīhāuso* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20;

Mālav. 55,13); M. *adiharāuso* (H. 950); *dhanuham* = *dhanuḥ* for **dhanuṣam* (§ 263; Hc. 1,22), from which the loc. M. *dhanuḥe* (Karp. 38,11), the stem M. *dhanuḥa*° (Prab. 65,5); JM. *cirāusā* (T. 7,8; femin.). *āsīs* forms, according to Triv. 1,1,3,3, the nom. *āsī* = *āsīḥ*, or the form *āsīsā*, derived from it, that Hc. 2, 174 too teaches. There are found in JM. the acc. *āsīsam* (Erz. 80,11) and *laddhāsīso* = *labdhāsīḥ* (Erz. 84,25); Ś. ins. *āsīsāe* (Venī. 23,17), ins. plur. *āsīsāhiṃ* (Mallikām. 79,3). Beside them is assured the extended form *āsīsā* built from the weak stem: Ś. nom. (Śak. 83,1); acc. *āsīsam* (Mālatīm. 351,7); gen. *āsīsāe* (Nāgān. 84,15; so to be read with the v. l. for *āsīsām* of the text); gen. plur. *āsīsāṇam* (Mālatīm. ed. Bomb. 107,12; cf. v. l. ed. BHĀṆḌĀRKAR p. 363; Mahāv. 133,5).

1. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,236.—2. The words *viū* [text *vidū*] *nae dhammopajam* *aṇuttaram* belong to verse 4. The conjecture of JACOBI with regard to the use of *vidūnate* in the meaning of *viduvataḥ* (SBE. XII, 212, note 2) is linguistically impossible. *nate* is a false form used for *nae* (§ 203) = *nayet* (§ 493, note 4).—3. Where *sappī* is to be erased.

§ 412. From *puṃs* are found four stems: 1) *puṃ-* from *puṃs-* in M. AMg. JM. *puṃgava* (G. 87; Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262. 1272; Erz. 4,25); AMg. *puṃveya* (Samav. 62 [text °*veda*]; Bhag.), *puṃvaū* = **puṃvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363), *puṃāns-*, which occurs in the nom. sing. AMg. *puṃam* = *puṃān* (Dasav. 628,9); 3) the stem *puṃa-* deduced from it, AMg. nom. sing. *puṃe* (Thāṇ. 479. 482), AMg. acc. sing. *puṃam* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8. 9; Dasav. 637,8), and in the derivatives and compounds like AMg. *puṃavaū* = **puṃvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363 [text °*veū*]. 368. 369), *puṃaṇṇamaṇi* = **puṃā-jñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363 ff. 369), *puṃapannavaṇi* = **puṃprajñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 364), *puṃitthiveya* = *puṃstriveda* (Uttar. 960), *puṃattam* = *puṃstvam* (Uttar. 421), *puṃattāe* = *puṃstvāya* (Ovav. § 102; Thāṇ. 479. 482. 523), *puṃavajaya* = *puṃvacana* (Paṇṇav. 370. 388; Thāṇ. 174 [text *puṃma*°]), 4) the stem *puṃsa-* extended from *puṃs-* in AMg. *puṃsakoilaga* = *puṃsa-kokilaka* (Thāṇ. 568), *naṃsaveya* (Uttar. 960). In PG., from the *s*-stem, is found only *bhūyo* (7,41).

8) THE REMAINING CONSONANTAL STEMS.

§ 413. In addition to those from *t-*, *n-*, and *s*-stems, numerous forms built according to the old flexion from the *ś*-stems only, particularly from *dis*, and that mostly in formular phrases, as AMg. *diso disam* (Āyār. 2,16, 6); AMg. JM. *diso disim* (Paṇḥāv. 197; Uttar. 793; Nāyādh. 348; Erz. 13,6. 38,26; 63,25), M. JM. *disi disi* (Viddhaś. 90,5; Erz. 7,29); AMg. *padiso disāsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); otherwise seldom, as gen. M. *puṃvādiso* = *pūrvadisāḥ* (Bālar. 179,2); Mg. *ṇisi* (Mṛcch. 10,14; Verse) are retained. Otherwise only isolated forms are found (§ 355), as ins. sing. AMg. *vāyā* = *vācā* (Uttar. 28; Dasav. 630,32), *kāyaggirā* = *kāyagirā* (§ 196; Dasav. 634,24). All the remaining consonantal stems almost always are taken over to the *a-*, the feminine ones to the *ā-* or *i-* declension. Thus *vāc*, through **vācā* becomes M. *vāā* (Bh. 4,7; G. 69), AMg. *vāyā* (Sūyag. 931. 936); acc. *vāām*, AMg. *vāyam* (G. 67; Sūyag. 932), ins. M. Ś. Mg. *vāāe* (G. 63; Pras. 46,14; 47,1; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,22), M. *vāāi* (H. 572), AMg. *vāyāe* (Dasav. 631,34; Paṇḥāv. 134); gen. Mg. *vāāe* (Mṛcch. 163, 21); loc. M. *vāāi* (H. 32); plur. nom. M. *vāā* and *vāāo* (G. 93); acc. AMg. *vāyāo* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); ins. AMg. *vāyāhi* (Āyār. 2,16,2); loc. M. *vāāsu* (G. 62). Beside them AMg. frequently has *vai* = **vacī* from **vacī* with *a* according to § 81¹: sing. nom. *vai* (Āyār. p. 132,16. 17; Vivāhap. 70), acc. *vaim* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1 [so to be read]; 2,3,1,21; 2,3,3,16; p. 132, 15. 17; Sūyag. 169 [read *vai*]. 866), *vai*° (Āyār. 1,5,5,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,13,22; p. 133,2; Sūyag. 128; Uttar. 646; Jīv. 25. 276; Vivāhap. 1431.1453.1462;

Kappas. § 118 [so to be read]).—*tvac* forms sing. nom. AMg. *taṣā* = **tvacā* (Sūyag. 639; Vivāhap. 1308.1529); abl. AMg. *taṣāo* (Sūyag. 639); plur. gen. AMg. *taṣāṇam* (Sūyag. 806); nom. AMg. *taṣāni* (§ 358). The stem often appears in compounds, as AMg. *taṣāppavāla* = *tvakprabāla* (Paṇhāv. 408), *taṣāsuha* = *tvaksukha* (Nāyādh. § 34; Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *taṣāmantā* (Ovav. § 4. 15), *saṛittāṣā* = *sadyktvacah* (Vivāhap. 123; nom. plur.). From *ṛc* is found the acc. plur. Ś. *ricāim* (§ 358). From *bhiṣaj* follows the nom. sing. *bhiṣao* (Hc. 1,18), from *yakṛt*, the gen. sing. AMg. *jagayassa* = **yakṛtasya* (Vivāhap. 869), from *śarad* the nom. sing. *sarao* (§ 355).—From *vid* AMg. forms nom. sing. *saḍaṅgavi* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77), *vejavi* = *vedavit* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,5,4,3; 1,5,5,2; Uttar. 742), from *pariṣad*, sing. nom. AMg. *pariṣā* from **pariṣadā* (Vivāgas. 4. 13. 15. 58. 138. 242; Ovav.; Uvās.; and very often, also in JM. Erz. 33,10), i.c.s. gen. loc. AMg. *pariṣāe* (Kappas. § 113; Ovav. § 56); plur. nom. AMg. *pariṣāo* (Vivāhap. 303), ins. *pariṣāim* (Nāyādh. 1026), gen. *pariṣāṇam* (Vivāgas. 201). From *sāmpad* the nom. is *sāmpā*, from *pratipad*, nom. *paḍivā* (Hc. 1,15), JM. *sāmpayā*, *āvayā* (Erz. 81,35); A. *sāmpā* = **sāmpadī*, likewise *āvai* = *āpad*, *vivai* = *vipad* (Hc. 4,335. 372. 400); cf. AMg. *āvaikālam* = *āpatkālam* (Ovav. § 86); acc. A. *sāmpaa* (Piṅgala 1,81^a; GOLDSCHMIDT *maṅgala*), plur. nom. M. *sāmpā*, AMg. *sāmpayā* (H. 518; Kappas. § 134 ff.), *āvai* (G. 988). From *hyd* the acc. is AMg. *hiyam* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5).—*kṣudh* forms nom. *chuhā*, *khuhā* (§ 318).—On *āu* see § 355.—*kakubh* builds nom. *kaūhā* (Hc. 1,21), *gir* forms nom. *girā*, likewise *dhur*, nom. *dhurā*, *pur*, nom. *purā* (Hc. 1,16); acc. D. *dhuram* (Mṛcch. 102, 2); plur. nom. AMg. *girāo* (Paṇhāv. 287), ins. *girāim* (Vivāhap. 944; Kappas. § 47; Nāyādh. § 23), gen. *girāṇam* (Uttar. 358).—In AMg. *aho* is the acc. from *ahar* (day; § 342), frequently in the combination *aho ja rāo* or *aho ja rāo ja* (§ 386).—The very frequent *dis* forms mostly in all the dialects *disā*, Mg. *disā* in compounds as in flexion: nom. *disā*, acc. *disam*, ins. gen. loc. *disāe*, abl. *disāo*, AMg. also *ahedisāo*, *aṇudisāo* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2; Sūyag. 574), Ś. *puvvadisādo* (Ratn. 313,7); plur. nom. acc. *disāo*, ins. *disāim*, gen. *disāṇam*, loc. *disāsu*, AMg. also *vidisāsu* (Thāp. 259 ff.). From **disi*, we frequently have in AMg. JM. the acc. *disim*, particularly in the combination *diso disim* (see above), but elsewhere too (in Vivāgas. 4. 38; Kappas. § 28. S. § 61 [v. l. *disam*], *aṇudisim* (Kappas. S. § 61), *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 145), *paḍidisim* (Thāp. 135; commentary: *ikāras tu prākṛtatvāt*), and in the composition *disi*^o (Vivāhap. 161; Ovav. § 2; Kappas. § 27. 63; Uvās. § 3. 7; Āv. 14,10) and *disi*^o (Uvās. § 50); so also gen. plur. JŚ. *disiṇam* (Kattig. 402,367) beside *disāṇa* (401, 342), loc. JŚ. *disisu* (Kattig. 401,341), A. *disih* (Hc. 4,340,2).—*prāvṛṣ* becomes *pāuso* (§ 358); from *upānah* the stem is Ś. *uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), nom. acc. plur. in AMg. *pāhaṇāo*, *vāhaṇāo* (§ 141).

1. WEBER (Bhag. 1,404) wrongly traces *vai*^o back to *vacas*.

B. COMPARISON

§ 414. Pkt. employs *-tara*, *-lama*, *-īyas*, *-iṣṭha*, as suffixes of the comparative and superlative wholly as Skt.: M. *tikkhaara* = *tikkhatara* (H. 505); JM. *ujjalatara* = *ujjvalatara* (Āv. 40,6), *dadhajara* = *dydhatara* (Erz. 9,35); AMg. *paggaḥijātara* = *pragṛhātara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,11), *thovātara* = *stokātara* (Jiyak. 92); Ś. *adhiadara* = *adhikātara* (Mṛcch. 72,3; 79,1; Mālatim. 214,1; Vṛṣabh. 10,21; Nāgān. 24,5), *nihudadara* = *nibhātara* (Vikr. 28,8), femin. *diṇḍadarā* = *dviguṇatārā* (Mṛcch. 22,13), *°ri* (Priyad. 25,7); JM. Ś. *mahattara* (Erz.; Uttarar. 118,5), Mg. *mahattala* (Śak. 118, 5); *piama* (H. R.), JM. *pija ama* (Dvār. 498,26; Erz.), Ś. *piadama* (Vikr.

28,9; 52,20; 58,5; Prab. 39,2), A. *piaama* (Vikr. 66,16) = *priyatama*; AMg. *taratama* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kaṇiyasa* (§ 409), Ś. *kaniāsi* (femin.; Mālav. 78, 9); Ś. *kaṇiṭṭha* = *kaṇiṣṭha* (Mahāv. 3, 14; Kāleyak. 26, 20; Subhadr. 3,18), AMg. *kaṇiṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 622); AMg. *sejaṃ* = *śreyas* (§ 94), *sejaṃsa* (§ 409); PG. *bhūyo* (7,41), AMg. JM. *bhujjo* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,5, 4,2; 1,6,3,2; 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 361. 579. 787. 789. 979; Uttar. 212.232.238. 239. 365. 434. 842; Vivāhap. 18. 27. 30 ff. 145. 238 f. 387 etc.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *bhūo* (Śak. 27,6; 90,14; 123,13; Mālav. 48,7), Ś. *bhūiṭṭha* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 71,8) = *bhūyas*, *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside Ś. *bahudara* (Mṛcch. 37,23; Śak. 73,3; Uttarar. 66,1; Cait. 42,2; 43,5; 45,11); AMg. *pejja* = *preyas* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 885; Paṇṇav. 638; Vivāhap. 125. 1026; Uttar. 199; Uvās.), also *pijja* (Uttar. 822. 876); AMg. *pāviyaṃse* = *pāpiyān* (§ 409), JM. *pāviṭṭha* = *pāpiṣṭha* (Kk.); AMg. JM. Ś. *jeṭṭha* = *jyeṣṭha* (Āyār. 2,25,15; Vivāhap. 333. 511; Uttar. 622 [ji]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Dvār. 495,26; Erz.; Vikr. 88,16; Uttarar. 128,12; Anarghar. 297,13); AMg. *dharmiṭṭha* = *dharmiṣṭha* (Sūyag. 757); JM. *dappiṭṭha* = *darpiṣṭha* (Kk. 270,9); Ś. *adibaliṭṭha* (Pras. 83,10). On AMg. *heṭṭhima* see § 107. Double formations are: AMg. *uttaratarā* (Ovav.), *baliyatarāṃ* (Vivāhap. 839); *jeṭṭhajāra*, *kaṇiṭṭhajāra* (Hc. 2, 172). Noteworthy hybrid formations are the adverbs AMg. *bhujjataro* and *bhujjajaro*, in which the comparative suffix *-tara* has been added to the comparative stem *bhujja* = *bhūyas*, and which have retained the ending *-o* of *bhujjo* = *bhūyas*. On their pattern², as in numerous other cases², are regulated *appataro*, *oppajaro* = *alpataram* in the combination *appataro vā bhujjataro vā* or *appajaro vā bhujjajaro vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13; Sūyag. 628. 699. 751. 986; Vivāhap. 40; Ovav. § 69). — Sometimes the positive is used in the sense of the comparative: M. *ovaaṇāhi vi lahuam* "quicker than downward rush" (R. 6,77), *seubandhalahuam* "smaller than a bridge" (R. 8, 15); Ś. *tatto vi...pia tti* "dearer than thou" (Śak. 9,10), *paḍhuma-daṃsaṇādo vi savisesaṃ piadaṃsaṇo* "more charming than at the first view" (Vikr. 24,1).

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *appataro*. — 2. § 355 on *āu*.

C. THE PRONOUN.

§ 415. Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.

- Nom. *ahaṃ*, *ahaam*, JM. *ahajam*, *haṃ*, [*amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi*, *ahammi*]; Mg. *hage*, *hagge*, [*hake*, *ahake*]; A. *haū*.
 Acc. *maṃ*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *me*, [*mi*, *mimaṃ*, *ammi*, *amhaṃ*, *amha*, *mamha*, *ahaṃ*, *ahammi*, *ne*, *ṇaṃ*]; A. *maī*.
 Ins. *mae*, *maī*, [*mamae*, *mamāi*, *maāi*], *me*, [*mi*, *mamaṃ*, *ne*]; A. *maī*.
 Abl. [*matto*, *mamatto*, *mahatto*, *majjhatto*, *maṭṭto*], *mamāo*, [*mamāu*, *mamāhi*], *mamāhinto* etc. (§ 416); P. [*mamāto*, *mamātu*]; A. [*mahu*, *majjhu*].
 Gen. *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *majjhaṃ*, *me*, *mi* [*maī*, *amha*, *amhaṃ*]; A. *mahu*, *majjhu*.
 Loc. [*mae*], *maī*, [*me*, *mi*, *mamāi*], *mamammi*, [*mahammi*, *majjhammi*, *amhammi*]; A. *maī*.

Plural.

- Nom. *amhe*, [*amha*, *amho*, *mo*, *bhe*]; D. *vaam*; AMg. JM. *vajam* too; Mg. [*hage*] too; P. *vayaṃ*, *ampha*, *amhe*; A. *amhe*, *amhaī*.
 Acc. *amhe*, *amha*, [*amho*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhe*, [*amhaī*].

- Ins. *amhehiñ*, [*amhāhiñ*, *amhe*, *amha*], *ñe*; A. *amhehiñ*.
 Abl. [*amhatto*, *amhāhiñto*, *amhāsuñto*, *amhesuñto*, *mamatto*, *mamāhiñto*, *mamāsuñto*, *mamesuñto*; A. *amhañā*]; J.M. *amhehiñto*.
 Gen. *amhāñam*, °*ña*, *amhañ*, *amha*, *mha*, [*amhāñā*], *amhe*, [*amho*, *mamāñam*, °*ña*, *mahāñam*, °*ña*, *majjhāñam*, °*ña*, *majjha*, *ñe*], *ño*, *ñe*; A. *amhañā*.
 Loc. *amhesu*, *amhāsu*, [*amhasu*, *mamesu*, *mamasu*, *mahesu*, *mahasu*, *majjhesu*, *majjhasu*]; A. *amhāsu*.

Cf. Vr. 6,40—53; 11,9; 12,25; C. 1,26—31; 2,27; 3,105—117; 4,301. 375—381; Ki. 3,72—83; 5,40—48.97.114; Mk. fol. 49. 70; Sr. fol. 30—32

§ 416. A very great number of forms taught by the grammarians have not as yet been attested in the texts, and without that, therefore, their correctness still remains doubtful¹. From amongst the forms, which perhaps are inferred only according to the schema, given by Sr., one can be in doubt about only some of them. Sr. teaches, of course not merely, as Hc., in the abl. sing. of the all the stems given above the forms: *mamatto*, *mamāo*; *mamāu*, *mamāhi*, *mamāhiñto*; *mahatto*, *mahāo*, *mahāu*, *mahāhi*, *mahāhiñto*, *majjhatto*, *majjhāo*, *majjhāu*, *majjhāhi*, *majjhāhiñto*; *maitto*, *maio*, *mau*, *maihi*, *maihiñto*; *mamā*, *mahā*, *majjhā*; but also the special feminine forms *mamā*, *mamāā*, *mamāi*, *mamāe*, likewise from the stems *maha*, *majjha*, *mañ*, so that he mentions 39 forms for the abl. In the loc. sing. he teaches in addition *amhattha*, *amhassim*, *amhammi*, *amhahim*, *amhe*, further the feminine forms *amhā*, *amhāā*, *amhāi*, *amhāe*, and all these forms also from the stems *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, altogether 41 forms. Likewise in the case of the pronoun of the second person from the stems *tuma*, *tua*, *tua*, *tumha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tui*, *tañ*. How far would such forms be used in literature, only the future can tell.

I. BLOCH goes too far, Vr. und Hc. 36. Cf. KONOW, GGA. 1894. 478.

§ 417. Singular. In the nom. all the dialects, including Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,7; 34,25; 35,1), Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,17; 103,10; 105,1) and D. Mṛcch. 102, 23; 104, 19; 106,1) employ *aham* = *aham*, Mg. *hage* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12,14; 136,16; 175,15; Lalitav. 565,17; 566,6. 16; Sak. 113,5. 9; 114,2; Mudrār. 193,8; 194,2 etc.). So teach also Vr. 11,9, who has also *hake* and *ahake*, Hc. 4,301; Sr. fol. 63; Ki. 5,97, who has *hake* too; Mk. fol. 75, who has also *hakke*, *hake*, *hagge*. In Mṛcch., with the exception of the three particular places, which are all in verse, STENZLER has *hage* elsewhere throughout (12,5; 13,4. 8; 16,18; 20,14; 21,20; 37,4 etc.), as also at Hāsy. 31,3; Prab. 32,6. 14 stands, and at Prab. 55,15; 58,17 (K. *hakke*) is to be read for *haggo*; so has the ed. P. 58, 17; whilst at 55,15 it has *ham*; the ed. Bomb. has *aham* (55,15) and *hagge* (58,17); the ed. M. has *aham* in both the places, as also Mudrār. 178,2 (v. l. *hage*); 187,1; 193,1 (v. l. *hage*), 267,2; Vanīs. 35,4 and elsewhere stands in uncritical editions. The MSS. of Mṛcch. in GODABOLE almost throughout have *hage*, as is to be read there. Both the forms are correct, since they go back to one **ahakādh* (§ 142. 194) i. e. *ahakām* (Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya I, 91,11), Aśoka *hakam* with so frequent change of gender in Mg. (§ 357). A. *hañ* (Hc. s. v. *hañ*; Piṅgala 1,104^a; 2,121; Vikr. 65,3 [so to be read for *hañ*, *ham*; cf. v. l. A]) and M. *ahaam* (H. R.), J.M. *ahajam* (Āv. 7,34; 36,49; Erz.) go back to *ahakām*. Sometimes after vowels (§ 175) appears M. AMg. J.M. Mg. *ham* (R. 15,18; Karp. 75,2; Uttar. 575. 623; Samav. 83; Erz. 12,22; 53,34; Mṛcch. 136,11). Of the remaining four forms Vr. and Mk. have *ahammi* only, Ki. has *amhi*, Hc. alone has *mmi* too. All the four forms are rejected by BLOCH¹, as mistakes of the

grammarians. However, it is certain that already in Skt. *asmi* is used in the sense of "I"², a meaning, that has developed from the original parenthetical *asmi* "I am", as is shown appropriately by the much quoted *rāmo'smi sarvaṃ sahe*. One may compare this with the use of *asti* in B-R. s.v.1 as p. 535, which is found in Pkt too: AMg. *atthi naṃ bhante gihīṇo...ohināne naṃ samupphajjāi* (Uvās. § 83); *atthi naṃ bhante jīṇavajjane...āloijjāi* (Uvās. § 85); *atthi naṃ bhante...siddhā parivasanti* (Ovav. § 162); *taṃ atthi jāim te kahim pi* [ed. vi] *devānuppiyā erisae orohe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1284); *taṃ atthi jāim* [ed. jā] *ittha kei bhe* [ed. te] *kahim pi* [ed. vi] *accherāe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1376); Ś. *atthi ettha naare...tiṇṇi purisā...sirim na saṃhanti* (Mudrār. 39,2). Likewise *santi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585) and more often *siyā* = *syāt* (as in Pāli *siyā* and *assa*) are used (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,1,6,3; 1,2,6,1; 1,5,5,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,2,2; Dasav. 613,22), and so certainly *amhi* = *asmi* too is to be used. *ammi* and *mmi* are not made up forms, as AMg. *mi*, *mo*, *mu* (§ 498) show, when even the examples given by Hc. 3,105 rest on false readings.³ *ahammi* should be = *aham mi*.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 37.—2. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 478; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz. (Bonn 1897), p. 62, note 2.—3. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 37. In Hc. 3,105 we should with ed. Bomb. read *jena haṃ viddhā* for *tena haṃ diṭṭhā* (WEBER on H. 441). Correct, however, is the analysis *jeṇ' ahaṃ* (§ 173). Cf. § 34.

§ 418. Except in A., the form that can be used in all the dialects in the acc. is *maṃ* = *mām* (H. R.; Uvās. s. v. *ma*-; Erz. Kk. s. v. *aham*; Rṣabhap. s. v. *ma*¹; Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 2,22. 25; Śak. 16. 10; Vikr. 16,6; Mg. Mṛcch. 11,1; 29,23; 32,5. 15). A. has *maī* (Hc. 4,377. 414,4; Vikr. 69, 2). In M. AMg. JM. is found also *mamaṃ* (H. 16; R. 11,84; Thān. 477; Nāyādh. s. v.; p. 932; Uttar. 791; Vivāhap. 257. 1215; Uvās. § 68 [so to be read with the MSS. for *mama*]. 140. 219; Dvār. 500,8; Erz. 43,29). For Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 129,4) we should, in the verse, read *mamā*. After *mamaṃ*, AMg. has formed also a feminine *mamiṃ*; *mamaṃ vā mamiṃ vā* (Sūyag. 680). We should read *amhi ahammi* for *asmi asammi* in K1. 3, 73. Rare is M. AMg. *mahaṃ* (R. 15. 90; Vivāgas. 221), which escaped the notice of the grammarians, more often *me* in AMg., as in the Veda², (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Uttar. 362. 710; Thān. 158. 360. 361; Kappas. § 16). — The ins. is *mae* in all the dialects, except in A., which has *maī* (Hc. 4,330. 2. 346. 356 etc.; Vikr. 55, 1). *me* stands in the sense of the ins. in JM. (Erz. 72,12; 83,32); Mg. Mṛcch. 40,5; *maī* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,1) in a verse.—In the abl. *mamāhimito* alone is traceable in AMg. JM. (Vivāhap. 1245; Nāyādh. 1329; Erz. 54,20) and *mamāo* in JM. (Āv. 27,25; Dvār. 495,23). — In the gen. *mama* is rare in M. At H. 123 we should read *mamaṃ ti* with the v. l. (§ 182), so that G. H. R. does not have *mama*, except in H. 617; it stands in M. (Śak. 55,15). M. uses *maha*, *mahaṃ*, *majjha*, *majjhaṃ*, *me*, JM. AMg. often in addition to *mama* also *mamaṃ* (Vivāgas. 121 f.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 12,28), Ś. *mama* (Mṛcch. 9,7; Śak. 9,13; Vikr. 16,5), *maha* (Lalitav. 554,7; Pras. 83,6; 123,3; Venis. 11,25), *me* (Mṛcch. 15,25; Śak. 27,9. 10; Vikr. 8,15); *majjha*, that is forbidden by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś., stands at Karp. 10,10; 58,1 against the dialect for *mama* or *maha*; Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 14,1; 21,8. 12; 30,25), *maha* (Mṛcch. 114,18; Venis. 33,13), *me* (Mṛcch. 9,25; 10,3. 5; Venis. 34,22; 35,2. 8.14); Dh. *mama* (Mṛcch. 31,1; 34,17); Ā. *maha* (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,22), likewise D. (Mṛcch. 104.2. 11); A. *mahu* (Hc. 4,333. 370,2. 379,1; Vikr. 59, 13. 14), *majjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 379,2); under the pressure of the rhyme with *paī* also *maī* at Vikr. 63,4. — *maha* goes back likewise as *majjha*, to *mahyam*. For *me* stands *mi* metri causa in AMg. Uttar. 489. False readings are JM. *mujjha*, *muha* (Erz.). We should read *yad imam* in the place of P.

yati mañ (Hc. 4,323). — Loc. M. JM. *mamammi* (R.; Erz.); Ś. *mañ* (Mālav. 41,18); A. *mañ* (Hc. 4,377).

1. These references hold good also for the rest of the cases in the sing.; besides one should also see Nāyādh. ed. STEINTHAL s.v. s.v. In places, where nothing has been noted, the old texts, like Āyār., Sūyag., Uttar., Āv., have the same forms. Only a few examples have been given from Ś. Mg., as most of the forms are very frequent. This holds good also for the remaining pronouns. — 2. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,714.

§ 419. Plural. Nom. The form that can be used in all the dialects, including PG. (6,41), is *amhe*, for which in Mg. *asme* is to be written (§ 314) = Vedic *asme*¹: M. (G. 1072; H. s. v. *amha*); AMg. (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Nāyādh. § 137; Vivāgas. 229; Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134); JM. (Erz. 3,28; 12,13,19; Kk. 271,7); Ś. (Mṛcch. 20,18; Śak. 16,12; Vikr. 6,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 158,23; 161,14,17; 168,11; Venis. 35,21); A. (Hc. 4,376,1). In AMg. *vayañ* = *vayam* too is frequent (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 1,7,1,5; 2,1,9,11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,1,17; 2,5,1,10; 2,6,1,10; Sūyag. 585. 603. 633. 935. 948.972; Uttar. 432. 446. 748; Vivāhap. 1180; Dasav. 613,11), which occurs in JM. too (Kk. 270,1). For Ś. too Vr. 12,25 and Mk. fol. 70 permit *vaan̄*. It stands in Mṛcch. 103,5 in D., in Ś. only in bad texts (also Mālav. 46,12; 48,18)². For Mg. Hc. 4,301 teaches in the plural too *hage*, as is attested by 4,302 (p. 148) in a quotation from Vikrāntabhīma; A. has also *amhañ* (Hc. 4,376). For P. Kī. 5,114 teaches *vayañ*, *ampha* and *amhe*. — According to C. 2,27 *bhe* may be used in the plural in all the cases. — Acc. M. AMg. *ne* = *nas* with the ending -e of the nouns in -a (§ 367a) (R. 3,16; 5,4; Āyār. 1,6,1,5 [ne]; Sūyag. 174. 176. 239), but Ś. *no* (Śak. 26,12); JM. Ś. also *amhe* (T. 5,3; Mālatim. 361,2; Uttarar. 7,5; Venis. 70,5), Mg. *asme* (Venis. 36,5), M. *amha* (H. 356), A. *amhe* (Hc. 4,422,10), according to Hc. 4,376 also *amhañ*. — Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *amhēṇam* (H. 509; Nāyādh. § 137; Āv. 16,6; Erz. 5,10; Mṛcch. 23,23; Viddhaś. 27,4; Mālatim. 283,2), M. also *amhehi* (H. R.), as also PG. has (6,29); Mg. *asmehim* (Mṛcch. 11,19; 21,11); in AMg. also *ne* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3); A. *amhehi* (Hc. 4,371). — Abl. JM. *amhehiṇto* (Āv. 47,20). — Gen. M. JM. Ś. *amhāṇam* (H. 951 [ṇa]; Erz. 2,17; Kk.; Mṛcch. 2,18. 19. 24), Mg. *asmāṇam* ([text *amhāṇam*]; Lalitav. 565,14; Mṛcch. 31,15; 139,13; Śak. 116,2); M. AMg. JM. *amhañ* (H.; Uttar. 356. 358; Vivāgas. 217. 218; Nāyādh. § 26. 116; p. 482. 609. 616; Vivāhap. 233. 511; Āv. 8,17; 14,16; 17,17; Erz. 6,35; 12,34), M. JM. also *amha* (H.; Āv. 11,9; 17,7; Erz.; Kk.), that falsely stands in Ś. in Vikr. 73,12, for which with P should be read either *amhe* and which is to be considered as in the acc. (cf. *mañ* of the Dvāvid. recen.), or with the ed. Bomb. 119,7 *amhāṇam*. In M.² *mha* too (H.). *amhañ* is in AMg. JM. the prevalent form, which PG. too has (5,3; 7,42). It corresponds to one Skt. **asmām*, i. e. a gen. built from the stem *asma-* with the ending of the consonantal declension, whilst *amhāṇam* presupposes one **asmānām*, and M. *amhāhā*, A. *amhaḥ* (Hc. 4,379. 380. 439) mentioned by Hc. 4,300 presuppose one **asmāsām*, therefore, with the ending of the pronominal declension. On AMg. *asmākañ* see § 314. AMg. JM. have also *amhe* (Sūyag. 969; T. 5,6), Ś. very frequently has *no* = *naḥ* (Śak. 17,11; 18,8; 26,12; Vikr. 5,11; 6,16; 10,3), AMg. *ne* (Vivāhap. 132 f.). — Loc. Ś. *amhesu* (Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 75,1; Venis. 70,2). *amhāsu*, quoted from an unnamed author in Hc. 3,117, mentioned in Sr. fol. 32, and taught by Hc. 4,381 himself for A., stands in M. R. 3,32.

1. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,716 — 2. FISCHEL, KB. S. 142 f.

§ 420. The Pronoun of the Second Person.

Singular.

Nom. *tumañ*, *tuñ*, *tañ*, [tuha, tuvañ]; Dh. *tuham*; A. *tuhū*.

- Acc. *tumañ*, [*tum̐, tañ*], *te*, [*tuha, tuvañ, tume, tue*]; Ś. Mg. *de too*; Dh. *tuham̐*; A. *taĩ, paĩ*.
- Ins. *tae, taĩ, tue, tui*, [*tumañ*], *tumae*, [*tumai*], *tumai*, *tume, te, de*, [*dī, bhe*]; A. *taĩ, paĩ*.
- Abl. *tatto, tumāhi, tumāhinto, tumāo*, [*tumāu, tumā, tumatto, taitto, tuitto*], *tuvatto*, [*tuhatto, tubbhatto, tumhatto, tujjhatto*, further from all these stems with the endings -o, -u, (Ś. Mg. -do, -du), -hi, -hinto, then *tumā, tuvā, tuhā, tubbhā, tumhā, tujjhā, tumha, tuyha, tubbha, tujjha, tahinto*]; P. [*tumāto, tumātu*]; A. *tujjhu, taū, tudhra*].
- Gen. *tava, tujjha, tuha, tuham̐, tubbha, tubbham̐, tumha, tumham̐, te, de*, [*taĩ*], *tu*, [*tuva, tuma*], *tumañ, tumma*, [*tume, tumo, tumai, dī, ī, e, ubbha, uyha, umha, ujja*]; Ś. *tuha, de*; Mg. *tava, tuha, de*; A. *taū, tujjhu, tujjhaha, tudhra, tuha*.
- Loc. *taĩ, tumammi, tume, tuvi, tui*, [*tue, tae, tumae, tumai, tummi, tuva-mmi, tuhammi, tubbhammi, tumhammi, tujjhammi*]; AMg. *tumañsi*; Ś. *taĩ, tui*; A. *taĩ, paĩ*.

Plural.

- Nom. *tumhe, tubbhe*, [*tubbha, tumha, tujjhe, tujjha, tuyhe, uyhe, bhe*]; AMg. *tubbhe*; JM. *tumhe, tubbhe*; Ś. Mg. (?) *tumhe*; A. [*tumhe, tumhaĩ*].
- Acc. as the nom., and *vo*, AMg. *bhe*.
- Ins. *tumhehim̐, tubbhehim̐*, [*tujjhehim̐, tuyhehim̐, tummehim̐, umhehim̐, ubbhehim̐, ujjehim̐, uyhehim̐*], *bhe*; AMg. *tubbhehim̐, tumehim̐, tubbhe, bhe*; JM. *tumhehim̐, tubbhehim̐*; Ś. *tumhehim̐*; A. *tumhehi*.
- Abl. [*tumhatto, tubbhatto, tujjhatto, tuyhatto, umhatto, ubbhatto, ujjjhatto, uyhatto*; from the same stems with the endings -e, -u (Ś. Mg. -do -du), -hi, -hinto, -sinto]; A. *tumhahā*.
- Gen. *tumhāṇam̐, ṇa*, [*tubbhāṇam̐, ṇa, tujjhāṇam̐, ṇa, tuhāṇam̐, ṇa, tuvāṇam̐, ṇa, tumāṇam̐, ṇa*], *tumham̐, tumha, tubbham̐*, [*tubbha, tujjham̐, tujjha, tu*], *bhe, vo*; AMg. *tubbham̐, tumhāṇam̐, tubbhe, bhe*; JM. *tumhāṇam̐, tubbham̐, tumha, tumham̐*; Ś. Mg. *tumhāṇam̐*; A. *tumhahā*.
- Loc. [*tumhesu, tubbhesu, tujjhesu, tuhesu, tuvesu, tumesu, tusu, tumhasu* etc., *tumhāsu* etc., *tujjhisum̐, tumbhisum̐*; A. *tumhāsu*].

Cf. Vr. 6,26—39; C. 1,18—25; 2,26; Hc. 3,90—104; 4,368—374; Kī. 3,59—71; 5,113; Mk. fol. 47—49. 70. 75; Sr. fol. 26—30 and take notice of § 416.

§ 421. Singular. Nom. The prevalent form is *tumañ* from the stem *tuma* in all the dialects, except Dh. A.: (M. G. H. R.; AMg. e. g. Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [read *tumañ si*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; JM. e. g. Āv. 8,33; 14,29; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e. g. Lalitav. 561, 5. 11. 15; Mṛcch. 4. 5; Śak. 12, 8; Mg. e. g. Lalitav. 565, 15; Mṛcch. 19, 8; Prab. 58, 1; Mudrār. 267, 1; Ā. Mṛcch. 99, 18. 19; 101, 23; 103, 2; D. Mṛcch. 101, 10. 21; 103, 17. 18)¹. In AMg. the nom. *tume* too appears to occur (Nāyādh. § 68 against *tumañ* § 70; p. 448. 450), which would be related to *tumañ*, like Mg. *hage* to *ahakām* (§ 417). In M. *tañ* too (G. H. R.), which AMg. (Uttar. 637. 670. 678. 712) and JM. (Rṣabhap.; Erz.) too have in verses, is very frequent; beside it seldom appears *tum̐* (H.; Śak. 78, 11 ed. BÖHL.). Dh. *tuham̐* (Mṛcch. 34, 24; 35, 1. 3; 39, 8), A. *tuhū* (Hc. s. v. *tu*; Piṅgala 1, 4^b) go back to *tvakām* (§ 206)². At Piṅgala 1, 5^b *taĩ* (GOLDSCHMIDT *taim̐*, text *taĩ*; cf. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 530) has been used as nom.—Acc. *tumañ* as in the nom. in the same dialects (Ś. Mṛcch. 4, 9; Śak. 51, 6; Vikr. 23, 1; Mg. Mṛcch. 12, 10; Mudrār. 183, 6); Dh. *tuham̐* (Mṛcch. 31, 12); A. *taĩ* (Hc. 4, 370) and *paĩ* (Hc. 4, 370; Vikr. 58, 8; 65, 3).

On *pa* see § 300. *te* is acc. in AMg. (Uvās. § 95. 102; Uttar. 368.677.696), likewise in Ś. (Mṛcch. 3,13) and *de* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 54,8) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 128,12. 14)³.—Ins. M. *taī, tae, tui, tue, tumae, tumāe tumāi, tume* (G. H. R.); JM. *tae, tumae, tume*; AMg. *tume* (so also Uvās. § 139. 167 to be read with the v. l.); Ś. *tae* (Lalitav. 554,6; 555,5; Śak. 12,12; Ratn. 299,1.2), *tue* (Mṛcch. 7,5; Vikr. 25,5; Mahāv. 56,3); Mg. *tae* (Lalitav. 566,4), *tue* (Mṛcch. 31,23. 25; Venīs. 34,3; Prab. 50,9). The dramas waver; Mṛcch. Vikr. Venīs., and most others have *tue* (Vikr. 42,6 is to be corrected as *tue* with A), Śak. Ratn. have *tae*. Often the MSS. waver at the same place in M. Ā. has *tue* (Mṛcch. 102,1; 103,2; 105,1), D. *tue* (Mṛcch. 101,25) and *tae* (105,4), where, however, GODABOLE p. 299,5 reads more correctly *tue*.—*te, de*, even where they stand in the past passive participle, may be considered as gen. But the interpretation as the ins. is sometimes necessary, as Ś. Mṛcch. 60,24 *na hu de...sāhasam karēntena...ācaridaṁ = na khalu tvayā...sāhasam kurvātā...ācaritam*, or very probably, as Ś. Mṛcch. 29,14 *suṭṭhu de jāṇidaṁ = suṭṭhu tvayā jñātam*, compare with 27,21; 28,24 *suṭṭhu tue jāṇidaṁ*. A. *taī, paī* (Hc. 4,370; 422,18; Vikr. 55,18; 58,9), as in the acc.—Abl. M. *tumāhi, tumāhinto, tumāo* (G. H.); Ś. *tatto = tvattah* (Śak. 9,10), *tuvatto* (Mallikām. 219,8) and undoubtedly in the meaning of the sing., but against the dialect, *tumhāhinto* (Karp. 53,6; Viddhaś. 71,6; 113,6); P. *tumāto, °tu* (Hc. 4,307. 321).—Gen. M. *tuha, tuham, tuijha, tuijham, tumham, tumma, tu, te, de* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tava, te, tubbham*⁴, *tuham* (Uttar. 444. 597 f.), *tumam* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Uttar. 358); JM. *tuha, tumha, tuijha, tava, tuijham* (Āv. 7,11; 22,5), *tuham* (Āv. 7,33; 12,14); Ś. *tuha* (Lalitav. 554,5; Mṛcch. 22,25; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 26,9); *te* in Ś. only Mṛcch. 3,16 (v. l. *de*); 80,20; Vikr. 24,7, elsewhere always *de* (§ 185), hence *te* apparently false.⁵ Against the dialect are also *tava* and *tuijha*. In Vikr. *tava* stands at 27,21 only, where the MSS. BP have *tuha*, as also the ed. Bomb. 48,5 reads, in Mṛcch. only at 17,21; 24,3 in the repetition of words of the Śākāra; 138,23 in the reproduction of the Skt. words; 151,21. In Ratn., in places where *tava* or *tua* stood earlier, CAPPELLER reads *tuha*, so that Ratn. has only *tuha* (294,21; 299,3; 305,8; 309,6; 313, 12. 27; 318,26) and *de*. We should read *tuha*, as at 39,5 of the ed. Bomb. has, for *tava, tua* in Prab. 37,14:39,5 of the editions. *tuijha* correctly stands in the dramas, Mṛcch. 100,11 (Ā.); 104,1 (D). 17 (Ā.); Śak. 55,15 (M.), Nāgān. 45,7 (M.); in Ś. it occurs only in Śak. 43,9, and is, therefore, false, since Lalitav. 554,4; Karp. 10,9; 17,5; Nāgān. 71,11; Karpas. 52, 13 and other Indian editions do not come into consideration. Against this Mg., like AMg. JM., has *tava* (Mṛcch. 12,19; 13,9; 14,1; 21,3; 22,4 etc.; Śak. 116,11), *te* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 113,1), for which the observation made above holds good, elsewhere very often *de* (e.g. Mṛcch. 21,22; Śak. 113, 7; Mudrār. 184,2), false *tuijha* (Mṛcch. 176,6, for which we should read *tue* with GODABOLE 478,1; Nāgān. 67,1 for which we should we should read *te* [de] with the ed. Calc. 63,1; Prab. 58,17 where BROCKHAUS perhaps has *uijha*, and for which, with the v.l., we should read *tuha*; Dh. *tuha* (Mṛcch. 39,5); A. *taū, tuijhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 370,4. 372. 425), the noteworthy *tudhra* (Hc. 4,372), *tuijhaha* (Vikr. 72,10; in addition to BOLLENSSEN), *tuha* (Hc. 4,361. 370,1. 383,1; Piṅgala 1,123^a), *tumha* (Piṅgala 1,60^a), *tuijhe* in rhyme with *uijhe = yudhi* (Piṅgala 2, 5). AMg. *tubbham* is = *tubhyam*; *tuha, tuijha, tuyha* presuppose one **tuhyam* (cf. *mahyam*). From this are deduced the stems *tubbha, tuyha, uyha*, which appear in the plural.⁶ The stems *tuyha, uyha* must have originated either from Mg. or from a dialect allied to Mg. (§ 236. 331).—Loc. M. *taī, tui, tumammi, tume* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tumamsi* (Nirayāv. § 15); JM. *taī, tumammi*; Ś. *taī* (Vikr. 30,3; 84,4), *tui* (Mālav. 41,19; Venīs. 13,8 [so to be read with the ed. Calc. 1870, p. 26,5]);

A. *taī*, *paī*, as in the acc. ins. (Hc.4,370). In JM. too *paī* and *paīm* have been used by Dhanapāla⁷.

1. See note 1 to § 418. — 2. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 528 reads *tūhū* and wants to derive it from *tumhām* at p. 529. — 3. FISCHER, GGA. 1877, 1066; BB. 3,250 note; ZDMG. 35, 714. — 4. HOERNLE on Uvās., Transl., note 262. — 5. Certainly false is *de* in the beginning of the sentence in Śak. ed. BÖHTL. 107,13, as already noted by BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 176. — 6. Others KERN Jaartelling 102; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge 55, note 1. — 7. KLATT, ZDMG. 33,448.

§ 422. Plural. Nom. Except in AMg. the usable form, in all the dialects, is *tumhe* = **tusme*: M. (H. R.); JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,15; 70,15; Śak. 106,2; 109,7); Mg. (Mṛcch. 16,19; 149,17); A. (Hc. 4,369). For Mg. the correct form will be **tusme* or even *tuyhe*; cf. *tusmā*^o, EI. 3,313,4, which KIELHORN has correctly equated as = *yuṣmat*. The same stems are to be presupposed also for the plural forms of the other cases for this dialect, in which now *°mh*^o stands in the editions. AMg. has throughout *tubbhe* = Aśoka *tuphe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; 2,3,3,5. 7; Sūyag. 192. 194. 783. 972; Vivāhap. 132. 332; Nāyādh. [also § 138 to be read so with v. l. for *tumhe*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nīrayāv.). In contemptuous sense is used *tumāim* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8). JM. has, beside *tumhe*, also *tubbhe* (Āv. 14,28. 30; 41,22; Erz.; Kk.); according to Hc. 4,369 A. has also *tumhaī*, according to Kī. 5,113; P. has *tumpha*, *tuppha*, *tumhe* — Acc. *tumhe*: M. (R. 3,27); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,17; Nāgān. 48,13); JM. *tubbhe* (Dvār. 497,18; 498,38) and *tumhe* (T. 5,3); AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās.) and *bhe*¹, which originated from it under the influence of loss of accent (Nāyādh. 938. 939; Uttar. 363); A. has *tumhe*, *tumhaī* according to Hc. 4,369. — Ins. M. *tumhehi* (H.420); AMg. *tubbhehi* (Vivāgas. 17; Uttar. 579 [°*bhbhe*°]); Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. p. 359. 361. 363. 419 etc.), also *tumhehi* (Nāyādh. 454, if the reading is correct), *tubbhe* (Sūyag. 932) and *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Nāyādh. 1284. 1376 [text *te*]); JM. *tumhehi* (Erz.), *tubbhehi* (Āv. 11,26; 18,27; Erz.); Ś. *tumhehi* (Mahāv. 29,4; Viddhaś. 48,5); *tumhehi* (Hc. 4,371). — Gen. in all the dialects *tumhāṇam*: M. (H. 676, °*ṇa*); AMg. (Sūyag. 964); JM. (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. (Lalitav. 568,5; Mṛcch. 17,22; Vikr. 48,4; Mālatīm. 285, 2); Mg. (Lalitav. 566,9; Śak. 118,4; Mudār. 178,4; 258,4). In M. more frequent is *tumha* (R.), in AMg. the prevalent form is *tubbham* (Sūyag. 967. 1017; Nāyādh. § 79; p. 452. 590; Uttar. 355; Vivāhap. 1214; Vivāgas. 20,21; Uvās.; so to be read with the v. l. for *tumham* in also Kappas. § 79). Besides there is found in AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās. § 68,153 [so to be read]) and often *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 2,1,5,5. 9,6; Sūyag. 284. 734. 972; Nāyādh. 907; Uttar. 50; Vivāhap. 132), which JM. too has (Āv. 24,8. 12). M. Ś. frequently have also *vo* = *vaḥ* (G. H. R.; Śak. 20,7; 52,15; Vikr. 51,16), likewise PG. (7,46), which I cannot find in other dialects and in Mṛcch. At Āv. 41,18 we should read *keṇa bhe kiṁ gahiyaṁ*. A. has *tumhahā*. (Hc. 4,373). According to Hc. 4,300 there is found in M. *tumhahā* too. I cannot quote any form of the loc. Śākalya,² according to Mk. fol. 48 f., taught, without any strong justification, the forms *tujjhisum*, *tumbhisum*; A. has *tumhāsu* according to Hc. 4,374. According to C. 2,26 *bhe* is used in all the cases in the plural. It is found in the texts in the acc., the ins. and the gen. On the ecriture *hha* for *bbha* (*bhbha*) in the MSS. of Sr. see FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 3.

1. E. MÜLLER (Beiträge p. 55) has already noted that *bhe* is not = Skt. *bho* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,404, note 4; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.). — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2 f.

§ 423. Not only are the nom. singular masculine and the fem. of the stem *sa-*, as in Classical Skt., been retained, but dialectically also other cases, partly in agreement with the Iranian dialects¹. Sing.: nom. masc. M. JM. JŚ. S. Ā. D. P. *so* (H. s. v. *sa-*; G. R. Erz. Rṣabhap. s. v.

ta-; Kk. s. v. *tad*; JŚ. Pav. 380,7; 381,16. 21; Kattig. 398,302; 399,312; Ś. Lalitav. 555,1; 560,19; Mṛcch. 6,8; Śak. 52,5; Vikr. 10,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,16; 101,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,5. 9; P. Hc. 4,322. 323), seldom *sa* (Hc. 3,3; PG. 7,47; M. R. 11,21 [where, however, with C. we should read *a* = *ca*]); AMg. (Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [where *sa cceva* is to read]; Uttar. 361 [*sa eso* beside *eso hu so* 362]; JM. (Erz. 6, 36; Kk. 258, 4); Ś. Mṛcch. 42,11 [in A. only]; 63,18); AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s. v. *ta*²); Mg. *śe* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 19,17; Śak. 114,2; A. *su* and *so* (Hc. s. v. s. v.). Falsely stands *so* in AMg. in Āyār. 1,1,1,4 and elsewhere in prose (cf. § 17). In conformity with the alteration of gender (§ 356 ff.) one says AMg. *se diṭṭhaṃ ca ne* = *tad dṛṣṭaṃ ca naḥ*; *se duddiṭṭhaṃ ca bhe* = *tad durdṛṣṭaṃ ca vaḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3. 4); Mg. *eṣe śe daśanāmake* = *etat tad daśanāmakam* (Mṛcch. 11,1), *śe munde* = *tan munḍam* (Mṛcch. 122,7), *eṣe śe śuvannake* = *etat tat suvarṇakam* (Mṛcch. 165,7), *śe kamma* = *tat karma* (Śak. 114,6); A. *so sukkhu* = *tat saukhyam* (Hc. 4,340, 1). — Acc. AMg. *se* corresponding to *me* (§ 418) and *te* (§ 421) in *se ś' evaṃ vajantaṃ* = *sa tam evaṃ vadantaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8. 9,6), whilst in *se ś' evaṃ vajantassa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4,6,4. 7,5. 9,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,1,10) the second *se* gen. is = *sa tasyaivaṃ vadataḥ*; A. *su* (Hc. 4,383,3; masc.), *so* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; neuter). — Inst. AMg. *se* (Sūyag. 838. 848. 854. 860). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *se*, Mg. *śe*, very frequently as masc. and fem., corresponding to *me* and *te* (Vr. 6,11; C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Kī. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22; Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 12,24; Śak. 37,10; Vikr. 15,10; femin. Lalitav. 561,9; Mṛcch. 25, 8; Śak. 21, 2; Vikr. 46, 1; Mg. masc. Mṛcch. 36, 10; 161, 7; femin. Mṛcch. 134,8; Venis. 34,12); AMg. JM. *metri causa* also *se* (Dasav. 633,17; 635,4; Āv. 8,2,16) and AMg. *si* (Sūyag. 282)³. — Plural. nom. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,4,2,1 [ed. Calc. *te*]; Sūyag. 859); Mg. *śe* (Mṛcch. 167,1)⁴. — Acc. JŚ. *se* (Pav. 388,4; beside nom. *te*). — Gen. JM. *se* (C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22; Kk. 273,29; cf. § 34) and *siṃ* (Vr. 6,12; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22). — Voc. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1). As in the Atharvaveda 17, 1,20 f.⁵, in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (B.-R. s. v. *sa* p. 452), in Pāli *sace* (when) *sa*, in Pāli *seyyathā se*, so in AMg. *se* is placed before pronouns and pronominal adverbs without any effect on the meaning. Initial *t* of the pronoun *ta-* and *j* of the pronoun *ya-* are in most cases reduplicated after it. So AMg. *se ttaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2. 4,4. 5,2. 5; 2,3,1,14; 2,4,2,7. 8; Jiv. 36ff. 316f.; Vivāhap. 160,596; Paṇṇav. 7 ff. 63,480); *se taṃ* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,5; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se teṇ' aṭṭheṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 34 ff. 47 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 2,1,1,1. 4. 11; 2,1,2,3. 3,4 ff.; 2,3,1,2 ff.; 2,7,2,2 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,14. 2,2. 3,10; 2,5,1,4); *se jjaṇ' imāṇi* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10); *se jje ime* (Ovav. § 70. 71. 73 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,3; Ovav. § 72); *se jaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); *se kiṃ taṃ* (Anuog. 356; Nandis. 471; Paṇṇav. 62. 480; Ovav. § 30; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se ke ṇaṃ* (Nāyādh. § 138); *se kahaṃ ejaṃ* (Vivāhap. 142); *se kei* (Sūyag. 301); *se kiṃ tu hu* (Sūyag. 846). In contrast to Pāli *seyyathā* in AMg. *j* of *jahā* is never reduplicated after *se*: *se jahā* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 593 f. 613. 747; Vivāhap. 134. 161 f. 270. 929; Uvās. § 12. 210; Ovav. § 54; Nāyādh. § 133). The scholiasts explain *se* with *tad*; e. g. Śilāṅka on Āyār. 230 *se tti tacchabdārthe*; p. 300 *seśabdas tacchabdārthe sa ca vākyaopanyāsārthaḥ*, an explanation, that is more correct than that by CHILDERS⁶ and WEBER⁷. The reduplication of *t* and *j* in Pkt. and of *y* in Pāli *seyyathā* shows that *se* should not be taken as the AMg. nom. *se*, which Pāli too makes improbable, if not impossible⁸. *se* is rather = Vedic *se'd* i. e. *sá* = *id*, that is used almost as *sá*. It is proved through the RV. 4,37,6 : *se'd ṛbhavo yám dvatha yūyám indrasca mártyam | sa' dhibhír astu sánitā medhásātā so' drvatā*, where *se'd yám...sa'*⁹

almost is = AMg. *se jjam se*. Hence one writes in a better way *seṭṭam*, *sejjam*, etc., like Pāli *seyyathā* and *sace*⁹.

1. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24,600 ff. In the Veda there occurs also the loc. *sasmin*. — 2. The remark made under § 418, note 1 holds good. — 3. *se* is merely an enclitic, hence a false reading at Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6, as also *de* (§ 421, note 5). — 4. *se* cannot be gen. sing., since after p. 166,24 both the Cāṇḍālas speak. The Calc. editions (316,10 ed. Calc. 1829; 357,1 ed. Calc. Śak. 1792) and GOPABOLE p. 452,6 read *ete*, that is translated in the old Calc. edition and in GOPABOLE as *ete*, rightly with the scholiasts. — 5. Hitherto overlooked, even by DELBRÜCK, Altind. Syntax § 140. — 6. Dictionary s. v. *sa*. — 7. Bhag. 1, 421 f., where also additional examples from Vivāhap. are given. — 8. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 9. — 9. The Vedic accent prohibits assumption of proclisis of *se* and reduplication according to § 196.

§ 424. The impersonal pronouns partly have the special endings of the pronouns as in Skt., and partly they are inflected like nouns. Only the loc. sing. masc. and neut. and the nom. plur. masc. have the pronominal endings. In the abl. sing. masc. and neut., abl. gen. loc. sing. fem. and gen. plur. masc. fem. neut., both the endings are found to be used, partly for the sake of dialectical distinction. The stem of the fem. ends in the case of *tad*, *etad*, *yad*, *kim*, *idam* in *-ā* or *-ī* (Hc. 3,32; Ki. 3,45): *tā-*, *tī-*; *eā-*, *ei-*; *jā-*, *jī-*; *kā-*, *kī-*; *imā-*, *imī-*. *yad*, *tad*, and *kim*, however, have only *ā* in the nom. acc. sing. and gen. plur. (Hc. 3,33), Ś. Mg. in the case of all the pronouns have only *ā*. Cf. Vr. 6,1 ff.; Hc. 3,58 ff.; Ki. 3,42 ff.; Mk. fol. 45 ff.; Sr. fol. 19 ff.

§ 425. The pronoun *ta-*. Sing. nom. acc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. D. A. *taṁ* (JŚ. Pav. 381,20; 385,61; Ś. Lalitav. 561,13; 562,23; Mṛcch. 2,18; Śak. 27,6; Mg. Lalitav. 565,19; Mṛcch. 40,5; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,4; 32,3,8; 35,7; Ā. Mṛcch. 102,1; D. Mṛcch. 102,19; A. Hc. 4,360); A. in the sense of "therefore" also *taṁ* (Hc. 4,360; see § 268 and cf. § 427) and *tu* in the combination *taṁ tu* (Vikr. 55,19) corresponding to *ju* (§ 427). — Acc. masc. and fem. in all the dialects *taṁ*. — Ins. *teṇa*, AMg. *teṇaṁ*, A. *teṁ* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 3,69 also *tiṇā*; femin. M. *tīe*, *tīa*; AMg. JM. *tīe*, *tāe*; Ś. *tāe* (Lalitav. 555,1; Mṛcch. 79,3; Śak. 40,4 [so to be read for *tae*, as also Mṛcch. 77,10 with D]); Vikr. 45,21); Mg. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 133,21); P. *tīe* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tāe* (Hc. 4,370,2). — As pure abl. AMg. JM. have *tāo* (e. g. Ovav. § 101; Uvās. § 90. 125; Āv. 8,48; Sagara 6,4), AMg. also as femin. (Dasav. 613,24). The forms *tatto*, *tao*, Ś. Mg. *tado* (Ki. 3,50; where also *tadao*), *to*, *tamhā*, taught by the grammarians (Vr. 6,9,10; Hc. 2,160; 3,66,67; Mk. fol. 46), are adverbially used, *tamhā* in AMg. and JŚ. only (Pav. 380,8; 381,20; 382,23. 27; 384,36); *to*, that stands, except in M. AMg. JM. A. (Hc. s. v.), also in the verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,11), is apparently = *atas* (§ 142). In addition there comes AMg. *taohinto* (Vivāhap. 1047. 1189. 1240 f. 1283. 1288 f.; Nāyādh. 1178) and *tā* M. JM. JŚ. (Pav. 398,303); Ś. (Lalitav. 555,2; 561,15; Mṛcch. 2,16. 18. 22; 3,20); Mg. (Lalitav. 565,8. 15; 567,1; Mṛcch. 20,21; 21,12); Dh. (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,13; 32,8); Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,23; 105,2); D. Mṛcch. 101,1,9; 102,18; 103,16; 104,19); A. (Hc. 4,370,1). *tā*=Vedic *tāt*¹, is wrongly translated as = *tāvat*. From A. Hc. gives also *tahām* (Hc. 4,355).—Gen. masc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh. *tassa*, also PG. *tasa* (7,41. 45); Mg. *taśsa* (Mṛcch. 14,1. 7; 19,10; 37,25) and *tāha* (Mṛcch. 13,25; 36,13; 112,9; 164,2); M. also *tāsa* (Vr. 6,5. 11; Hc. 3,63; Vetālap. p. 218 Nr. 15); A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, *tahō* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); femin. M. *tissā*, *tīe*, *tīa*, according to Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64 also *tīā*, *tīi*; AMg. JM. *tīse* (also in Vr. Hc.), *tāe*, *tīe*; Ś. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 79,3; 88,20; Śak. 21,8; Vikr. 16,9. 15); Mg. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 133,19; 152,5); P. *tīe* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tahē* (Hc. s. v. *ta*), *tāsu* (acc. in rhyme with *jāsu*; Piṅgala 1,109. 115). —Loc. masc. neut. M. JM. *tammi*; AMg. *taṁsi*, *tammi*, *taṁmi* (also Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *tassim* (Mṛcch. 61,24; Śak. 73,3; 74,1; Vikr. 15,12); Mg.

taṣṣiṃ (Mṛcch. 38,16; 121,19; Prab. 32,7); according to Hc. 3,11 also *taṃ*. False is JŚ. *taṃhi* (Kattig. 400,322) beside the correct *tammi*. A. has, according to Kī. 5,50, also *tadru*, as in relation with *yadru* (§ 427). In the sense of "there", "thither" very frequent is *tahiṃ* (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 3,60) in all the dialects. As *tatra* in Skr., so *tattha* in Pkt. is used in the sense of the loc. too (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 2,161, who has also *taha*, *tahi*). Femin. *tīe*, *tīa*, according to 3,60 also *tāhiṃ*, *tāe*; AMg. *tīse* (Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 1148). As loc. feminine, we should probably consider also M. AMg. JM. *tāhe* for **tāse* (corresponding to *tīse*, that mostly stands in correlation with *jāhe* and has the meaning "then" = *tadā* (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; G. R. Erz.; s. v. *tāhe* and *jāhe*; Uvās. s. v. *ta-* and *ja-*; Nāyādh. § 143; p. 768. 944. 1052. 1420. 1435 etc.). — Plural. Nom. *te*, femin. *tāo*, neuter. *tāim*, in all the dialects, AMg. JM. also *tāṇi*. Ś. Mg. have, beside *te*, also *de* behind other pronouns²: Ś. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 39,3; Uttarar. 68,8; Mālatim. 243,3 [*edē kkhū de*]; 273,4); Mg. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 38,19), *ye de* (Mudrār. 183,2), elsewhere also Ś. *te* (Uttarar. 77,4,5; Mudrār. 260,1), as *tāo* (Mṛcch. 25,20; 29,7; Mālatim. 80,1; Prab. 17,8) and *tāim* (Uttarar. 60,5). — Acc. *te*, also JŚ. (Pav. 379,3; 381,21) and A. (Hc. 4,336); falsely Ś. *de* in the beginning of the sentence (Uttarar. 72,5); femin. AMg. *tāo* (Nirayāv. 59). — Ins. *tehiṃ*, femin. *tāhiṃ*, in M. AMg. JM. also *tehi*, *tāhi* (Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 25,14; Prab. 10,9; 12,11). — Abl. AMg. *tēbbho* (Sūyag. 19; correct?); AMg. JM. *tehiṃto* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.; Āv. 48,14) and JM. *tehiṃ* (Erz. 22,5). — Gen. M. *tāṇaṃ*, *tāṇa*; Ś. *tāṇaṃ* (Uttarar. 73,10), also femin. (Prab. 39,1); AMg. *tesim*, *tesi*, femin. *tāsim*, *tāsi*; JM. *tesim*; femin. *tāsim* and *tāṇaṃ* for masc. and femin.; JŚ. masc. *tesim* (Pav. 379,5; 383,44); A. *tāṇa*, *tāhā*, *tāhā* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 4,300 *tāhā* in M. too, according to 3,62 *tāsa* in the plural too. — Loc. *tesu* (Hc. 3,135; M. R. 14,13; JM. Erz. 4,3); Ś. *tesu* (Vikr. 35,6; Mudrār. 38,10; 160,2) and *tesum* (Śak. 162,13); femin. JM. Ś. *tāsu* (Erz. 15,14; Mālatim. 105,1); A. *tahī* (Hc. 4,422,18). On AMg. *tām*, *teṇāṃ* see § 68, on AMg. *sēttam* § 423.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 171; FISCHER, BB. 16,171 ff. — 2. BOLLESEN on Vikr. 1. 176 too strictly limits *de*, when he permits it to stand only after *je*; it is not used even as a correlative. The form makes it certain, that *de* was enclitic in such cases.

426. The pronoun *eta-* is essentially inflected like *ta-* (G. s. v. *etat*; H. R. s. v. *ea-*; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk. s. v. *eya-*). The nom. sing. masc. is M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Ā. D. *eso* (JŚ. Kattig. 398,314; Ś. Mṛcch. 6,10; Śak. 17,4; Vikr. 7,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,19; 100,23; D. Mṛcch. 102,16), AMg. *ese*, in verses also *eso* (Uttar. 361 f.) Mg. *esē* (Lalitav. 565,6. 8; 567,2; Mṛcch. 11,1; Prab. 32,10; Śak. 113,3; Venis. 33,15), Dh. *esu* (Mṛcch. 31,12; 34,17; 35,15), A. *ehō* (Hc. s. v. *eha*). Unlike *sa* (§ 423), beside it there occurs very frequently, however, *esa* (Hc. 3,3), which, according to Hc. 3,85 is used also for the femin. and neut.: *esa*, *mahi*, *esa siram*. *esa* does not stand merely as an adjective before substantives, but also as a substantive, in verse, as in prose, e. g. JŚ. Pav. 379,1; Ś. Mṛcch. 54,13; Vikr. 82,14. In Mg. *esa* is seldom (Mṛcch. 139,17); in Dh. stands *esa* (Mṛcch. 36,23). The femin. is *esā* (Ś. Lalitav. 555,2; Mṛcch. 15,24; Vikr. 7,13; Śak. 14,6; also P. Hc. 4,320 and D. (Mṛcch. 102,23), Mg. *esā* 10,23.25; 13,7,24; Prab. 32,9), A. *eha* (Hc. s. v.; Piṅgala 2,64), the neut. PG. *etaṃ* (6,30), M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*, Ś. Mg. Ā. D. *edaṃ* Ś. (Lalitav. 555,18; Mṛcch. 2,18; Vikr. 6,1; also acc. Mṛcch. 49,8. 14; Śak. 25,1; Vikr. 13,4; Mg. nom. Mṛcch. 45,21; 168,18; 169,7; acc. Mṛcch. 29,24; 132,21; Ā. nom. Mṛcch. 100,18; D. acc. Mṛcch. 100,16); A. *chu* = **eṣam* (Hc. s. v. *eha*), also acc. *ehaṃ* = **eṣakam* (Hc. 4,362). — Acc. masc. femin. neut. M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*. Ś. Mg. *edaṃ*; A. masc. *ehu* (Piṅgala 1,81). — In the

ins. M. has *eeṇa* (H. R.), AMg. *eeṇam*, JM. beside *eeṇa* also *eiṇā*, Ś. Mg. beside *edeṇa* (Ś. Mṛcch. 42,12; Vikr. 31,14; Uttarar. 78,3; 163,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,11; 133,19; 154,9) much more frequently *ediṇā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 5,5; 18,3; Śak. 10,12; Vikr. 53,1; Uttarar. 13,11; Mālatīm. 31,4; 73,3; 100,3; Ratn. 293,21; Mg. Mṛcch. 39,25; 40,11; Venṣ. 36,1). See § 128. In the femin. beside *eyāye* JM. has also the form *ēa*, from the femin. stem *ei-* = **eti-*, mentioned by Hc. 3,32; both the forms are valid for the abl. gen. loc. too. In Ś. Mg. the ins. gen. loc. is spelt as *edāe*: ins. (Ś. Mṛcch. 94,16; 95,8; Vikr. 27,15; 41,7; Ratn. 299,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 173,8; Prab. 61,7); gen. (Mg. Mṛcch. 123,3); loc. (Ś. Mṛcch. 9,9; 42,11). — For the abl. Vr. 6,20 gives *etto*, *edādo*, *edādu*, *edāhi*; Hc. 3,82: *etto*, *ettāhe*, *ēāo*, *ēāu*, *ēāhi*, *ēāhinto*, *ēā*; Kī. 3,51: *etto*, *edo* [sic], *edādu*, *edāhi*, *ēthā*. From it is *etto* = **etataḥ* (§ 197); it is used in AMg. M. JM. in the sense of “hence”, “thence”, “now”, in AMg. as pure abl. too: *etto* *uvasaggāo* = *etasmād upasargāt* (Nāyādh. 761); *etto* *annayaram* = *etasmād anyataram* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4. 6,4. 7,8; 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,5). This use is wrong in Ś. In Indian editions in places where it occurs, such as in Mālatīm, ed. Bomb. 69,9; 255,1, we should read *imādo*, as in the first place, the ed. Calc. 1866 p. 37,13 and the ed. BHĀNDĀRKAR 92,3 have. In AMg. *itto* too (Sūyag. 360; Uttar. 599). *ettāhe*, however, is derived from the stem *ettā-* = *etā-*¹, and like *tāhe* (§ 425) is to be taken as the loc. sing. of the feminine. It is used in M. adverbially in the sense of “now” (Hc. 2,134; G. H. R.), in A. as *ettāhe* in the meaning “hence” (Hc. 4,419,6. 420,6) and of “hither” (Hc. 4,436). According to it is built A. *tettāhe* “thither” (Hc. 4,436). JM. *ejāo* (Dvār. 495,27). — Gen. M. *eassa*; AMg. JM. *ejassa*; Ś. *edassa* (Śak. 29,2; Vikr. 32,3; Uttarar. 67,6); Mg. *edaśsa* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 19,5; 79,19) and *edāha* (Mṛcch. 145,4; 164,4). — Loc. according to Hc. 3,60 *eassim*, according to 3,84 *eammi*; AMg. JM. *ejammi*, *ejāmmi*; in AMg. also *ejāmsi* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 116. 513 | text *eesi*, correctly in the commentary. 1119); Ś. *edassim* (Śak. 78,12; Vikr. 6,3; 23,17; Ratn. 301,5; Priyad. 13,16; Prab. 36,1); Mg. *edaśsim* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 134,22; 137,4; Mudrār. 185,1). On *aammi*, *iāmmi* see § 429. — Plural. Nom. M. AMg. JM. *ee*; JŚ. Ś. *ede* (Pav. 386,8; 389,1; Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; Mālatīm. 243,3; 284,10); Mg. *ede* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 38,19; 71,22); striking *ede akkhalu* Mṛcch. 40,2 (all editions) = *etāni akṣarāṇi*; A. *ei* (Hc. 4,330,4,363); femin. M. *ēāo*; AMg. JM. *ejāo*, Ś. *edāo* (Candak. 28,10; Mallikām. 336, 8. 13); JM. also *ejā*; neut. M. *ēāi*; AMg. JM. *ejāim*, AMg. JM. also *ejāni* (Sūyag. 321; Erz.), Ś. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 128,4; 153,9. 13); Mg. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 132,16; 169,6). — Acc. masc. AMg. JM. *ee*, A. *ei* (Hc. 4,363). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. *eehim*, *cehi*; Ś. Mg. *edehim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,1; Prab. 12,10; 14,10; Mg. Lalitav. 565,13; Macch. 11,12; 122,19; 132,15); femin. AMg. JM. *ejāhim*. — Gen. masc. neut. M. *ēāna* (Hc. 3,61; G. H.); PG. *etesi* (6,27); AMg. JM. *eesim*, *eesi*, JM. also *eyānam*; Ś. *edānam* (Mṛcch. 38,22; Uttarar. 11,4; 165,3; 197,10); femin. M. *ēāna* (H. 89), according to Hc. 3,32 also *eiṇam*, *ēānam*; AMg. JM. *ejāsim*, JM. also *eyānam*; Ś. *edānam* (Ratn. 293,13; Karp. 34,3,4). — Loc. M. AMg. (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,5,3); JM. *eesu*, *eesum*; Ś. *edesum* (Śak. 9,12,14) and *edesu* (Mudrār. 72,3).

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22.

§ 427. The relative pronoun *ja-*, Mg. *ya-* is inflected almost wholly like the demonstrative *ta-*. In the nom. acc. sing. neut. A. has *ju* too (Hc. 4,350,1; 418,2), beside the frequent *jam* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); both the forms stand beside one another in *jam ju* (Vikr. 55,19; cf. *taṁ tu* § 425). Besides A. uses *dhruṁ* too (Hc. 4,360; cf. *traṁ* § 425). According to Kī. 5,49 *jruṁ* is used in the acc. sing. for the demonstrative *drum*. The example is: *jruṁ*

cintesi drum pāvasi = *yac cintayasi tat prāpnoṣi*. The old form *yad* has been retained in AMg. *yad atthi* and Mg. *yad iścaṣe* (§ 341).— In the ins. sing. is found, according to Hc. 3,69 also *jiṇā*; A. has *jeṇ* (Hc. 4,350,1) beside *jeṇa* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); in Piṅgala 2,272. 280 stands *jiṇi*, for which probably we have to read *jiṇa* = *jiṇā*.— In the abl. is found also *jā* = Vedic *yāt* (BB. 16,172), in A. also *jahām* according to Hc. 4,355, beside *jāo*, *jao*, *jado*, *jatto*, *jamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,66), about which the remark made in § 425 holds good.— In the gen. Mg. has also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9), beside *yaśsa* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 165,7) also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9); A. *jāsu*, *jasu* (Hc. s. v. *jo*; Piṅgala 1,68.81^a.89^a etc.), also in the fem. Hc. 4,368; Piṅgala 1,109.111 ff.), for which are used *jīa*, *jīe* (G.H. s.v. *ja-*), *jissā* (Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Karp. 49,4,7; 84,11), according to Vr. Hc. also *jīā*, *jīi*, *jise* in M.; A. has *jahē* for **jāse* (Hc. 4,359); Ś. *jāe* (Mṛcch. 170,25; 172,5; Prab. 39,6).— In the loc. is used in AMg. *jaṃsi* = *yasmin*, in verses also *jaṃsi* (§ 75), sometimes for the femin. too: *jaṃsi guhāe* (Sūyag. 273) and in relation to *nāi* = *nadī* (Sūyag. 297), in relation to *nāvā* = *nauḥ* (Uttar. 716); in A. stands *jassammi* = *yasyām* (Piṅgala 1,52), in AMg. *jassammi* in the sense of the gen. (Vivāhap. 264). According to Hc. 3,60 beside *jāe*, *jīe*, also *jāhim* is used in the femin., as *jāhim* in the masc. neut., which is frequent in all the dialects in the sense of “where”, “whither”. A. has also *jahī*, *jahi* (§ 75), according to Kī. 5,50 also *yadru*, as in the demonstrative *tadru* (§ 425). Presumably *yadru* is to be written. On *jāhe* see § 425. According to Vr. 6,7 even *jattha* is used in the sense of the locative; beside it Hc. 2,161 teaches also *jahi*, *jaha* in the sense of *yatra*. In the nom. plur. beside the usual *je* (Hc. s. v. *jo*) A. has also *ji* (Hc. 4,387,1), in the neut. AMg. has *jāim* too (Āyār. 2,1,3,4. 5,5. 9,1; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,3,8; 2,4,1,8; 2,5,1,10. 2,4; 2,7,1,1; Nāyādh. 450. 1248; cf. 1376), beside *jāim*; the adverbial *jāim* = *yad* stands, and may be comprehended as *āim* with the scholiasts on Nāyādh. 450, since it appears only after *i* (*pi*, *avi*, *ii*, *atthi*), and *j* would be explained as that in *jāvi* (§ 335).— In the abl. plur. AMg. has *jehimto* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.), in the gen. plur. M. JM. *jāṇa*, *jāṇam*, JM. also, as always AMg. *jesim*, *jesi*, Ś. *jāṇam* (Uttar. 68,9), A. *jāḥa* (Hc. 4,353.409); in the fem. AMg. has *jāsīm* (Vivāgas. 189). On AMg. *jām*, *jeṇām* see § 68, on AMg. *se jjam*, *se jahā* § 423. In PG. we find only the nom. sing. *jo* (7,44).

§ 428. In the interrogative in Skt. there are found two stems: *ka-* and *ki-*.—The stem *ka-* is inflected like the stems *ta-* and *ja-* (§ 425. 427). The abl. *kāo*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,71; Kī. 3,49) are analysed in the same way as those in the case of *ta-* and *ja-*. A. has also *kaū* (Hc. 4,416—418) and *kahām* (Hc. 4,355), AMg. also *kaohimto* (Jiv. 34. 263; Paṇṇav. 304; Vivāhap. 1050ff. 1340. 1433. 1522. 1526. 1528. 1603ff.). In the gen. Vr. 6,5; Hc. 3,63; Kī. 3,47; Mk. fol. 46 give, beside *kassa*, also *kāsa* (Kī. ed. *kāso*), that occurs as *kāsu* in A. (Hc. 4,358,2) and as *kāha* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 38,12), and according to Hc. 3,63 is also feminine. The loc. is M. *kammi*, AMg. *kaṃsi* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1), and *kamhi* (Uttar. 454; Paṇṇav. 637), Ś. *kassim* (Mṛcch. 81,2; Mahāv. 98,14), Mg. *kaśsim* (Mṛcch. 80,21; Prab. 50,13); in all the dialects *kahim*, *kattha* (§ 293) in the sense of “whither?”, “where?”, beside which Hc. 2,161 mentions also *kahi*, *kaha*, as *kāe kahim* for the femin. 3,60. are frequent. AMg. *kāhe* “when?” (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Kī. 3,44; Mk. fol. 46; Vivāhap. 153) is to be considered as *tāhe jāhe* (§ 425. 427). As the gen. there occurs in A. *kaḥ* (Hc. 4,359). In the nom. plur. femin. is found many times in Ś. *kā* instead of *kāo* in the phrase *kā amhe* [*kā vaam*] with the gen. loc. or inf. (Śak. 16,12; Mālav. 46,12; 65,3). Probably it is to be corrected as *kāo* (§ 376)¹. The neuter A. *kāi* (Hc. s.v.) Prabandhac. 109,5) is used like *kim*, also adverbially in the sense of “why”, “on what reason?”; likewise *kaī* (Hc. 4,426; Vikr. 62,11). The gen.

is M. *kāṇam*, *kāṇa* (G. s. v. *kim*); AMg. JM. *kesim*. In PG. is found only the nom. sing. *ko* in *ko ci* (6,40).—In all the dialects is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *kiṃ* = *kim* from the stem *ki-*. Ś. *kitti* (Lalitav. 555,4), that occurs as a v. l. also in Śak. 15,4 and elsewhere, is not with JOHANSSON² and KONOW³ to be considered as **kiddi*, but as an erroneous ecriture for *kiṃ ti*⁴. The ins. *kiṇā* (Hc. 3,69; Kī. 3,55; Mk. fol. 45) occurs in M. *kiṇā vi* (G. 413), and as adverb "in which manner?", "by what means?" in AMg. (Uvās. § 167). *tiṇā*, *jiṇā* might be formed accordingly. — *kiṇo* and *kīsa* are referred to as abl. by Hc. 3,68, *kiṇo* as an interrogative particle also by Hc. 2,216; Kī. 4,83, as it is in M. (G. 182; H. s. v.), is used⁵. *kīsa*, Mg. *kīsa* occur in M. (H. R., but not G.), JM. (Āv. 18,14; Erz.), AMg. (Nirāyāv. § 13; Dasav. N. 648,23. 33), especially frequent in Ś. and Mg. (Ś. Mṛcch. 29,8; 95,18; 151,12; 152,12; 161,16; Ratn. 290,30; 295,19; 299,1.15; 301,25; 302,5; 303,23.30; 305,24; 310,29; 314,32; 316,23; 317,33; Mallikām. 253,5; 266,6 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 113,17; 114,8; 121,2; 151,24; 170,16; Venīs. 33,16), but not in Kālidāsa (PISCHEL on Hc. 3,68). Although it is undoubtedly used later as abl., as Mg. *kīsa kālanādo* = *kasmāt kāraṇāt* (Kāṇsav. 49,6), nevertheless according to its origin gen., is corresponding to Pāli *kissa*, as also Kī. 3,46 mentions, and it has, like it, almost always the adverbial meaning "why?", as Kī. 4,83 mentions. Striking is the meaning "what?" in Mg. Mṛcch. 112, 8. *kiṇo* too is to interpreted accordingly. For the gen. sing. femin. Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Kī. 3,46; Mk. fol. 46 give the forms *kissā*, *kīse*, *kīa*, *kīā*, *kīi*, *kīe*, Hc. 3,60 the last one also for the loc. *kīa* stands at H. 604 and so we have to read for *kīe* in G. 1123. 1152, also, that is correct at G. 1145.—A. has as interrogative also *kavaṇa*, from which are found the nom. sing. masc. *kavaṇu*, feminine *kavaṇa*, ins. sing. neut. *kavaṇeṇa*, gen. sing. masc. *kavaṇahe* (H. s. v. *kavaṇa*), acc. sing. neut. *kavaṇu* (Prabandhac. 70,11.13). Cf. therewith also Skt. *kavapatha*, *kavāgni*, *kavoṣṇa* and Pkt. *kavaṭṭi* (§ 246).

I. So rightly LASSEN, Inst. p. 326; wrongly BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 191. — WEBER, IS. 14,262 ff. has overlooked that in the Devanāgarī-recension of Śakuntalā too, in all the places referred to by him at p. 263, the MSS. have only *-ā*, and that *-āo* is just a conjecture of BÖHTLINGK.—2. Shāhbāzgarhī 1,176. — 3. GGA. 1894, 480. — 4. So rightly BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 35. — 5. Cf. also Haripāla on G. 182: *kiṇo iti kasmādarthe deśinipātoḥ*.

§ 429. The stems combined together under the pronoun *idam* in Skt. have been retained as a whole in Pkt. The *a*-stem is very much restricted in its use, the stem *ima-*, except in A., where it is almost completely wanting became prevalent. From the *a*- and *i*- stems are found to have been formed: nom. sing. masc. AMg. JM. *ayaṃ* (Uvās. Nāyādh. Nirāyāv. s. v.; Kappas. Kk. s. v. *ima*); Ś. Dh. *aam* (Ś. Mṛcch. 3,24; Śak. 13,3; Vikr. 29,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 34,9. 12). Whilst *aam* is very frequent in Ś., it has almost entirely vanished from M. It stands only in R. 14, 44 *ahavāṇam kaakajjo* = *athavāyaṃ kṛtakāryaḥ*, a passage, that is cited as example by Hc. 3,73 too; elsewhere *imo* occurs for it. It is completely wanting in Mg., where *eṣe* is used. In fact Hc. 4,302 cites *ayaṃ dāva ṣe āgame* = Śak. 114,11; but here only the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions read *aam*, as throughout, offending against the dialect. The Bengali recension has *ēttake*, the Kashmirian *ittake*. In AMg. *ayaṃ* in the combination *ayaṃ eṣārūve* = *ayam etadrūpaḥ* has become completely indeclinable, so that one says also *ayameṣārūvaṃ*, *ayameṣārūvaṣsa*, *ayameṣārūvaṃsi* too¹. As in Pāli, so in AMg. too, *ayaṃ* is used as femin. at the same time: *ayaṃ koṣi* = *iyam koṣi*, *ayaṃ araṇi* = *iyam araṇiḥ* (Sūyag. 593. 594), and so on, or it is to be taken as the masc. (§ 358), also *ayaṃ aṭṭhi* =

idam asthi; *ayaṁ dahī* = *idam dadhi* (Sūyag. 594). As neuter it stands in AMg. *ayaṁ tēllam* = *idam tailam* (Sūyag. 594), therefore, formed from the *aya*-stem. The femin. *iyam* has been attested by Ś. only: *iam* (Mṛcch. 3,5,21; Śak. 14,1; Vikr. 48,12). Since Mg. employs elsewhere only *eśā*, *iam* is a false reading in Mṛcch. 39,20 (all editions), brought in through the similar following Ś. *iam* in the same combination with *kalā*. The neut. *idam* has been retained in AMg. M. and Ś. only, and that in fact as nom. only (Karp. 92,6 [rightly?]; Sūyag. 847 [rightly?]; Mṛcch. 3,20 [so to be read with C for *imam*]; 7,8; 42,8; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 19,15; 45,15; 86,6); as acc. is used *imam* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 38,23; 39,14; 42,3; 61,24; 105,9; 147,18; Śak. 57,8; 58,13). For *idam* (Vikr. 40,20) we should read, with A *edam*, and for *idam* at Vikr. 47,10, where it would have been used as masc., we should, with ed. Bomb. 79,3 and ed. Sh. P. PANDIT 94,7, read *imam*. In Mg. *idam* appears in *taṁ nīdam* at Lalitav. 566,20, falsely for *taṁ nēdam*; Mg. has as nom. and acc. neut. only *imam* (Mṛcch. 108,11; 166,24; 169,22), as also P. as acc. (Hc. 4,323). — Ins. M. *epa* (R. 14,47); A. *em* (Vikr. 58,11). — Abl. M. *ā* = Vedic *āt* in the sense of *tāvat*². — Gen. M. JM. *assa* = *asya* (Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47; Karp. 6,5; Pārvatīp. 30,15; Kī. 4,5); falsely assumed for *jassa* of the editions and best MSS. by WEBER on H. 979; falsely in Ś. too at Vikr. 21,1, where we have to read °*sūidassa* for °*sūidam assa* with the MSS. BP and the ed. Calc. 1833, and at Prab. 8,7, where we should read *jado se* for *jado ssa* (so all the four editions). — Loc. *assim* = *asmin* (Vr. 6,15; Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47), in AMg. in verses (Āyār. 1,4,1,2; Sūyag. 328. 537. 938. 941. 950; Uttar. 22), and in prose (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,5,3,3; 2,2,1,2; 2,2,9; Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 163; Jiv. 797,801), as already *casī* = *cāsmīn* in PG. 7,46³. For Ś. *kaṇṭhamādāmaha assim* (Mahāv. 98,4) we should, with the ed. Bomb. 219,8, read °*mādāmahassa*. It stands in Ś. in the text in Pārvatīp. 5,10; Mallikām. 219,23. — Ins. plur. *ehi*, AMg. Dh. *ehim* (Rāyap. 249; Mṛcch. 32,7), femin. *āhi*, loc. JM. *esu* (Hc. 3,74; T. 7,16), gen. M. *esim* (H. 771). — Probably *aammi* and *īammi* are the loc. from it, and with the grammarians (Hc. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22), are not to be derived from *etad*. For *īammi* Triv. 2,2,87 and Sr. fol. give, probably more correctly, *iammi*, as likewise Hc. 3,89, gives from *adas* both *aammi* and *iammi*. Therefore *aammi* is to be derived from *ada* = *adas*, but also from *aa* = *aya* (§ 121), as undoubtedly the loc. sing. AMg. *ayaṁsi* (Uttar. 498), the nom. sing. neut. AMg. *ayaṁ* (Sūyag. 594; see above), and at least according to the meaning A. *āa*-, whereof have been found in the text, the ins. *āeṇa* = *anena*, *āaho* = *asya*, *āahim* = *asmin*, *āai* = *imāni* (Hc. 4,365. 383,3). *iammi*, however, belongs to *idam*, hence to the stem *ia* = *ida*-. Loc. from one *i*-stem are *iha* "here", "hither" = **itha* (§ 266; Vr. 6,17; Hc. 3,75. 76), A. as masc. and femin. = *asmin* and *asyām*, *ithī*, in all the dialects *ēthha* = Vedic *itthā* (§ 107), and M. AMg. JM. *ēñhim* "now" (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2,134), for which the MSS. give more often as v. l. *inñhim* (G. H. R. s. v.), likewise false as *itthā*, which Vr. 6,17 and Hc. 3,76 expressly forbid, so that in Ś. too at Prab. 46,8 and in P. with v. l. and Hc. 4,323 too we have to read *ēthha*. In Mg. is used *ēñhim* in verses only (Mṛcch. 29, 22; 40, 6), in Ś. not absolutely, but *idāñim*, *dāñim* (Hc. 4,277; § 144). Hence falsely in Hāsy. 36,11; Karp. 62,10 and more often in Indian editions. Likewise the word has not been as yet traced in A., where *evāhi* stands in the sense of "now" (Hc. 4,420). Deśin. 1,50 mentions the pronoun *ajjho* (according to Droṇa), femin. *ajjhā*, by which the audience is to be pointed to, can be derived from the gen. *asya* through **ahya*.

1. STEINTHAL, Specimen Anm. 77. — 2. FISCHER, BB. 16,172. — 3. FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211 ff.

§ 430. The stem *ana*- has been retained in the ins. only and indeed

only in prose of AMg. (Āyār. 1,6,4,3), JM. (Erz. 30,14), in Ś. (Mṛcch. 95,2; Śak. 163,8; Vikr. 41,11) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 149,24; Mudrār. 192,3); AMg. also *aṇṇaṃ* (Uttar. 487).—The most usual stem is *ima-*, femin. *imā-* or *imī-* (Hc. 3,32), in Ś. Mg. only *imā-*, as in all the dialects in the nom. acc. sing. and plur. It is used in all the cases of the sing. and plur. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s.v. *ima-*; Hc. s. v. *imaṃ*). Sing.: nom. *imo*, AMg. *ime*, in verses also *imo* (Uttar. 247; Dasav. N. 654,26; Nandis.84), femin. *imā*, also *imiā* = **imikā* (Hc. 3,73), neut. *imaṃ*. In Ś. Mg., these forms, not even the neuter (§ 429), are not used by good writers. In many of the later-day dramas *imo* is found in Ś. so frequently, that it can hardly be considered to be a contribution of the edition, as Pras. 11,12. 18; 12,5. 9. 13; 14,9; 17,9; 34,6; 35,1; 45,1. 12. 14; 46, 1. 2 etc.; Mukund. 14,15. 17; 19,14; 70,15; Unmattar. 4,12; Vṛṣabh. 23,9; 26,5; 48,3 etc. Here we have cases of error against the dialect. A. has only the neut. *imu*. In AMg. *ime*, like *ajam* (§ 429), in the combination *im' eṣārūva*, has wholly weakened, so that one says also *im' eṣārūvā* (nom. sing. fem.; Uvās. § 113. 167 [so to be read; see v. l.]. 168), *im' eṣārūveṇaṃ* (v. l. to Uvās. § 72). In addition, the usage described in § 173 has indeed made its contribution after the weakening of the nasal sound.—Acc. masc. fem. neut. *imaṃ* (masc. Ś. Mṛcch. 24,21; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 72,18; Mg. Mṛcch. 169,17; Śak. 115,11; femin. Ś. Mṛcch. 54,18; Śak. 14,2; Ratn. 297,23; neut. § 429). A. neut. *imu* (Hc.; Ki. 5,10).—Ins. masc. fem. neut. M. *imeṇa*; AMg. *imeṇaṃ*, *imeṇa*; JM. *imeṇa*, *imiṇā*; Ś. Mg. only *imiṇā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,16; Śak. 16,10; Vikr. 24,10; Mg. Venis. 35,1); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (also Śak. 101,13), Ś. *imāe* (Mṛcch. 90,15; Śak. 81,10; Ratn. 291,2). At Viddhaś. 96,8, where *imiā* stands, falsely, we should with the v. l. read *imaṃ*, as *nijjhādi* = *nirdhyāyati* shows.—Abl. AMg. (Sūyag. 630. 635), JM. *imāo*, Ś. Mg. *imādo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 12,25; 74,25; Mudrār. 57,3; Ratn. 299,11; Mg. Lalitav. 565,8), also femin. (AMg. Āyār. 1,1,1,4; Ś. Ratn. 315,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 162,23).—The remark made under § 375 on Ś. *imāe* (Vikr. 17,1) holds good in this place too.—Gen. *imassa* (Ś. Mṛcch. 148,12; Śak. 108,1; Vikr. 45,4); Mg. *imassa* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 152,6; Śak. 118,2); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (Karp. 27,12); AMg. *imīse*; JM. *imīe*, *imāe*; Ś. *imāe* (Śak. 168,14).—Loc. masc. neutr. M. *imammi*; AMg. *imammi* (in verses; Uttar. 180; Āyār. 2,16,12), *imaṃsi* (prose; Āyār. 2,3,1,2; 2,5,2,7; Vivāhap. 1275; Ovav. § 105); Ś. *imassim* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 36,16; 53,8; Vikr. 15,4); Mg. *imaṃsim* (Venis. 33,7); femin. AMg. *imīse* (Vivāhap. 81 ff.; Uvās. § 74. 253. 255. 257; Thāp. 31. 79; Samav. 66); JM. *imāi* (Rṣabhap. 7; so to be read with ed. Bomb. for *imāim*, as at Erz. 35,18 for *imāe*); Ś. *imassim* (Śak. 18,5), for which *imāe* would be expected.—Plural nom. masc. *ime* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,18; Vikr. 41,19; Mālatim. 125,5; Mg. Mṛcch. 99,8); femin. *imāo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 70,1 and also at 71,8 so to be read for *imā*); M. also *imā* (Karp. 101,4) and *imīu* (Karp. 100,6); neut. *imāim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,16; Mālatim. 125,3), AMg. JM. also *imāṇi* (Āyār. 2,2,10; Āv. 31,21).—Acc. masc. *ime*; femin. JM. *imīo*; ins. masc. neutr. M. *imehi*; AMg. Ś. *imehiṃ* (Sūyag. 778; Śak. 62,6; Vikr. 45,9; Ratn. 296,23), fem. AMg. *imāhiṃ* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,7,2,7).—Gen. masc. neutr. *imāṇa*; AMg. *imesim* (Hc. 3,61); femin. M. *imāṇaṃ*, *imiṇaṃ* (Hc. 3,32); AMg. *imāsim* (Uvās. § 238); Ś. *imāṇoṃ* (Śak. 119,3; Vṛṣabh. 15,8).—Loc. M. *imesu*; Ś. *imesuṃ* (Śak. 53,9; Vikr. 52,1) and *imesu* Mālatim. 125,1).

§ 431. The stem *ena-* exists in the acc. sing. only, and indeed only in M.Ś. Mg., but even here it is seldom: masc. M. *eṇaṃ* (R. 5,6); Ś. (Mṛcch. 51,9); Mg. (Mudrār. 265,1); femin. *eṇaṃ* Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,2, in repetition

of the word of Śakāra in Mg.); Mg. (Mṛcch. 21,12; 124,17) Mk. fol. 47 teaches them also in the ins. sing., but both the forms are restricted to the neuter. In M AMg. JM. either under the influence of accent (*end-*) or that of the early loss of accent *ena-* has become *ina-*, from which frequently is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *inaṃ* (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Ki. 3,57), especially in AMg. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. Erz.; Kk. s. v. *inaṃ*; Āyār. 1,1,2,2, 4; 1,1,3,4, 5,4, 6,3,7,2; 1,2,4,3; 1,2,5,5; 1,3,3,1; 1,4,2,2 etc.; Uttar. 281 ff. 351. 355; Ovav. § 94). Cf. § 81. 173. In AMg. *inaṃ* is also acc. masc. (Sūyag. 142. 307). Perhaps *inaṃ* is to be read. In M. AMg. JM. *inaṃ* too is used as the nom. acc. neut. (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Ki. 3,57; Mk. fol. 47; G. s. v. *idam* and *etat*; Sūyag. 259; Dasav. N. 658,30; 661,27; Ovav. § 124; Āv. 7,21. 29; 13,11). At Dasav. N. 647,12 it is used as plural too: *inaṃ udāharaṇā*. LEUMANN writes in Āv. *inaṃ-o*, hardly rightly. The explanation of the form is uncertain. Through *ina-* the stem has been weakened further to *na-*, P. *na*, which is used in the acc. sing. masc. fem. neut., acc. plur. masc., ins. sing. and plur. masc. fem. neut. (Hc. 3,70. 77). Sing. acc. masc. *naṃ* (M. G. 1071; H. 131; R. s. v. *na*; AMg. Uttar. 601. 670; Ś. Mṛcch. 68,5; Śak. 12,2; Vikr. 15,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,11; Prab. 32,11; 53,12; A. Hc. 4,396); femin. *naṃ* (M. H. R. s. v. *na*; Ś. Śak. 77,9; Vikr. 12,19; Mg. Mṛcch. 123,4; 132,23); neut. *naṃ* (M. R. s. v.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45, 25; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 31,9; Mg. 96,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,9). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. A. *neṇa* (R. Erz. s. v. *na*; Āv. 11,21; 15,31; 16,15; 28,10; Dvār. 501,3; Piṅgala 1,17), P. *nena* (Hc. 4,322)¹; fem. *nāe* (Hc. 3,70; Erz. s. v. *na*); P. *nāe* (Hc. 4,322). — Plur. acc. *ne* (Hc. 3,77). — Ins. masc. neut. JM. *nehiṃ* (Āv. 18,4; Erz. 3,28; Dvār. 500,31. 35; 505, 27); femin. *nāhiṃ* (Hc. 3,70). In P. Hc. 4,322 restricts the stem to the ins. sing. In Ś. Mg. it is noticeable in acc. sing. only in critical texts; false reading is *neṇa* Śak. BÖHTL. 68,10; 108,8.

1. For *tattha ca nena katasinā nena* we should read *tattha ca nena katasinānena* = *tatra ca tena kṛtasnānena*. Cf. § 133.

§ 432. The pronoun *adas* according to Vr. 6,23; Hc. 3,88; Ki. 3, 58; Mk. fol. 47 is inflected: sing. nom. masc. fem. *amū*, neut. *amum*; acc. *amum*; ins. *amuṇā*; abl. *amūo*, *amūu*, *amūhiṃto*; gen. *amuṇo*, *amussa*; loc. *amummi*; plur.: nom. *amuṇo*, as also Vr. 6,23 we should read for *amūo* (cf. v. 1.); femin. *amūu*, *amūo*; neut. *amūni*, *amūim*; ins. *amūhi*; abl. *amūhiṃto*, *amūsurito*, gen. *amūṇa*; loc. *amūsu*. A few forms only have as yet been found in the text. Sing. nom. AMg. *aso* = *asau* (Sūyag. 74) and *amuge* = **amukaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; Nandis. 361.363.364), JM. *amugo* (Āv. 34,30); acc. masc. A. *amum* (Hc. 4,439,3); neut. Ś. *amum* (Mṛcch. 70,24); ins. M. *amuṇā* (Karp. 27,4); loc. AMg. *amugammi* = **amukasmin* (Paṇhāv. 130); plur. nom. masc. M. *amī* (G. 246). According to Vr. 6,24; Hc. 3,87 the nom. sing. for all the three genders would be *aha*: *aha puriso*, *aha mahilā*, *aha vaṇaṃ*. In the first two examples from the literature, which Hc. quotes as proof and which can be attested (= G. 892 and R. 3,16) *aha* is = *atha*, likewise in all the places in G. (s.v. *etat*) and H. (s.v. *aha*), where the scholiasts assume it as = *ayam*, *iyam*, *eṣaḥ*, *eṣā*, *asau*, so that upto the present day the assumption for a pronoun *aha* is nowhere necessary. Ki. 3,58 has the nom. sing. *aho*, which may be = *asau* according to § 264. In A. the nom. acc. plur. is spelt as *oi* (Hc. 4,364); it is = **ave* from the stem *ava-*, which is current in the Iranian dialect. — On loc. sing. *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429.

§ 433. All the remaining pronouns are inflected according to § 424. 425. One says, therefore, for example in the sing. abl. *parāhiṃto* = *parasmāt* (G. 973), AMg. *savvāo* = *sarvasmāt* (Sūyag. 743), and also in the

femin. (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); femin. AMg. *annajariō* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2, 4); in the loc. JM. *annammi* (Āv. 25,5; Sagara 10,15), *anṇassiṁ* = *anyasmin* (Mahāv. 98, 14; Mālatīm. 111, 7; Ratn. 298, 24); JŚ. *kadarassiṁ* = *katarasmin* (Anarghar. 271,9), but AMg. *kajaramsi* (Vivāhap. 227) and *kajarammi* (Ovav. § 156 ff.); Ś. *kadamassiṁ* = *katamasmin* (Vikr. 35,13); Ś. *avarassiṁ* = *aparasmin* (Cait. 40,10); Ś. *parassiṁ* = *parasmin* (Lalitav. 567,18), but AMg. *paramsi* (Sūyag. 750), JŚ. *parammi* (Pav. 387,25); AMg. *samsi* = *svasmin* (Vivāhap. 1257) beside abl. *sāo* = *svāt* (Vivāgas. 84); AMg. also *annajare* = *anyatarasmin* (Ovav. § 157). Plural: acc. PG. AMg. *anne*, JŚ. Ś. *anṇe* = *anyān* (PG. 5,6; 7,43; Āyār. 1,1,6,3; 1,1,7,2; Pav. 383,24; Bālar. 229,9); abl. AMg. *kajarehiṁto* = *katarabhyah* (Pannav. 160 ff.; Vivāhap. 260. 262. 460. 1057 f.), *saeḥiṁ* = *svakebhyah*, *savvehiṁ* = *sarvebhyah* (§ 369); gen. AMg. JM. *annesiṁ* = *anyeṣām* (Āyār. 1,1,4, 7,1; 1,5,6,1; 1,7,2,3; 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 387. 663; Nāyādh. 1138. 1140; Kappas. § 14; Āv. 14,7); AMg. JM. *savvesiṁ* = *sarveṣām* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,3,4; 1,4,2,6; 1,6,5,3; Uttar. 625. 797; Āv. 14,18); AMg. JŚ. *paresiṁ* = *pareṣām* (Uttar. 625. 797; Pav. 385,65), but M. *aṇṇānaṁ* (Mudrār. 83,3; Karp. 1,2), also femin. Ś. (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *savvānaṁ* (Vikr. 83,8); *avarānaṁ* = *apareṣām* (Mṛcch. 69,10). According to Hc. 3,61 *aṇṇesiṁ* and *savvesiṁ* are used for the femin. too, and so JŚ. has *savvesiṁ itthiṇaṁ* = *sarvāṣām strīṇaṁ* (Kattig. 408,384). The regular forms in AMg. JM. are *aṇṇāsiṁ*, *savvāsiṁ*. I oc. plur. in A. is *aṇṇahī* (Hc. 4,422,9). On *kati* see § 449.

§ 434. Of the nouns *ātman* (§ 401) and *bhavat-* (§ 396) are used as in Skt. Of the pronominal derivatives *-iya*, Hc. 2,147 mentions *maia madiya*. Besides, for it are used *kera*, *keraa*, *keraka* (§ 176). Without epenthesis *kārya* would become **kara*, and from it have originated in A. *mahāra*, *mahāraū* = **mahakāra* from the gen. *maha* (§ 418) + *kāra* (Hc. 4,351. 358, 1. 434) in the sense of *madiya*, likewise *tuhāra* = *tvadīya* (Hc. 4,434), *amhāra* = *asmadiya* (Hc. 4,345. 434). A. *hamāra* (Piṅgala 2,121), metri causa also *hammāra* (Piṅgala 2,43) has originated through the line of development **mhāra* (§ 141), **mahāra* (§ 132), *hamāra* (§ 354). A. *tohāra* = *yusmākam* (Piṅgala 2,25 stands metrically for **tohāra*, and has arisen from *tumhāra*, **tōmhāra* (§ 125), **t̃hāra*, *tohāra* (§ 76. 89. 127), exactly as *kohaṇḍi* from *kūsmāṇḍi* (§ 127). On the derivatives in *-drś*, *-drśa*, *-drykṣa* see § 121.122.245.262, on *ēttia*, *ittia*, *ēttila*, *ēttula*, *tēttia*, *tittia*, *ettila*, *tēttula*, *iēttia*, *jittia*, *jēttila*, *jēttia*, *jēttula*, *kēttia*, *kittia*, *keṭtula*, *kēttula* see § 153, on A. *sāha* = *śaṣvat* § 64. 262, on AMg. *evaiya*, *kevaīya* § 149. A. *evaḍu* in the sense of *iyat* (Hc. 4,408) is = **ayavaḍra* = JM. *evaḍḍa* (§ 149), as *kevaḍu* (Hc. 4,408) = **kayavaḍra*. Analogical formations are *jevaḍu*, *tevaḍu* (Hc. 4,395,7. 407). At Mṛcch. 164,5 we should read *evaḍḍe* for Mg. *evaḍḍhe*.

D. THE NUMERALS.

435. 1 is *ēkka* = *eka* in all the dialects (§ 91), femin. *ēkkā*, in AMg. JM. frequently *ega*. It is inflected according to the pronominal inflection. So sing. loc. M. *ēkkammi* (G. 153. 441; H. 827), very seldom *ēkke* according to the nominal declension (H. 846), AMg. *egamsi* (Vivāhap. 1394 ff.); AMg. JM. *egammi* (Pannav. 521; Erz. 2,21), AMg. JM. *egammi* (Vivāhap. 922f. 928. 931. 1658. f. 1736. 1752; Āv. 10,22; 11,12.18; 17,22; 19,9.18; 22,10; etc.); JM. *ēkkammi* (Āv. 27,19); Ś. *ēkkassiṁ* (Karp. 19,17); Mg. *ēkkaśsiṁ* (Mṛcch. 81,13); A. *ēkkahī* (Hc. 4,357,2), also as femin. (Hc. 4,422,9); plur. nom. masc. M. JM. *ēkke* (G. 721. 866. 909; Kk. 273,23); AMg. *ege*

(Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4. 4,6; Sūyag. 74. 204. 240. 438. 597; Uttar. 219; cf. § 174); gen. masc. AMg. *egesim* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 2; 1,1,2,4; 1,2,1,2. 4; 1,2, 3,3 etc.; Sūyag. 46. 81) and *egesi* (Sūyag. 19. 35. 74). Of the less frequent forms mention should be of sing. ins. AMg. *ēkkenam* (Vivāhap. 258 ff.), JM. *egenam* (Āv. 33,24); gen. Mg. *ēkkāha* (Mṛcch. 32,4). In JŚ. Dh. the following has been found in the text: *ēkkam* (Kattig. 403. 370. 377; Mṛcch. 30,5). Before other numerals *ēkkā°*, AMg. JM. also *ega°* appear as stems; but *ēkkā°*, AMg. JM. also *egā°*; A. *ea°*, *eggā°* in *ēkkārāsa*, AMg. JM. *egārāsa* A. *eārāha*, *ēggārāha* (11), *ēkkārāsama* (the eleventh) (§ 443. 449); AMg. *ēkkānāim* (91) (§ 446). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In PG. is found *aneka* (6,10), in which *k* is never duplicated: M. Ś. *aneā* (G. H.; Mṛcch. 28,8; 71,16; 73,8). AMg. JM. *anega* (Vivāhap. 145. 1285; Nāyadh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *aneya* (Erz.); AMg. *ⁿnega* (§ 171); Ś. *aneaso* = *anekaśah* (Śak. 160,3); AMg. *ⁿnegaso* (§ 171).

436. 2 in the nominative and accusative is *do*, *duve*, *be*, neuter *dōṇṇi* *duṇṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi* (Vr. 6,57, where *dōṇi*; C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,119. 120; Ki. 3,85. 86; Mk. fol. 49)¹. *do* = *dvau* and *duve*, *be* = *dve* (neuter) are old duals, and are declined and used as plurals. Nom. acc. *do* is frequent in M. (G.H.R.), AMg. Uvās. s. v. *du*; Kappas. s. v.; WEBER, Bhag. 1,424), JM. (Erz.)¹; traceable in A. too (Piṅgala 1,5), and in D. (Mṛcch. 101,13), and it has as yet not been found in the text in Ś. Mg. Ś. *do vi* (Pras. 84, 4; Bālar. 216,20; 246,5) is an error for *duve vi*, as at Śak. 106,1 stands. *do* is used for all the genders. As femin., it stands e. g. in M. *do tiṇṇi* [mahilāo] (H. 587), *do tiṇṇi rehā* = *dvitrā rekhāḥ* (H. 206); AMg. *do guhāo* = *dve*, *guhē*, *do devayāo* = *dve devate*, *do mahāṇāo* = *dve mahānadyau*, *do kattijāo*, *do rohiṇjō*, *do migasirāo*, *do addāo* = *dve kārṭtikyau* *dve rohiṇyau* *dve mrgasirasā* *dve ārdre* (Thāp. 73. 75. 76. 77. 79. 81); *do disāo* = *dve diśau* (acc.; Thāp. 55); as neuter.: M. *do vi dukkhāi* = *dve api dukkhe* (H. 24); AMg. *do do paṇṇi* = *dve dve pade* (Thāp. 27), *do sayāim* = *dve śate* (Samav. 157), *do khuddāim bhavaggahaṇāim samajūṇāim* = *dve kṣudre bhavaggrahāṇe samayone* (Jiv. 1027. 1110), *do nāmadhējjā* = *dve nāmadhēye* (Āyār. 2,15. 15). It appears also in the beginning of compounds: M. *doaṅgulaa* = *dvaṅgula* (H. 622); AMg. JM. *domāsiyā* = *dvimāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Sūyag. 758; Vivāhap. 166; T. 4,6); AMg. *dokiriyā* = *dvikriyā* (Vivāhap. 52; Ovav. § 122); M. JM. *dojīha* = *dvijīha* (Prabandhac. 289,1; Erz. 82,17), *domuha* = *dvimukha* (Erz. 39,21), *dovayāna* = *dvivadana* (Hc. 1,94; Erz. 39,13). So also *doghāṭṭa* (elephant; Pāiyāl. 9; Prākṛtamañjarī on Vr. 4,33; Erz. 35,28; Bālar. 50,1; 86,12), that is read as *dōgghāṭṭa* in Mallikām. at 55,7 in Ś. and at 144,10 in Mg., as *dugghuṭṭa* in Deśin. 4,44 and as *dugghōṭṭa* in Triv. 2,1,30 from *ghaṭṭa-*, *ghuṭṭa-*, *ghōṭṭa-* (to drink)²; *dohada*, *dohaḷa* (§ 222. 244) = **dvihrā*³. Beside *do*, there occurs frequently in this case *du*, which has gone off the compounds, in which the accent did not fall on the first syllable. So M. *duṇṇa* = *dviguṇa* (R. 11,47); AMg. *duguṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 241; Vivāhap. 969); *duāi* = *dvijātiḥ* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79); AMg. JM. *dupaya* = *dvipada* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; Uvās. § 49; Kk. 265,4. 5; III, 511,32); AMg. *duviha* = *dvividha* (Thāp. 44; Āyār. 1,7,8,2; 1,8,1,15; Uvās.), *dukhura* = *doikhura* (Uttar. 1075; see commentary; Jiv. 75), *dupakkha* = *dvipakṣa* (Sūyag. 456), *du-j-āheṇa* = *dvyahena* (Āyār. 2,5, 2,3. 4), *du-j-āham* = *dvyaham* (Jiv. 261. 286. 295), *duhattha* = *dvihasta* (Thāp. 208); JM. *dugāūya* = *dvigavyūta*, *du-j-aṅgula* = *dvaṅgula* (Erz. s. v. *du*). Beside M. *dohāia*, *dohāijjāi* = *dvidhākṛta*, *dvidhākriyate* (R. s. v. *duhā*), AMg. *dodhāra* = *dvidhākāra* (Thāp. 401) stands AMg. *duhā* = *dvidhā* (Sūyag. 351. 358); M. *duhāia* (R. 8,106); AMg. *duhākijjamāna* (Vivāhap. 137); AMg. *duhao* = **dvidhātah* (twice; twofold; in two parts; Āyār. 1,3,3,5;

1,7,8,4; Uttar. 234; Sūyag. 35,640; Thāp. 186; Vivāhap. 181,282) etc. The regular successor of *doi* are *bi* (§ 300) and *di*, which always occurs in certain words like *dia*, JM. *diya* = *divja*, *diraa* = *divrada* (§ 298), and always in Ś. Mg. except in the ordinals (§ 449). Ś. *dudhā* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 78,8) is false, in the same way *duṇḍi* (Mallikām. 224,5) for *duṇḍida*.—The neut. *dōṇṇi*, sometimes also *duṇṇi*, is formed according to *tiṇṇi*⁴. It is combined with the masculine and feminine too, as masc. M. *dōṇṇi vi bhinnasavūā* = *dvāvapi bhinnasavarūpau* (G.450), *dōṇṇi vi bāhū* = *dvāv api bāhū* (Hc. 3,142); AMg. *dōṇṇi vi rāyāṇo* = *dvāvapi rājānau*, *dōṇṇi vi rāṇam aṇijā* = *dvāv api rājānām anikau* (Nirayāv. § 26, 27), *dōṇṇi purisajāe* = *dvau *purisajātau* (Sūyag. 575); JM. *dunni munisihā* = *dvau munisimhau* (T. 4,4), *te dōṇṇi vi* (Erz. 78,35); Ś. *dōṇṇi khattiakumārā* = *dvau kṣatriyakumārāu* (Pras. 47,7; cf. 48,4); femin. AMg. *dōṇṇi saṅgrahanagāhō* = *dve saṅgrahanagāthe* (Kappas. § 118); Ś. *dōṇṇi kumārīo* = *dve kumāryau* (Pras. 48,5).—Of *do*, the ins. is *dohim*, *dohi* (in C. 1,7 p. 40), in the fem. too, as in M. *paṁtīhī dohim* = *paṁktibhyām dvābhyām* (Karp. 101,1); AMg. *dohim ukkhāhim* = *dvābhyām ukkhābhyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); JM. *dohi vi bāhāhim* = *dvābhyām bāhābhyām* (Dvār. 507,33).—The abl. is, according to Hc. 3,119, 130, *dohimto*, *dosumto*, according to C. 1,3 p. 39 *dohimto*, according to Mk. fol. 49 *dosumto*.—In the gen. the numerals for 2-19 according to Vr. 6,59; Hc. 3,123, according to Hc. also *kati*, according to C. 1,6 the numerals generally, according to Ki. 3,89 the numerals 2—4 have the endings *-ṇha*, *-ṇham*. So M. AMg. JM. *dōṇha*, *dōṇham* (also Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Thāp. 47, 67, 68; Ki. 10), also in the fem. AMg. *tāsiṁ dōṇham* (so rightly in the commentary; text *duṇhim*) = *tayor dvayoh* (Uttar. 661). In Ś. and apparently in Mg. too, on the contrary, the ending is *-ṇam*, corresponding to the Lena-dialect and Pālī⁵: *dōṇnam* (Śak. 56,15; 74,7 [femin.]; 85,15 [fem.]; Venis. 60,16 [so to be read with v. l. for *dohinam*]; 62,8; Mālav. v. l. to 77,20 [fem.], as also in M. is found more often as v.l. (H. s.v. *do*), and in Mk. fol. 49 the MSS. give. Whilst *dōṇnam* has followed the analogy of *tiṇnam* = *triṇam*, the ending *-ṇam* seems to have originated from an intermixture of the nominal and the pronominal forms **dōṇam* and **dosam* respectively, since it presupposes one **dvausṇam*.—The loc. is *dosum*, *dosu* (in C. 1,3 p. 39), also JŚ. (Kattig. 402,359), and in the femin., as M. *dosum dokandalisum* = *dvayor doḥkandalayoh* (Karp. 95, 12), A. *duhū* (Hc. 4,340,2).

1. These quotations hold good for all cases, although not noted. In the text of KI. there stands *dohi* (3,85), *dohi* (3,86); *be* is wanting.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,10; also Ki. 4,46.—3. LÜDERS, GN. 1898,2 ff.—4. FISCHER, KZ. 35,144.—5. FISCHER, KZ. 35,144 f.

§ 437. *duve* = *dve* is used as the nom. and the acc. for all the three genders in all the dialects: M. (H. 846; neut.); AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,4,6 (acc.); Sūyag. 293 (acc.); 620,853,972; Uttar. 200; Samav. 238; Kappas. Th. § 4; Uvās. s. v. *du*), as femin. *bhājā duve* = *bhāryā dve* (Uttar. 660); JM. *due vi* (Āv. 8,49); *duve vi* (Erz. 21,6); *duve jaṇā* (Āv. 19,10); *duve corase nāvaiṇo* = *dvau corasenāpatī* (Erz. 13,4); A. *dui* (Piṅgala 1,31, 42). Whilst in comparison with *do*, it is not frequent in these dialects, particularly in M. and A., it is the only form in Ś. Mg. So Ś. masc. (Mṛcch. 24,15; Śak. 24,1; 41,1; Vikr. 21,19; Mālav. 17,8; 18,22; 30,1; Malatīm. 358,1; Viddhaś. 66,1; Mallikām. 223,5; 227,12; 250,1; Kāleyak. 25,20), femin. (Viddhaś. 44,7), neut. (Mṛcch. 61,10; Mālav. 54,7), masc. or neut. (Mṛcch. 153,18; Vikr. 10,3); Mg. (Mṛcch. 81,13; acc., neut.). From it builds Ś. also the ins. *duvehim* (Mṛcch. 44,1; 51,23; 327,3; Mudrār. 232, 7) = **dvebhīm*, the gen. *duvenam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 38,5; 45,23; 53,19 [the Kashmiri rec., however, has *dōṇham*, the Bengali recension has *dōṇnam*];

Mallikām. 102,6; Kāleyak. 21,1; 23,11), the loc. *duvesu* (Mallikām. 335, 10).—*be* is found in PG. 6.14. 20. 31. 39 seldom in M. (H. 752), in AMg. in the beginning of compounds as *beindiya*, *bēndiya* = *dvīndriya* (§ 162), *bedoniya* = *dvidronika* (Uvās. § 235); in JS. (Kattig. 399,310; acc.); in A. (Hc. 4,439; Piṅgala 1,9. 68); in A. shortened to *bi* (Piṅgala 1,153). From it, the neuter is *biṇṇi* (C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,120; A. Hc. 4,418,1; Piṅgala 1,95). According to C. 1,3 p. 39; 1,6 p.40; 1,7 p.40; Hc. 3,119 *be* is inflected as: ins. *behi*, abl. *behimto*, gen. *bēṇham*, loc. *besu*, *besuṇ*. A. has ins. *bihi* (Hc. 4,367,5), gen. *bihū* (Hc. 4,383,1), loc. *behī* (Hc. 4,370,3). Corresponding to Skt. *dvā*° stands *bā*° before other numerals, e.g. in AMg. *bārasa* (12), *bāvisam* (22), *bājālisam* (42), *bāvattarim* (72). Cf. § 443 ff.

§ 438. 3, in the nom. and the acc. masc. and femin. is *tao* = *trayaḥ*, neut. *tiṇṇi* = *trīṇi*, with *ṇṇ* according to the gen. *tiṇṇam*. The forms are used in all the three genders without distinction; *tao* is not mentioned by the grammarians (Vr. 6, 56; Hc. 3, 121; Ki. 3, 85 [text *tiṇṇi*]; Mk. fol. 49) and is seen in AMg. only: AMg. masc. (Thān. 110. 112. 118. 197; Kappas. s. v. *ti*; Sūyag. 293 [acc.] and often); metrically *taū* too in *taū āyāṇā* = *trīṇy ādānāni* (Sūyag. 65); femin. *tao paṛisāo* = *tisraḥ paṛisadaḥ* (Thān. 138; Jiv. 905. 912. 914. 917); *tao kammabhūmīo* = *tisraḥ karmabhūmayāḥ* (Thān. 165; cf. 176); *tao antaraṇaṇo* = *tisro 'ntaranadyaḥ* (Thān. 177); *tao uccārapāsavaṇabhūmīo* (Kappas. S. § 55; acc.); neut. *tao thāṇāni* = *trīṇi sthānāni* (Thān. 143), beside *tao thāṇāim* (158) and *tao thāṇā* (163. 165); *tao pāṇagāim* = *trīṇi pānakāni* (Thān. 161.162; Kappas. S. § 25); *tao vatthāim* = *trīṇi vastrāṇi*, *tao pāyāim* = *trīṇi pātrāṇi* (Thān. 162). Likewise *tiṇṇi* is used in all the dialects: M. *tiṇṇi rehā* = *tisro rekhāḥ*, *tiṇṇi* [*mahilāo*] (H. 206. 587); neut. (R. 9,91); AMg. masc. *tiṇṇi purisajāe* = *trīṇi *purusa-jātān* (Sūyag. 575); *jāmā tinni* = *yāmās trayāḥ* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4); *tinni ālāvagā* = *traya ālāpākāḥ* (Sūyag. 814. 815 [°ṇṇ°]); *ime tinni nāmadhējjā* = *imāni trīṇi nāmadheyāni* (Āyār. 2,15,15); *tiṇṇi vi uvasaggā* = *trayo 'py upasargāḥ* (Uvās. § 118); *tiṇṇi vaṇiyā* = *trayo vaṇijāḥ* (Uttar. 233); femin. *eyāo tinni paṇadāo* = *etās tisraḥ prakṛtayaḥ* (Uttar. 970); *tinni lēssāo* = *tisro leśyāḥ* (Thān. 26), *tinni sāgarovamakoḍākoḍio* = *tisraḥ sāgaropamakotākotyaḥ* (Thān. 133); neut. (Āyār. 1,8,4,5; p. 125,26; Sūyag. 778; Samav. 157; Vivāhap. 90; Kappas. § 138. Th. § 1); JM. femin. *tinni dhūyāo* = *tisro duhitarāḥ* (Āv. 12,1); *tinni bherio* = *tisro bheryāḥ*, *tinni vi gosāsacandanamaṇio devajāpāri-ggahiyāo* = *tisro 'pi gosāsacandanamayyo devatāparigṛhītāḥ* (Āv. 34,7,8); neut. *tāṇi tiṇṇi vi* = *tāni trīṇy api* (Erz. 37,11); S. masc. *tiṇṇi purisā* = *trayaḥ puruṣāḥ*, *ede tiṇṇi vi* = *ete trayo 'pi*, *edē kkhū tiṇṇi alamkārasamjoā* = *ete khalu trayo 'lamkārasamyoḡāḥ*, *tiṇṇi rāāṇo* = *trayo rājānaḥ* (Mudrār. 39,3; 72,1; 108,9; 204,4), *ime tiṇṇi miaṅgā* = *ete trayo mṛdaṅgāḥ*, *bālataṛaṇo tiṇṇi* = *bālataṛavas trayāḥ* (Karp. 3,2; 62,3); femin. *tiṇṇi ādio* = *tisra ākṛtayaḥ* (Śak. 132,6); JS. neut. (Kattig. 402,363); A. *do tiṇṇi vi* = *dvau trayo 'pi*, *tiṇṇi rehāim* = *tisro rekhāḥ* (Piṅgala 1,5. 52).—The ins. is *tihim* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1, 7 p. 40; Hc. 3,118; Ki. 3,84; Mk.fol. 49; G. 265; Kappas. § 227; Nāyādh. 1026; Uttar. 987), more often in AMg. JM. printed as *tihim* (Sūyag. 97; Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Thān. 114. 116. 117; Samav. 232; Ovav. § 136; Erz. 49, 22), a form that probably is correct in verses only on account of prosodic requirement, as in A. (Hc. 4,347); cf., however, *caūhim* § 439. — Ablative *tihimto* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,118; Mk. fol. 49); according to Ki. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49 also *tisumto*.—For the genitive Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,118. 123 teach *tiṇṇam*, *tiṇṇa*, and so *tiṇṇam* in AMg. JM. (Thān. 125; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Vivāhap. 53. 140; Kappas. § 114; Erz. 28,21); also as femin. AMg. *pasatthalesāṇa tiṇṇam pi* = *prasastalesyānām tisyṇām api* (Uttar. 986 f.); JM. *tiṇṇam paṛisāṇa* = *tisyṇām paṛisādām* (Kk. 275,31).

Mk. fol. 49 teaches, as it appears, *tiṇṇam* = *triṇḍm*, a form that is to be expected Ś. Mg. (§ 436).—Loc. M. *tisu* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3, 118; R. 8,58), also *tisuṃ* (C. 1,3 p. 39), and metri causa *tisu* (Hc. 3,135).—At the beginning of compounds there appears in all the dialects *ti°*, in AMg. also *te°* = *traya-* in *teindiya*, *tēndiya* = *trindriya* (§ 162), and before other numerals, as *teraha* = *trayodaśa*, *tevīsaṃ* = *trayovimsati*, *tēttisa* = *trayastrimśat*, *teālīsā* = *trayaścatvāriṃśat* etc. (§ 153). AMg. has also *tājattisā* (33; Kappas.; Thāp. 125) and *tāvattisā* (Vivāhap. 218), and the thirty three gods in AMg. JM. are called *tājattisagā*, *tāvattisagā*, *tāvattisagā* = *trayastrimśakāḥ* (Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 215.218.223; Kk.275,34). See § 254.

§ 439. 4 has the nom. masc. *cattāro* = *catvārah* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49; Ś. Uttarar. 12,7). The same form is valid for the acc. too according to the grammarians. Likewise the acc. *caūro* = *caturah* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; AMg. Uttar. 768) in AMg. is used in verses also as the nom. (Hc. 3,122; Uttar.1033; Vivāhap. 82). Hc. 3,17 mentions as nom. acc. also *caūo*, *caūo* from the stem *caū-*. In Ś. at Prab. 68,7 there is a nom. femin. *catasso* (all editions) edited, for which at least *cadasso*=*catasrah* is to be written. As in the case of 2 and 3 (§ 436.438), in the case of 4 too, almost always the neutr. *cattāri* = *catvāri* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī.3,87; Mk.fol. 49) is used in connection with all the genders : masc. PG. *cattāri patibhāgā* = *catvārah pratibhāgāḥ* (6,18); *addhikā cattāri* = *ārdhikāś catvārah* (6,39); M. *cattāri pakkalabaṭṭā* (H. 812); AMg. *cattāri ālāvagā* = *catvārah ālāpakāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1,11; Sūyag. 812); *cattāri thānā* = *catvāri sthānāni* (Sūyag. 688); *cattāri purisajjā*=*catvārah *purusajjātāḥ* (Sūyag.626); *ime cattāri therā*=*ime catvārah sthāvīrāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5. 11), *cattāri hatthi*=*catvāro hastināḥ* (Thāp. 236); acc. *cattāri aganiō* = *caturō 'gnin* (Sūyag. 274); *cattāri māse* = *caturō māsān* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *cattāri mahāsumiṇe* = *caturō mahāsvaṇṇān* (Kappas. § 77; Nāyādh. § 49); JM. *mahārājyāṇo cattāri* = *mahārājāś catvārah* (Erz. 4,36); Mg. *cattāli ime* (Mṛcch. 158,4); femin.: AMg. *imāo cattāri sāhāo* = *imāś catasrah śākhāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5); *cattāri kiriyaō*=*catasrah kriyāḥ* (Vivāhap. 47); *cattāri aggamahisō* = *catasro' gramahisyaḥ* (Thāp. 228 ff.); acc. *cattāri saṃghāḍio* = *catasrah saṃghāḍiḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1); *cattāri bhāsāo* = *catasro bhāṣāḥ* (Thāp. 203); neutr. AMg. *cattāri samosaraṇāni* = *catvāri samanasaraṇāni* (Sūyag. 445); *cattāri sayāim* = *catvāri śatāni* (Samav. 158); JM. *cattāri aṅgulāni* (Erz. 37,2).—Ins. *caūhim* throughout in AMg. (Hc. 3,17; Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Vivāhap. 437; Thāp. 207; Samav. 14; Uvās. § 18. 21; Ovav. § 56; also femin. : *caūhim paḍimāhim* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,4; 2,8,2); *caūhim kiriyaḥim* = *catasrbhiḥ kriyābhiḥ* (Vivāhap. 120 ff.); *caūhim ukkhāhim* = *catasrbhir ukkhābhiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); *caūhim hiraṇṇakoḍiḥim* = *paūttāhim* = *catasrbhir hiraṇṇakoṣṭhībhiḥ* = *prayuktābhiḥ* (Uvās. § 17). In prose *caūhim*, which Sr. fol. 18 quotes beside *caūhi*, *caūhi*, *caūhim*, would be expected. Hc. 3,17 too mentions *caūhi* beside *caūhi*. Cf. *tihim* § 438.—Abl. *caūhimto* (Mk. fol. 49), *caūsumto* (Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Sr. fol. 18), *caūsumto* (Sr. fol. 18).—Gen. PG. *catuṇham* (6,18), M. AMg. JM. *caūṇham* (Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,123 [also °pha]; Kī. 3,89; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Kappas. § 10. 14; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Erz. 9,18], also feminine *eyāṇam* (*eyāsim*) *caūṇham paḍimāṇam* = *etāsām catasṛṇām pratimāṇām* (Āyār. 2,2,3,21; 2,5,1,9; 2,6,1,7; 2,8,6), *porisīṇam caūṇham* = *pauruṣīṇām catasṛṇām* (Uttar. 893). According to the analogy of *doṇṇam*, *tiṇṇam*, expected is in Ś. Mg. *caduṇṇam*, as Mk. fol. 49 appears to teach. Examples are wanting.—Loc. AMg. JM. *caūsu* (Uttar. 769; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.41,35); *caūsum* (Erz. 44,8), also as femin. *caūsu vidisāsu* = *catasṛṣu vidikṣu* (Thāp. 259; Jiv. 228; Vivāhap. 925. 927); *caūsu vi gāsu* = *catasṛṣv api gatiṣu*

(Uttar.996). The expected *caūsu* is mentioned by Hc.3,17 beside *caūsu* and by Sr. fol. 18 beside *caūsum*, *caūsum*, *caūsu*.—In compounds, before vowels, there appears *caūr°*, as AMg. *caūrāmsa* = *caturāmsa* (Ṭhāp. 20. 493; Uvās. § 76), *caūranguli* (Ṭhāp. 270), *caūrindiya* (Ṭhāp. 25. 122. 275. 322; Samav. 40. 228; Vivāgas. 50 etc.); M. *caūrāṇaṇa* (G.); also before other numerals, as AMg. *caūrāsīm* (84; Kappas.). Before consonants partly appears *caūra°* with regular assimilation, as M. *caūddisaṁ* = *caturdīsaṁ* (R.), AMg. JM. *caūmmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśālaka* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 16,11 [°sāla]; 45,25), *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17), partly *caūr°*, as M. *catijāma* = *caturyāma* (H. R.), *caūmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (G.), AMg. *caūpaya* = *catuṣpada* (Āyār. 2.1,11,9) beside *caūppaya* (Uttar. 1074; Uvās.), A. *caūmuḥa* (Hc. 4,331), *caūppa* (Piṅgala 1,118) D. *caūsāra* (verse; Mṛcch. 101,12) = *catuḥsāgara*. Cf. § 340 ff. Both appear also before other numerals: AMg. *caūddasa* = *caturdaśan* (Kappas. § 74), beside *caūdasa* in the verse (Kappas. § 46^b) and with contraction, *cōddasa* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.), M. *cōddaha*, *cōddasi*, as also *cōgguna* beside *caūgguna* = *caturguna*, *cōvāra* beside *caūvāra* = *caturvāra* etc. (§ 166.443 ff.). In A. *co* appears not only in the beginning of compounds, but also independently (Piṅgala 1,65; cf. § 166). The neuter is in A. *cāri* (Piṅgala 1, 68. 87. 102) from *catvāri*, **cātāri* (§ 65), **cātāri* (§ 87), **cāāri* (§ 186), *cāri* (§ 165). It is employed as the first member of compounds: *cāripāa* = *catuṣpāda*, *cāridahā* = *caturdaśa* (Piṅgala 1,102. 105. 118). as also *caūro* in AMg. *caūropañcindiya* = *catuṣpañcendriya* (Uttar.1059), A stem *caūya-* occurs in AMg. *caūrāsīm*, *corāsīm* = *caturāṣṭi*, *caūrāsīma*, *caturāṣṭi* (Kappas.; Samav. 139—142). On *cāur°* see § 78.

§ 440. 5 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. Ś. *pañca* (Vivāhap. 138. 141; Ṭhāp. 361; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mudrār. 204,1); ins. AMg. *pañcahiṁ* (Uttar. 374; Vivāhap.120 ff.; Ṭhāp. 353; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; etc.), A. *pañcahi* (Hc. 4,422,14); gen. AMg. *pañcaṇham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,7, 2,12; Samav. 16), A. *pañcahā* (Hc. 4,422,14); loc. JM. *pañcasu* (Erz. p. xli), in verses also AMg. *pañce* (Uttar. 704). Rāmatarakavāgīśa in LASSEN, Inst. p 319 note ** mentions also the abl. *pañcahinto*, *pañcasunto*, gen. *pañcaṇnam*, loc. *pañcasum* and a loc. femin. *pañcāsum*, Rishikesh p. 128 also femin. nom. *pañcā*, ins. *pañcāhiṁ*. In the beginning of compounds mostly appears *pañca°*, in AMg. JM. also *pañcā°* in *pañcāṇām* (95), Ṭhāp. 261; Samav. 150. 151; Kk. 263, 11. 16. 17; many times false °*ṇāyām*); likewise in *pañcāvāṇṇā* (55; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,245). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In combination with other words there appears *pañca* in AMg. JM. A. also as *pañṇa* (*panna*), *paṇa*, *paṇu* (§ 273).

§ 441. 6 *ṣaṣ* becomes *cha* according to § 211. It is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *cha* (Kappas. § 122; Vivāhap. 54; Samav. 159. 163; Uvās.); ins. AMg. *chahiṁ* (Sūyag. 380. 844; Samav. 232; Ṭhāp. 194; Bhag.1,425; Nāyādh. 833; Uttar. 768. 778); gen. AMg. JŚ. *chaṇham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,15. 16; Vivāhap. 82. 89. 123; Uttar. 776. 979; Jiv. 271; Nāyādh. 832. 834. 844; Kattig. 399,309), also *chaṇha* (Hc.3,123); loc. *chasu* (Ṭhāp. 27; Uttar. 987). The old nom. *ṣaṣ* has been retained before enclitics: AMg. *chap pi* = *ṣaḍ api* (Āyār.1,8,4,6; Nirayāv. 81; Vivāhap. 798; Dasav. 639,2; Nāyādh. 828. 830. 836. 845 ff.), *chac ceva* (Uttar. 1065), *chac ca* (Āṇuog. 399; Jiv. 914; Jiyak. 61; Vivāhap. 82.1237; Kappas. Th. § 7). Rāmatarakavāgīśa, according to LASSEN, Inst. p. 320, knows: nom. *chā*, femin. *chāo*; ins. *chahiṁ*; *chāhiṁ*; abl. *chāhinto* (so to be read); gen. *chaṇnam* (read *chaṇnam*); loc. *chasu* (*chāsu*), *chisu*. As the first member of compounds seldom there appears *cha°*, as JM. *chakhaṇḍa* (Erz. 18,8;

probably a false reading for *chakkhaṇḍa*), mostly *ṣaṭ°*, before vowels as *chad°*, as *chadakkhara* = *ṣadakkhara* (Skanda; Defin. 3,26), AMg. also *ṣad°* in *ṣaṇḍagavi* = *ṣaṇḍavid* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas.; Ovav.), or *chaṭ°*, as *chalaṇsa* = *ṣaḍaṣa* (Thāp. 493; see § 240), before consonants with regular assimilation (§ 270), as M. Ś. *chagguṇa*, *chagguṇa* = *ṣadguṇa*, *°guṇaka* (Mudrār. 233,9; Anarghar. 67,11); AMg. *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 97 ff. 145); AMg. *chabbhāya* = *ṣadbbhāya* (Uttar. 1036; Ovav. [°ga]); M. *chappaa*, JM. *chappaya* (C. 3,3; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; G. H. Kk.), AMg. *chattala* = *ṣattala* (Thāp. 495); M. A. *charimūha* = *ṣanmukha* (Bh. 2,41; C. 3,3,14; Hc. 1, 25, 265; Karp. 1,10; Hc. 4,331); M. JM. *charimāsa* = *ṣanmāsa* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *charimāsiya* = *ṣanmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M. Ś. *charimāsia* = *ṣanmāsika* (Karp. 47,10; 82,8); Ś. *chaccaraṇa* (Bālar. 66,7). Likewise before other numerals: AMg. *chaḷasii* (86; Samav. 143; Vivāhap. 199); AMg. JM. A. *chavvīsaṃ* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.; Piṅgala 1,68); AMg. *chattisaṃ*, *°sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uttar. 1043), *chappañṇaṃ* (56; § 273); AMg. *channaṭṭim* (Samav. 151), JM. *channavai* (Kk. III, 514,24). Before 40,60,70 there enters in AMg. *chā°*, with *ā* according to § 70; *chāyālisaṃ* (46; Kappas.), *chāvattim* (66; Samav. 123), *chāvattarim* (76; Samav. 133). A. has *chaha* = **ṣaṣa* (§ 263) in *chahavisa* (26; Piṅgala 1,95 [GOLDSCHMIDT *chavvīsa*]. 97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *caṭṭovīsa*]) and *chaha* (6; Piṅgala 1,96). In agreement with Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* Pkt. has *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha* (§ 443).

§ 442. 7 is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. JM. *satta* (H. 3; R. 15,29; Āyār. 2,1,11,3,10; Thāp. 445; Erz. 14,4); ins. AMg. *sattahim* (Thāp. 446); gen. AMg. JM. JS. *sattanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,1,11,11; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 26, 222; Thāp. 445; Kk. 275, 33; Kattig. 399.308), also *sattanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *sattasu* (Thāp. 44; Uttar. 904). In compounds there appear *satta°*, *sattā°*, Mg. *satta°* (Mṛcch. 79,13; Prab. 51,8). On *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa* = *sattapaṇṇa* see § 103. - 8 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *aṭṭha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), also *aḍha* (Vivāhap. 82; verse; text *aṭṭha*; see § 67); A. also *aṭṭhā* (Piṅgala 1,9, 83) and *aṭṭhā* (1,116); ins. AMg. *aṭṭhahim* (Uvās. § 27; Vivāhap. 447; Uttar. 768; Thāp. 475); gen. AMg. JM. *aṭṭhanham* (Hc. 3,123; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 416, 417; Erz. 12,21), also *aṭṭhanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. *aṭṭhasu* (Vivāhap. 416, 417). In compounds there appears *aṭṭha°*: AMg. *aṭṭhaviha* = *aṭṭavidha* (Uttar. 895); Ś. *aṭṭhapaoṭṭha* = *aṭṭaparakoṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 73,2) and *aṭṭha°*: AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvaya* = *aṭṭāpāda* (Ovav.; Erz.). Before other numerals *aṭṭha°* stands in AMg. *aṭṭhahattarim* (78; Samav. 134.135); JM. *aṭṭhatisaṃ* (38), *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi* (68); Erz. p. xli), against this *aṭṭhā°* in *aṭṭhārasa*, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (18; § 443); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvīsaṃ* (28), *aṭṭhāvayṇam* (58), *aṭṭhāṇaṭṭim* (98; Samav. 78, 79, 117, 152, 153; Erz. xli), and *aḍha°* in AMg. *aḍhāyālisaṃ* (48; Samav. 111), AMg. also *aḍhāyāla* (Samav. 210), *aḍhasaṭṭhim* (68; Samav. 126; text. mostly *aḍha°*). So also A. *adhāisa* (Piṅgala 1,127 [text, BOLLENSEN, Vikr. 549, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa*]. 144 [text *aṭṭhāisa*, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa* for *aṭṭhāisa* pāa bho of the text]), *aḍhāilisa* (text *aṭṭhāta°*; 48; Piṅgala 1,95) beside *aṭṭhāisa* (28; Piṅgala 1,64, 86) and *aṭṭhāsaṭṭhā* (68; Piṅgala 1,106). See § 67. - 9 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *nava* (Kappas. § 128; Erz. 4, 14); inst. *navahim* (Uttar. 998); gen. AMg. *navanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2, 15,6; Ovav. § 104; Kappas.; Nāyādh.), also *navanha* (Hc. 3,123). In compounds *nava°* enters: *navanavāṇa* (G. 426), likewise before other numerals: A. *navadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111); AMg. *navanaṭṭim* (99; Samav. 154). - 10 M. *dasa* or *daha*, AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa*, Mg. Dh. *dasa* (§ 262) is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. Ś. *dasa* (Karp. 12,7; Uvās.; Samav. 162, 165, 166; Pras. 19,5); false Mg. *daha* for *dasa* (Lalitav. 566,11); ins. AMg. JM. *dasahim* (Kappas. § 227; Erz. 32,12), M. also *dasani* (R. 11,31; 15,81). Mg. *daṣehim* (Mṛcch. 32,18); gen. AMg. JM. *dasanham* and *dasanha* (Hc.

3,123; Uvās. § 275; Erz. 28,22), Mg. *daśāṇam* (Mṛcch. 133,20). In AMg. *uvāsagadasāṇam* (Uvās. § 2. 91), the gen. in the femin. *daśā* = **daśā* occurs. Loc. M. AMg. *dasasu* (R. 4,58; Uvās. p. 168,7), CP. *tasasu* (Hc. 4,326). In compounds appears M. A. *dasa°* and *daha* AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa°*, Mg. *daśa* (§ 262); A. *daha°* is found also in combination with other numerals: *ēkkadaha* (11; Piṅgala 1,114), *cāridahā* and *dahacāri* (14; Piṅgala 1,105. 110), *dahapañca* and *dahapañcāi* (15; Piṅgala 1,49. 106. 113), *dahasatta* (17; Piṅgala 1,79. 123), *ṇavadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111).

§ 443. The numerals from 11 to 18 are: 11 AMg. *ēkkārasa*, *ikkārasa* (Vivāhap. 82. 165; Kappas.; Uvās.), M. A. *ēārāha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,66. 109–112) and *ēggāraha* (Piṅgala 1,77. 78. 106. 134), also *gārahāi* (2,111) and *ēkkādaha* (§ 442); CP. *ekātasa* (Hc. 4,326). —12 AMg. JM. JŚ. *bārasa* (Āyār. 2,15. 23. 25; Paṇṇav. 52; Vivāhap. 82; Uttar. 691; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,369; 403,371 [text *vā°*]), femin. JM. *bārasī* (T. 6,7), and AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244); M. A. *bāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,49. 69 etc.). —13 AMg. *terasa* (Sūyag. 669; Uvās.; Kappas.), femin. *terasī* (Āyār. 2,15,4; Kappas.), M. A. *teraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,9. 11. 58. 66). —14 *cōddasa* (Hc. 1,171), AMg. JM. *cōddasa* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.¹, and *caūddasa* (Kappas.), metri causa also *caūdasā* (Kappas. § 46^b), A. *caūddaha* (Piṅgala 1,133. 134), also *cāuddhā* (2,65) and *cāridahā*, *dahacāri* (§ 442). —15 AMg. JM. *pañṇarasa* (§ 273), A. *pañṇaraha*, as Vr. Hc. generally teach (§ 273), A. also *dahapañca*, *dahapañcāi* (§ 442). —16 AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, also AMg. *soḷasaya* (Jiv. 228), A. *soḷaha* (Piṅgala 1,103. 104. 105), also *soḷā* (2,67. 97). —17 AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *dahasatta* (§ 442). —18 AMg. JM. *aṭṭhārasa*, as also PG. 6,34, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (Piṅgala 1,79). On *ra* for *da* see § 245, on *la* for *da* § 244. Therefore, the flexion is that of *daśan* (§ 442), e. g. ins. A. *ēārāhahī* (Piṅgala 1,66 [°hi]. 109 ff.; BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 538 *eggārahahi*), AMg. *bārasahim* (Sūyag. 790; Uttar. 1034); A. *bārahahī* (Piṅgala 1,113); AMg. *cōddasahim* (Jiv. 228; Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 21); AMg. *pañṇarasahim* (Jiv. 228); gen. AMg. *duvālasaṇham* (Uvās.); AMg. *caūddasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 952), *cōddasaṇham* (Kappas.); *pañṇarasasṇham* (Hc. 3,123); AMg. JM. *soḷasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 222; Erz. 28,20), *aṭṭhārasaṇham* (Hc. 3,123) and *°ṇha* (Erz. 42,28); loc. *pañṇarasasu* (Āyār. p. 125,33); Vivāhap. 734).

1. These citations are valid also for the following numerals, when other works are not quoted. The numerals for 11–100 are frequently found mostly in Mg., particularly in compounds, in addition partly in JM.A. For the rest of the dialects examples are wanting.

§ 444. 19 is AMg. *egūṇavisam* = *ekonaviṃśati* (cf. § 445; Vivāhap. 1243; Nāyādh. § 12), A. *egūṇaviṃśā* (Piṅgala 2,238) and *ṇavadaha* (§ 442). Beside it AMg. JM. have also *aūṇavisai* and *aūṇavisam* (Uttar. 1091; Erz. XLI). The same forms occur in AMg. JM. in other tens too, beside one another. So: *egūṇapañndsaima* (the 49th.; Samav. 153) and *aūṇāpanṇa* (49; Ovav. § 163; Vivāhap. 158); *egūṇasattim* (59; Samav. 118) and *aūṇattim* (Kappas. § 136; cf. v. l.); *egūṇasattarim* (69; Samav. 126) and *aūṇattarim* (Kappas. § 178). Further one says AMg. JM. *aūṇatisam*, *aūṇattisam* (29; Uttar. 1093; Erz. p. XLI) and AMg. *egūṇāsīm* (79; Samav. 136), *egūṇa-ūim* (89; Samav. 146). *aūṇa°*, *aūṇā°* (§ 70) cannot be derived with E. MÜLLER¹ and LEUMANN² from *ekona*, but is = *aguṇa*, corresponding to *dviguṇa*, *triguṇa* etc., M. *duṇa*, AMg. *duguṇa* (§ 436), AMg. *aṇantaguṇa* (Vivāhap. 1039). Cf. old Hindi. *agunīs*, *gunīs* (19), Gujarātī *oganīs*³, which is = **apaguṇaviṃśati*.

1. Beiträge p. 17.—2. Aup. S. s. v. *aūṇāpanṇa*.—3. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 257.

§ 445. The numerals for 19—58 form in AMg. JM. the nom. as the neut. in *-am* or as the fem. in *-ā*, in A. in *-a*, and those for 59—99 as the neuter in *-im* or the feminine in *-ī*. In the rest of the cases they are mostly inflected as the femin. sing., and have, as in Skt., the numbered object either in the gen. plur. or in the corresponding case of the plur. beside them.—20 forms also *visai=viṃśati* (Kappas.; Uvās.), nom. *visaī* and *visaīm* (Erz. XLI¹) AMg. *aiṇavisai* (19), *visaī* (20), *e'kkavisai* (21), *paṇavisai* (25), it *sattavisai* (27), Uttar. 1091-1093), A. *caūvisai* (24; Piṅgala 1,87). However, *visaīm* (Kappas.; Erz.) or *visā* (Hc. 1,28.92; Erz.), A. *visa* (Piṅgala 1,95; Hc. 4,423,4), have been mostly regulated according to the following tens and been formed, as reversely also *tisai=triṃśat* in AMg. is found (Uttar. 1093), in correspondence with *visaī=viṃśatiḥ*. If other numbers enter before it one says: AMg. JM. *e'kkavisam, egavisā, igavisam* (21; Uttar. 1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.); *bāvisam* (22; Uttar. 1070.1091.1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *bāisa* (Piṅgala 1,68); *tevisam* (23; Uttar. 1092; Samav. 66; Erz.), A. *teisa* (Piṅgala 1,150); *caūvisam* (24; Hc. 3,137; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 1092; Thān. 22), *caūvisam* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *caūvisaha* (Piṅgala 1,87 [so GOLDSCHMIDT]), *covisa* (2,291) and *covisa* (2,279); *paṇavisam, paṇuvisam* and *paṇuvisā* in *paṇuvisāhi* (25; § 273), A. *paēisa* (Piṅgala 1,120); *chavvisam* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.), A. *chavvisa* and *chahavisa* (§ 441); AMg. *sattavisam* (27; Uttar. 1093), and *sattāvisam* (Vivāhap. 85 ff.); *sattāvisā* (Hc. 1,4); A. *sattāisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.52.58); *aṭṭhāvisam, °visā* (Vivāhap. 82), A. *aṭṭhāisa, adhāisa* (28; § 442); *aūnatīsam, aūnatīsam* (29; § 444).—30 is *tisam* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.) and *tisā* (Hc. 1,28.92), A. *tisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.60), also in *tisakkharā=triṃśadakkharā* (1,52), *tisam* (1,61). The numerals, that enter before it, as in all the following tens, are the same as in the case of 20, with the alterations required by the phonetic law. So *battisam* (32; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.), *battisā* (Kappas.), A. *battisa* (Piṅgala 1,62.69), for which in M. also *doṣoḥa=diviṣoḥa* is said (Karp. 100,8); *tēttisam, titlisam* (33; Kappas.; Vivāhap. 18.33.391; Uttar. 909.994.1001.1094; Erz.), AMg. also *tāyattisā*, AMg. *tāvattisaga*, JM. *°ja* (§ 438); *cōttisam* (34; Ovav.; Samav. 100); *paṇattisam* (35; Vivāhap. 200); *chattisam, °sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.), *aṭṭhattisam* (Kappas.) and *aṭṭhattisam* (Erz.).—40 *cattālisam* (Kappas.; Vivāhap. 199; Erz.) and *cattālisā* (Vivāhap. 82), *cāyālisam* (Erz.) and contracted *cālisa* in JM. *cālisaśāhassa=catvāriṃśatsāhasrya* (Erz. 10,35) and independently in A. (Piṅgala 1,153.155), a form, which in AMg. JM. A. appears almost always, when other numerals enter before it, as A. *iālisa* (41; Piṅgala 1,125), AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42; Vivāhap. 158; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Thān. § 262; Erz.); *teālīsā* (43; Hc. 2,174); JM. *teyālisam* (Erz.); AMg. *caūyālisam* and *coyālisam, coyālīsā* (44; Samav. 108.109; Vivāhap. 218; Paṇnav. 105 f.). A. *caūālisa* (Piṅgala 1,90 [GOLDSCHMIDT *pañcatālīsā*]). 97) and *coālīsaha* (2,238); AMg. *paṇayālīsā* (Paṇnav. 55), *paṇayālīsam* (45; Vivāhap. 158; Samav. 109; Ovav.); for A. *pacatālīsaha* (Piṅgala 1,93.95) we should read *pacaālīsahī*; AMg. *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.); AMg. *siyālisam* (47; Vivāhap. 653)²; AMg. JM. *adhayālīsam*, A. *adhāālisa* (48; § 442), but AMg. also *aṭṭhacattālisam* (Vivāhap. 372); AMg. *e'kkūṇapaṇṇa* (49; Jiv. 62). There appears in verses in AMg. even the abridged form *cālī* (Uvās. § 277,6), an in AMg. JM. *cattā* (Uvās. § 277,6; Erz.), also in compounds with other numerals, as JM. *bicatta* (Erz.) and as *cāla* in AMg. *igayāla* (text *igu°*; Vivāhap. 199); JM. *bāyāla* (42; Erz.); A. *beḍla* (Piṅgala 1,95); AMg. *paṇayāla* (45; Samav. 109); *paṇayālasaśāhassa* (4,500,000; Uttar. 1034); AMg. *adhayāla* (48; Samav. 210; Paṇnav. 99 [aḍa°]); Vivāhap. 290 [aḍa°]).—50 *paṇṇāsam, paṇṇāsā, paṇṇā* in the rest of the fifties *°paṇṇam, °vaṇṇam*

(§ 273). The shortened forms are derived probably from **pañcāsat*, **pañcāsat*, **pañcāsat*, **pañcat* (§ 81.148).

1. This citation is valid for the entire paragraph, as well as for the following ones. The assumptions of JACOBI are based partly on unprinted sources, and hence they cannot generally be checked by me.—2. Cf. *śaṅkṛī* § 446.

§ 446. 60 AMg. *saṭṭhiṃ* (Samav. 118. 119), in compound *saṭṭhi*: *saṭṭhitanta* (Vivāhap. 149; Ovav.); JM. *saṭṭhiṃ*, *saṭṭhi* (Erz.); Ś. *chaṭṭhiṃ* (acc.; Mṛch. 54.16), probably with the majority of MSS. and editions to be read as *saṭṭhiṃ*; A. *saṭṭhi* (Piṅgala 1.105; in composition 1.61). In compounds with other numerals in AMg. JM. °*saṭṭhiṃ* alternates with °*vaṭṭhiṃ* and °*aṭṭhiṃ* (§ 265): *egūṇasaṭṭhiṃ* and *aṇṇaṭṭhiṃ* (59), *igasaṭṭhiṃ* and *egaṭṭhi*°; *bāsaṭṭhiṃ* and *bāvaṭṭhiṃ*; *tesaṭṭhiṃ* and *tevaṭṭhiṃ*; *caṇṇasaṭṭhiṃ* and *coṣaṭṭhi* (Vivāhap. 82) and *caṇṇaṭṭhi*°; *pañasaṭṭhiṃ* and *pañnaṭṭhiṃ* (Kappas.); *chāvaṭṭhiṃ*, *sattasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aḍḍasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi*° (WEBER, Bhag. 1.426; Samav. 118—126; Erz.). — 70 AMg. JM. *sattariṃ* and *sattari*°, JM. also °*sayari*°, *sayari*° (Samav. 127. 128; Prabandhac. 279.12; Erz.). On the *r* see § 245. In combination with other numerals °*sattariṃ* alternates with °*hattariṃ*, °*vattariṃ* with °*attari*°; AMg. *egūṇasattariṃ* with *aṇṇattariṃ* (69; § 444), °*ekkasattariṃ* (Samav.; text *eka*°); *bāvattariṃ*, JM. also *bisattari*°; *tevattariṃ*; *covattariṃ*, JM. *caṇṇhattari*; AMg. *pañcāhattari* (instr.; Kappas. § 2), *pañnattari* (so Samav. thrice; read °*riṃ*), JM. *pañasaṭṭari* (Prabandhac. 279.12); *chāvattariṃ*; *sattahattariṃ*; *aṭṭahattariṃ*, JM. *aṭṭhattari*° (WEBER, Bhag. 1.426; 2.248; Samav. 126—135; Erz.). In A. is found *ehattari* (71; Piṅgala 1.95.97.100) and *chāhattari* (76; text *che*°; 2.238). — 80 AMg. *asīṃ*, JM. *asī*, *asī*° (Samav. 137; Vivāhap. 94.95; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇāsīṃ* (79); JM. °*ekkāśī*; AMg. *bāsīṃ*; AMg. *tesīṃ*, ins. also *teyāsī* (Samav.), JM. *tesī*; AMg. *caṇṇāsīṃ*, *corāsīṃ*, *corāsī*, JM. *caṇṇāsī*°, *culāsī*°; AMg. *pañcāsīṃ*, *chaḷāsīṃ*, *sattāsīṃ*, *aṭṭhāsīṃ* (Samav. 136—145; Kappas.; Erz.). In A. are found *asi* (80), *beāsī* (82), *aṭṭhāsī* (88) (Piṅgala 1.81.98.2.238). — 90 AMg. *naṇṇiṃ*, JM. *naṇṇi* (Samav. 147; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇaṇṇiṃ* (89); °*ekkāṇaṇṇiṃ* (Samav.; text *ekā*°), *bā*°, *te*°, *caṇṇ*°, *pañcā*°, *chaṇṇaṇṇiṃ* and *chaṇṇaṇṇi* (Vivāhap. 82), *sattāṇaṇṇiṃ*, *aṭṭhā*°; JM. *bāṇaṇṇi*, *te*°, *pañcā*° and *pañā*°, *channaṇṇi* (Samav. 146—153; Erz.). In A. is found *chaṇṇavaṇṇi* (96; Piṅgala 1.95).

§ 447. The following examples show flexion and construction of numerals for 19—99: AMg.: nom. *tevīsaṃ titthakarā* = *trayovimsatis tirthakarāḥ* (Samav. 66); *bāyālisam sumiṇā tisam mahāsumiṇā bāvattariṃ savvasumīṇā* = *dvācatvāriṃśat svapnās trimsan mahāsvapnā dvāsapṭatiḥ sarvasvapnāḥ* (Vivāhap. 951 [where °*vi*°]; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *tāyattisā logapālā* = *trayastrimsal lokapālāḥ* (Thāp. 125).—Acc. *visam vāsāṃ* = *vimsatiṃ varṣāṇi* (Uvās. § 89. 124. 266); *pañṇāsam joṇaṇasahassāṃ* = *pañcāśatam yajanasahasraṇi* (Thāp. 266); *pañcāṇaṇṇiṃ* (text °*yaṃ*) *joṇaṇasahassāṃ* = *pañcanavatiṃ yojanasahasraṇi* (Thāp. 261).—Ins. *pañcāhattariṃ vāsehiṃ*...*ekka-**visāḥ titthajarehiṃ*...*tevīsāḥ titthajarehiṃ* = *pañcāsapṭatyā varṣaiḥ*...*ekavimsatyā tirthakaraiḥ*; *teṭṭisāḥ sattāvannāḥ dantisahashehiṃ* = *trayastrimsatā, sapṭapañcāśatā dantisahasraiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 24. 26).—Gen. *eesiṃ tisāḥ mahāsumiṇāṇaṃ* = *eteṣāṃ trimsato mahāsvapnāṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 951; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *battisāḥ* °*sayasāhassīṇaṃ caṇṇāsīṃ* [so to be read] *sāmāṇīyasāhassīṇaṃ tāyattisāḥ tāyattisagāṇaṃ caṇṇaṇṇaṃ logapālāṇaṃ* = *dvātrimsatāḥ °śatasāhassīṇaṃ caturāśītyāḥ sāmānikasāhassīṇaṃ trayastrimsatāḥ trayastrimsakāṇaṃ caturṇāṃ lokapālāṇaṃ* (Kappas. § 14; cf. Vivāhap. 211).—Loc. *tisāḥ nirayāvāsasāhassīṇaṃ* = *trimsati nirayāvāsasāhassīṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 83 ff.); *egavīsāḥ savalesu bāvisāḥ paṇisahe* (metrically for °*hesu*) = *ekavimsatyāṃ śabaleṣu dvāvimsatyāṃ* **pari-*

saheṣu (Uttar. 907).—JM. *pañcanaū rāṇam* and *rājāṇo* (Kk. 263, 11. 17). Seldom are these numerals inflected in the plural. According to C. 1,6, as in the case of numerals for 2—19 (§ 436), the gen. is formed in *-ṇam*: *viṣaṇham*, *tiṣaṇham*. AMg. *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāvāduyasayāim* = *triṇi trayahṣaṣṭāni prāvādukaṣatāni* (Sūyag. 778); *paṇuvīsāhi ya bhāvaṇāhim* = *pañcaviṃśatyā ca bhāvaṇābhīḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 25); *pañcahim chattiṣeḥim anagārasaḥim* = *pañcabhīḥ ṣaṭtriṃśair anagārasataiḥ* (Kappas. § 182); JM. *tiṇham tevaṭṭhānam naṇarasayāṇam* = *trayaṇām trayahṣastānām nagaraśatānām* (Erz. 28, 21)¹; M. *caṭṭsaṭṭhiṣu suttisu* = *catuḥṣaṣṭyām śukṭiṣu* (Karp. 72, 6). This flexion is usual in A.: *eāisehi bāisehi* (Piṅgala 1, 58. 69); *chahavisāi* (P. 1, 97); *sattāisār* (P. 1, 60); *paecāṭṭisāhi* (P. 1, 93. 95; see § 445); *ehattariu* (acc.), *ehattarihim* (P. 1, 95. 100). Cf. also § 448.

1. The three examples *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pā^o pañcahim chattiṣeḥim aṇa tiṇham tevaṭṭhānam* *na^o* might have formed a single paragraph. They correspond to the "wholly illogical construction" of the numerals in the Vedic language in WHITNEY¹ § 480, note; KIELHORN § 203. I owe the correct explanation to KIELHORN, who also is of the opinion, that at Erz. 28, 21 with the v.l. we should read **ṭṭhā* instead of **ṭṭhi^o*.

§ 448. 100 is M. *saa* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *sayā* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Erz.), Ś. *sada* (Mṛcch. 6, 6; 151, 22; Vikr. 11, 4), Mg. *śada* (Mṛcch. 12, 5; 116, 8; 122, 20; Venis. 33, 4). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. The rest of the hundreds are formed of which the units enter before the plural of 100: AMg. *do sayāim* (200), *tiṇṇi sayāim* (300), *cattāri sayāim* (400) (Samav. 157. 158); *pañca sayā* (500; Kappas. § 142), *cha sayāim* (600), also *cha sayā* (Samav. 159) and *chassayā* (Kappas. § 166); A. *caṭṭsaa* (400; Piṅgala 1, 81). Substantive neuter is *sattasaa* (H.).—1000 is M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sahassa* (G. H. R.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380, 12; Mṛcch. 72, 22; Prab. 4, 4. 5), Mg. *śahassā* (Lalitav. 566, 10; Venis. 33, 3; 34, 21; 35, 8). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. In AMg. one says also *dasa sayāim* (Samav. 162) or *dasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), as for 1100 *ekkārasa sayāim* (Samav. 163) or *ekkārasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1200 *bārasa sayā*, for 1400 *cauddasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1721 *sattarasa ekkavise joyāṇasae* (1721 yojanas; acc.; Vivāhap. 198). The rest of thousands are formed like the corresponding hundreds: AMg. *do sahasāim* (Samav. 163), acc. *duve sahasse* (Sūyag. 940); *tiṇṇi, cattāri, cha, dasa sahasāim* (Samav. 163-165); *aññatthim sahasā* (59000; Kappas. § 136); JM. *puttāṇam saṭṭhi sahasā* (60000; Sāgara 1, 13) and *saṭṭhim pi tuha suya-sahasā* (7, 7; cf. 10, 4; 11, 5), gen. *saṭṭhiṇe puttasaahasāṇam* (8, 5); also with *sāhasā*=*sāhasrī*, as AMg. *coddasa samaṇasāhassio, chattiṣam ajjivāsāhassio, tiṇṇi sa jāsāhassio* etc. (Kappas. § 134—137; cf. § 161 ff.; Vivāhap. 287). In the combination of hundreds and thousands with units the units are placed first, and are combined in a compound: *aṭṭhasayām*=108 (Vivāhap. 831; Kappas.; Ovav.); *aṭṭhasahassam*=1008 (Ovav.). The tens are expressed behind it in the following manner: *tiṣam ca sahasāim doṇṇi ya aññapaṇṇe joyāṇasae*=30249 yojanas (Vivāhap. 158); *sattarasa ekkavise joyāṇasae*=1721 y.; *cattāri tise joyāṇasae*=430 y.; *dasa bāvise jo^o*=1022 y.; *cattāri caūvise jo^o*=424 y., *satta teḷise jo^o*=723 y., *tiṇṇi iga jāle jo^o*=1341 y., *doṇṇi joyāṇasahasāim doṇṇi ya chaḷase jo^o*=2286 y. (Vivāhap. 198. 199), *siyāṭṭisam joyāṇasahasāim doṇṇi ya tevaṭṭhe joyāṇasae*=47 263 y. (Vivāhap. 653), also with *uttara*, as *tiṇṇi joyāṇasahasāim doṇṇi ya battisuttare jo^o*=3232 y^o (Vivāhap. 198); *bāvaṇṇutaram, adhajāṭṭisuttaram, cattāṭṭisuttaram, aṭṭṭisuttaram, chattiṣuttaram, aññāvīsuttaram joyāṇasayāsahasam*=100052, 100048, 100044, 100038, 100036, 100028 y. (Jiv. 243), and with *ca*, as *chakkoḍisae paṇavaṇṇam ca koḍio*=655 **koṭi** (Vivāhap. 200). Here the acc. occurs throughout. 100,000 is PG. *satasahasā* (6, 11; 7, 42. 48), AMg. *egam sayāsahasam* (Samav. 165) or *egā sayāsahassī* (Kappas. § 136); cf. Ś. *suvaṇṇasadasāhassio*=*suvaṇṇasatasāhasirikaḥ*

(Mṛcch. 58,4); AMg. JM. also *lakṣham* = *lakṣam* (Kappas. § 187; KI. 12; Erz.), Mg. *laṣkam* (Lalitav. 566,11).—1,000,000 = AMg. *dasasajasa-hassāim* (Samav. 166), Mg. *daha* (falsely for *daśa*) *laṣkāim* (Lalitav. 566, 11).—10,000,000 *koḍi* = *koṭiḥ* (Samav. 167; Erz.). In AMg. *koḍākoḍi*, *paliovamā*, *sāgarovamā*, *sāgarovamākoḍākoḍi* etc. designate still higher numbers (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.).

§ 449. The ordinals, of which the feminine ends in -ā, when not noted below, are: 1. *paḍhama*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma* (§ 104. 221). AMg. also *paḍhamilla* (Vivāhap. 108. 177. 380) and *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624), with the suffix-illa (§ 595), A. also *pahilla*, femin. *pahili* (KI. 5,99; Prabandhac. 62,5; 157,3 [text here *paṭli*]), as in the new Indian dialects (BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,142; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 118. 400. 401). The word can be derived from **prathara* neither with BEAMES, nor from AMg. *paḍhamilla*, **paḍhailla* with HOERNLE, but it presupposes one **prathila*.—2. M. *duia*, *biia*, *bia*, *biijja*; JM *duiṃ*, AMg. JM. *biṃ*, *biya*; A. *bia*; AMg. also *ducca*, *docca*; Ś. Mg. *dudia*, in verses also *dudīa* (§ 82. 91. 165. 300).—3. M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taṃ*; Ś. *tadia*; AMg. also *tacca*; A. *tia*, *taṃ* (fem.) (§ 82. 91. 165. 300). KI. 2,36 knows also *tiijja*, which occurs in AMg. *aḍḍhāijja* (§ 450).—4. M. AMg. JM. A. *caūtha* (Hc. 1,171; 2,33; H. R.; Sūyag. 606; Āyār. p. 132 ff.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Piṅgala 1,105), according to Hc. 2,33 also *caūṭṭha*; M. also *cōṭṭha* (§ 166; Hc. 1,171; H.); Ś. Mg. *caduttha* (Mṛcch. 69,21. 22 [cf. v. 1.]; Mg. 169,7; text everywhere *caū*), D. *caūṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 100,6), Ś. also *caduttha* (Śak. 44,5). The femin. is M. JM. *caūṭṭhi*, *cōṭṭhi* (Hc. 1,171; Erz. p. XLII), AMg. *caūṭṭhā* (Āyār. p. 132 ff.). In *addhūṭṭha* (3¹/₂; § 450) there is one **tuṭṭha* = **turtha* (cf. *turya*, *turiya*).—5. *pañcama* occurs in all the dialects (H.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,5,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,7; A. Piṅgala 1,59). The feminine ends in -ī, in AMg. in -ā too (Āyār. p. 132 ff.).—6. in all the dialects *chaṭṭha*, femin. -ī (Vr. 2,41; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; Ki. 2,46; H.; Sūyag. 606,686; Vivāhap. 167; Kappas.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,22. 23; Śak. 40,9; D. Mṛcch. 100,7. 8; A. Piṅgala 1,50), in AMg. femin. also *chaṭṭhā* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9) by form-association with the preceding numbers. For Mg. *saṭṭha* [sic!] Prab. 28,16, as also the ed. P.31,4 has, and for which at 73,1 in the ed. Bomb. stands *saṭṭha* and at 36,13 the ed. M. reads *saṭṭa*, is to be corrected as *chaṭṭha*. By *pañcabbhahia* = *pañcābhyadhika* the numeral is expressed in M. in Śak. 120,7.—7. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *sattama* (H.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,11. 12; Piṅgala 1,59).—8. AMg. JM. Ś. D. *aṭṭhama* (Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,6).—9. AMg. JM. *navama* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), D. *navama* (Mṛcch. 100,8).—10. M. AMg. JM. *dasama* (R.; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *dasamī* (Kappas.).—The ordinals 11.—19. are derived from the corresponding cardinals with the ending -ma, feminine -mī. Hitherto they have been found in the texts in AMg. JM. only. Thus: 11. AMg. *ekkārasama* (Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Kappas.).—12. AMg. JM. *bārasama* (Sūyag. 699; Vivāhap. 167; Erz.), AMg. also *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,3,4,7; Sūyag. 699. 758).—13. AMg. *terasama* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Vivāhap. 167; Sūyag. 695; Kappas.).—14. *caūdasama* (Sūyag. 758) and *cōḍdasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—15. *pañnarasama* (Vivāhap. 168).—16. *soḷasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—17. AMg. *aṭṭhārasama* (Vivāhap. 167; Nāyādh. 1450. 1451) and *aḍḍhārasama* (Vivāhap. 1429; Nāyādh. 1404).—18. *egūṇavīsama* (Nāyādh. § 11), and *egūṇavīsaima* (Vivāhap. 1606). On *khodasama* (16.) see § 265.—20. *viśaima* or *viśa*; 30. *tiśaima* or *tisa*; 40. *cattālīśaima*; 49. *aūṇāpanna*; 55. *pañnaṇnaṇnaṇna* (Kappas.); 72. *bāvattara*, 80. *asiima*; 97. *sattānāyja*. In the case of other numbers sometimes the long forms and sometimes the short forms

are used, as 23. JM. *tevīsaīma* (T.4,2); 24. AMg. *caūvisaīma* (Vivāhap.167) and *caūvisa* (Thān. 31); 84. *caūrāsīm*, 85. *pañcāsīma* (Kappas.). Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,426.—*kaī* is inflected: AMg. JM. A. *kaī* (Vivāhap. 289.301.413 f. 416.855.878 ff.; Erz. 17,21; Hc. 4,376,1.420,3); ins. AMg. *kaīhim* (Paṇṇav. 662; Vivāhap. 74.332); gen. *kaīṇham* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. JM. *kaīsu* (Paṇṇav. 521.530; Vivāhap. 736 f. 1536; Erz. 66,16).

§ 450. As the expression of $1/2$ enters in AMg. *addha* or *addha* = *ardha*, as in Skt., before the next higher ordinal (§ 291): *addhāijja* from *addha* + **tijja*, **tijja*, **tijja* = *ardhatīya* (§ 449) ($2^{1/2}$; Samav. 157; Jiv. 268 270.660.917.982; Nāyādh. 347; Paṇṇav. 51.55.81.611 f.; Vivāhap. 199.202.734.1786; Nandis. 198.200; Kappas.); *addhuttā* from *ardha* + **turtha* = *ardhacaturtha* ($3^{1/2}$; Kappas.); *addhattama* = *ardhastama* ($7^{1/2}$; Āyār.2,15,6[so to be read]; Kappas.; Ovav.); *addhanavama* ($8^{1/2}$; Kappas.); *addhachattāhehim bhikkhāsāhehim* (550); *addhāijjāim* °*sayāim* (250), *addhuttāim* °*sayāim* (350), *addhapañcamāim* °*sayāim* (450) (Samav. 156—158); *addhehattāim* °*yojanāim* ($5^{1/2}$ yojanas; Jiv. 231). $1^{1/2}$, on the contrary, is expressed by *divaddha* (Vivāhap. 137.1123; Samav. 157; Jiv. 149; Paṇṇav. 685 f. 692.698), which is neither = *adhyardha*¹, nor, as the position of the members of the compound shows, = *dviya* + *ardha*², but is = *dvikārdha* (§ 230). So also: *divaddham* °*sayam* (150; Samav. 157).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,398. 409. 411; ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 41.—2. CHILDERS S.V.; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,237 f.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.

§ 451. $I \times$ is in AMg. *saim* = *sakṛt* (§ 181), in JM. *ēkkavāram* = *ekavāram* (Kk. 266,25; 274,21) and *ēkkasim* (Sagara 4,4), which in Hc. 2, 162 is spelt as *ēkkasi* and *ēkkasim* and is equated as = *ekadā*. For the purpose of numeration AMg. uses *khutto* = *kṛtvā* (§ 206); *dukkhutto*, *dukhutto* = *dvikṛtvā* (Thān. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6); *tikhutto*, *tikkhutto* = *trikṛtvā* (Thān. 5. 11. 17. 41. 60. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6; 2,15,20; Antag. 5. 11. 17. 41. 60; Vivāhap. 12. 156. 161 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.); *sattakkhutto*, °*kh*° (Nāyādh. 910.925.941; Jiv. 260.621), *tisattakkhutto* = *trisaktikṛtvā* (Ovav. § 136; Vivāhap.230 [°*kh*°]. 411); *añegasajasahassakkhutto* = *anekasahasrakṛtvā* (Vivāhap. 145.1285); *añantakhutto* (Jiv. 308; Vivāhap. 177.414.416.418); *evaikhutto* = °*evatikṛtvā* (Kappas.). In M. the word is spelt as *huttam*: *saahuttam*, *sahassahuttam* (Hc. 2,158; Dhvanyāloka 52,6). For 'for the second time' AMg. uses *doṇcam*, *duccam* (Āyār.2,15,21; Vivāhap. 166.234.235; Ovav. § 85; Uvās.; Kappas.), 'for the third time' is *taccam* (Vivāhap. 166.234.235; Uvās.). — As the expression of times Pkt., like Skt., uses °*viha* = °*vidha*, in the case of adjectives and °*hā* = °*dhā* in the case of adverbs: AMg. *duviha*, *tiviha*, *caūviha*, *pañcaviha*, *chavviha*, *sattaviha*, *aṭṭhaviha*, *navaviha*, *dasaviha* (Uttar. 885—990), *duvālasaviha* (Jiv. 44; Vivāhap. 159), *soḷasaviha* (Uttar. 971; Thān. 593 [°*dhā*]), *aṭṭhāvīsaiviha* (Uttar. 877), *battisaiviha* (Vivāhap. 234); JŚ. *tiviha* (Kattig. 402, 360) etc.; AMg. *duhā*, *pañcahā*, *dasahā* (Uttar. 1046.889.704), *duhā*, *tihā*, *caūhā*, *pañcahā*, *chahā*, *sattahā*, *aṭṭhahā*, *navahā*, *dasahā*, *saṃkhējjahā*, *asaṃkhējjahā*, *añantahā* (Vivāhap. 997—1012).—AMg. JM. *egao* (Vivāhap. 277.282.950; Āv. 46,24) is = *ekataḥ*, the more frequent *ega yao* (Vivāhap. 137—141. 187. 510. 513. 970. 983. 996 ff. 1430. 1434) = °*ekakataḥ*; *duhao* see § 436.—As in Skt., in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, one says *duga* (Thān. 568.569; Erz.; Kattig. 403,371), *duya* (Uttar. 903) = *dvika*; AMg. JM. *tiya* = *trika* (Uttar. 902; Erz.); *chakka* = *ṣaṭka* (Uttar. 904) etc.; likewise JM. *sahasso* = *sahasraśaḥ* (Sagar. 6,5); Ś. *añeaso*, AMg. °*negaso* = *anekaśaḥ* (§ 435).

E. THE VERB.

§ 452. In Pkt. the verb has undergone far greater loss than the noun has. As in the case of nouns (§ 355), the *a*-stems prevail on phonetic grounds, so that the second conjugation, with comparatively a fewer exceptions, has followed the analogy of the first one. Thereby the character of the class has almost been effaced. The *ātmanepada* is frequent in all the dialects in the participles only; otherwise it is somewhat usable only in M. AMg. JM. JŚ., but it is restricted completely to the sing. and the third person plural of the present indicative in Ś., in Mg. almost exclusively to the first person sing. ind. present. The cases found in Ś. mostly are formular expressions (§ 457). Many verbs, that in Sanskrit are conjugated in the *ātmanepada* only, have in Pkt. the endings of the *parasmaipada*, as mostly in the passive too. Further *āsi*, *āsī*=*āsīt*, that are used as the sing. of the first, second and third persons and the plur. of the third person of the imperfect, have been retained in M. AMg. JM. Ś., in addition to *abhavī* in AMg. (§ 515). Remnant of the strong and *s*-aorists, including stray *ātmanepada* forms in frequent use (§ 517), are found in AMg. and in grammarians (§ 516), from the perfect in AMg. only (§ 518); the conditional has completely disappeared. All these tenses are expressed by means of participles with the auxiliary verb *as* or *bhū* or only with the past passive participle. The pluperfect too is formed in the same manner (519). Besides we find the simple future in the *parasmaip.*, *ātmanep.* and passive, from the verbal nouns, the infinitive, in the passive too (§ 580), the absolutive, the present participle of the *parasmaipada*, the *ātmanepada* and passive, the past passive participle and the particip. *necessitatis*, of the moods, the indicative, the optative, (the precative too) and the imperative. Of the secondary verbal forms, like Skt., Pkt. has the causative, the desiderative of the intensive and the numerous denominatives. The dual is completely lost. Except those in A., the endings generally correspond to those of Skt. Deviations are shown in the following paragraphs. Characteristic is the extension of the present stem, from which all the tenses, the verbal nouns and the passive can be formed. It serves also for nominal derivation.

a) PRESENT.

1. INDICATIVE OF THE PARASMAIPADAM.

453. The flexion shows the paradigm of the first conjugation *vaṭṭa-* = *varta-*, in Skt. in *ātmanepada* only.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭāmi</i>	<i>vaṭṭāmo</i>
	<i>vaṭṭaha</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh.
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i>	<i>vaṭṭadha</i> , P. CP.
	<i>vaṭṭatha</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭāi</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh.	
<i>vaṭṭadi</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭati</i>	<i>vaṭṭanti</i>

In A. the common flexion is :—

1. <i>vaṭṭāṇ</i>	<i>vaṭṭahū</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭahi</i>	<i>vaṭṭahu</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭāi</i>	<i>vaṭṭahi</i>

§ 454. The grammarians (Vr. 7,30; Hc. 3,154; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) mention also *-āmi*, beside *-āmi*, that is the common ending in all the

dialects, excluding A.: *jānami* = *jānāmi*; *lihami* = *likhāmi*; *sahami* = *sahe*; *hasami* = *hasāmi*. It is attested in A. too: *kaḍḍhami* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4, 385); *pāvami* = **prāpāmi* = *prāpnomi*; *bhāmami* = *bhramāmi* (Vikr. 71, 7. 8), *bhaṇami* = *bhaṇāmi* (Piṅgala I, 153). The vowel has been regulated according to that of the second and third persons. In some cases, as in the first person plur. (§ 455), *i* has entered for *a*: M. *jānimi* = *jānāmi* (H. 902), *anunijjimi* = *anuniye* (H. 930); A. *pucchimi* = *pycchāmi*, *karimi* = **karāmi* = *karomi* (Vikr. 65, 3; 71, 9). Forms in *-mhi* and *-mmi*, sometimes found in the M.S. and editions¹, are false², as *ṇivedēmhi* for *ṇivedemi* (Nāg. 20, 3; cf. 20, 10), *pasādēmhi* for *pasādemī* (Nāg. 44, 8), *gacchamhi*, *gacchahmi* for *gacchāmi* (Mālav. 5, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 17).—In A. the usual ending is *-aū*: *kaḍḍhaū* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4, 385), *kijjaū* = *kriye* in the sense of *karisyāmi* (Hc. 4, 385; 445, 3); *jāṇaū* = *jānāmi* (Hc. 4, 391. 439, 4), *joiijaū* = *vilokye*, *dēkkhaū* = *drakṣyāmi*, *jhiijaū* = *kṣiye* (Hc. 4, 356. 357, 4. 425); *pāvaū* = *prāpnomi*, *paḍaū* = **pavāpāyāmi* = *pacāmi*, *jivaū* = *jivāmi*, *cajaū* (text *tajaū*) = *tyajāmi* (Piṅgala I, 104^a; 2, 64); *piāvaū* (text *piyāvaū*) = **piḍāpāyāmi* = *pāyayāmi* (Prabandhac. 70, 11. 13). According to the phonetic laws of A., *jānolū* has to be traced to **jānakam* only (§ 352). The verbal forms with infixed *ak*, such as *pacataki*, *jalpataki*, *svapitaki*, *paṭhataki*, *addhaki*, *ehaki*, mentioned by the grammarians, in addition to the first pers. sing. *yāmaki* = *yāmi*, discovered by AUFRECHT in Kauṣītakiabrāhmaṇa 27, 1³, are to be compared with **jānakam*. It is to be admitted that, as in the future (§ 520), the ending of the subsidiary tenses has taken the place that of the principal tenses⁴.

1. BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 123; WEBER on Hāla 417.—2. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 47. AMg. *anūsāsāmi* for **anūsāsāmi* = *anūsāmi* Uttar. 790 is hardly correct.—3. ZDMG. 34, 175f.—4. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 seeks in it the ending of the imperative.

§ 455. In the 2. sing. indic. A. has beside the ending *-si* also *-hi* (§ 264): *marahi* = **marasi* = *mriyase*, *ruahi* = Vedic *ruvasi* = *roḍiṣi*, *lahahi* = *labhase*, *visūrahi* = *khidyase*, *ṇisarahi* = *ṇiṣarasi* (Hc. 4, 368. 383, 1. 422, 2. 439, 4). In Mg. the ending is naturally *-ṣi*: *yāṣi*, *dhāvaṣi*, *palāaṣi*, *malīhiṣi*, *gacsaṣi* (Mṛcch. 9, 23. 24; 10, 3).—In the 3. sing. indic. in verses AMg. and A. do not rarely contract the ending *-aī* to *-e* (§ 166); in Ś. Mg. Ḍh. the ending is *-di*, in P. CP. *-ti*: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭaī*, but JŚ. *S. vaṭṭadi* (§ 289); M. *vaḍḍhaī* = *vardhate*, but Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 291); Mg. *cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115, 9); Ḍh. *vajjadi* = *vrajati* (Mṛcch. 30, 10); P. *lapati*, *gacchati* (Hc. 4, 319).—The 1. plur. indic., in all the dialects, excluding A., ends in *-mo*, in verses in *-mu* and *-ma* too, the ending of the subsidiary tense (Vr. 7, 4; Hc. 3, 144. 167; Ki. 4, 7; Mk. fol. 51); *hasāmo*, *hasāmu*, *hasāma*. Except in PG. *vitārāma* (5, 7), M. future *dacchāma* = *drakṣyāmaḥ* (R. 3, 50) and in *-mha* = *smah* (§ 498), *-ma* has, up to this time, been seen merely as v. l.¹ and for prose it is not correct. M. *tajjāmo*, *vaccāmo*, *ramāmo* (H. 267. 590. 888), *kāmemo* = *kāmayāmaḥ* (H. 417), in the passive *musijjāmo* = *musyāmahe* (H. 335); AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo* = *vardhāmahe* (Kappas. § 91. 106), *jivāmo* (Nāyādh. § 137), *āciṭṭhāmo* = *ātiṣṭhāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *uvaṇemo* = *upanayāmaḥ*, *āhāremo* = *āhārayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *icchāmo* (Uttar. 376), *accemo* beside *accimo* = *arcayāmaḥ*, *arcāmaḥ* (Uttar. 368. 369), in the future *dāhāmo* = *dāsyāmaḥ* (Uttar. 355. 358), also in the aor. *vucchāmo* = *avātsma* (Uttar. 410); JM. *tāḷemo* = *tāḍayāmaḥ* (Dvār. 497, 1), *pēcchāmo* = *prekṣāmahe* (Āv. 33, 15), *vaccāmo* = *vrajāmaḥ* (Kk. 263, 16; 272, 18), *pajjosavemo* (Kk. 271, 7); Ś. *pavisāmo* = *praviśāmaḥ* (Śak. 92, 1), *jāṇāmo* = *jānīmaḥ* (§ 510), *sumarāmo* = *smarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 113, 9), *uvacarāmo* = *upacarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 232, 2; text *tuvarāma*; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. 1866 p. 91, 17),

vaḍḍhāmo = *vardhāmahe* (Mallikām. 153,10; Mahāv. 17,11; [so to be read; cf. ed. Bomb. 38,3]), *cintemo* = *cintayāmaḥ* (Mahāv. 134,11), *vandāmo* = *vandāmahe*, *uvaharāmo* = *upaharāmaḥ* (Pārvaṭip. 27,11; 29,13); D. *bōllāmo* (Mṛcch. 105,16). The forms in *-mha*, which are sometimes found in the text, as *ciṭṭhamha* (Ratn. 315,1), *viṇṇavē mha*, *saṃpādē mha*, *pārē mha*, *karē mha* (Śak. 27,7; 53,5; 76,60; 80,5), are false. They belong to the imperative (§ 470). In M. JM. and in verses in AMg. the post tonic syllable *ā* often becomes *i*, so that the ending, then, is *-imo* (§ 108); M. *jāmpimo* = *jālpāmaḥ* (H. 651); M. JM. *ṇamimo* = *nānāmaḥ* (G. 35. 969; Kk. 277,30); M. JM. *bhaṇimo* = *bhāṇāmaḥ* (Hc. 3,155; H.; Prabandhac. 100,8; Kk. 266,14) beside *bhaṇāmo* (H.); M. AMg. *vandimo* = *vandāmahe* (H. 659; Nandis. 81); *pacimo* = *pācāmaḥ* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *savimo* = *sāpāmaḥ* (G. 240); M. *sahimo* = *sāhāmahe* in *visahimo* (H. 376); *hasimo* = *hāsāmaḥ* (Bh. 7,31). Likewise M. *gamimo* = **gāmāmaḥ* (H. 892), *jāṇimo*, *ṇa āṇimo* = **jānāmaḥ*, *na *jānāmaḥ* (H.), *bharimo* = **bhārāmaḥ* and *saṃbharimo* (we remember; H. s. v. smar; G. 219), *ālakkhimo* = *ālaksāmahe* (G. 188), and on its analogy: *pucchimo* = *pucchāmaḥ* (H. 453), *lihimo* = *likhāmaḥ* (H. 244), *suṇimo* = **sruṇāmaḥ* (H. 518, falsely also in Ś. Bālar. 101,5). The grammarians (Vr. 7,4. 31; Hc. 3,155; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) know also the forms in *-āmu*, *-āma*, *-inu*, *-ima*: *paḍhamu*, *paḍhama*, *pacimu*, *bhaṇamu*, *bhaṇama*, *bhaṇimu*, *bhaṇima*, *sahamu*, *sahama*, *sahimu*, *hasamu*, *hasama*, *hasimu*, *hasimo*.—In A. the usual ending is *-hū*: *lahahū* = *labhāmaḥ*, *cadāhū* = *ārohāmaḥ*, *marāhū* = *mriyāmahe* (Hc. 4,386. 439,1). The abl. plur. of the *a*-stems has the same ending, where it would be derived from *-bhyām* (§ 369). Here the origin is completely obscure². Beside this there is found *lahimu* too (Hc. 4,386).

1. Particularly in Ś., as *vaṣṭāma* Prab. 68,8, for which the ed. P. p. 69^a reads *vasaṣṭāma*, the ed. M. p. 84,15, *vasaṣṭāma*, the ed. Bomb. 137,7, *ahivaṣṭāma*. One emends *vaṣṭāma* or *vasāma*; *viraema* = *viracayāmaḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 49,17; *tuvarāma* (Mālatim. 232,2 etc.).—2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 335.

§ 456. The ending of the 2. plur. in M. JM. AMg. is *-ha*, in Ś. Mg. Ā. *-dha*, in A. *-hu* or *-ha*: *ramaha*, *paḍhaha*, *hasaha* (Vr. 7,4); *hasaha*, *vevaha*, (Hc. 3,143); *pacaha*, *saṅkaha* (Kī. 4,6); *hoha* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *ṇa āṇaha* = *na jānītha*, *dēcchiha* = *drakṣyatha* (R. 3,13. 23), *taraha* (you know; H. 897); JM. *jāṇaha* (Kk. 273,44); *kuppaha* = *kupṣyatha*, *paṇacchaha* (Erz. 10, 20; 15,36); AMg. *āikkaha*, *bhāsaha*, *pannaveha* (Āyār. 1.4,2,4); *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194); *vajaha* = *vadatha* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *āḍhaha*, *pariyāṇaha*, *agghāyaha*, *uvanīmanteha* (Nāyādh. § 83); Ś. *pēkkhadha* = *prekṣadhve* (Mṛcch. 40,25; Śak. 14,8), *nedha* = *neyatha* (Mṛcch. 161,9)¹; Mg. *pēskadha* (Mṛcch. 157,13; 158,2; 162,6), *pattīāadha* = *pratyayadhve* (Mṛcch. 165,9); Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *pucchaha* and *pucchahu* (Hc. 4,364. 422,9), *icchahu* and *icchaha* (Hc. 4,384), *paampaha* = *prajālpatha* (Hc. 4,422,9). Probably *hu* should be read throughout. On the ending *-itthā* see § 517.—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-nti*. M. *mvanti* = **mucanti*, *ruanti* = *rudanti*, *hōnti* = *bhavanti*, *dēnti* = *dayante* (Erz. 3,14. 15); AMg. *cayanti* = *tyajanti*, *thananti* = *stananti*, *labhanti* = *labhante* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); Ś. *gacchanti*, *pasīdanti*, *saṃcaranti* (Mṛcch. 8,4; 9,1. 11); Mg. *oppeṣanti* = *anveṣanti*, *pianti* = *pibanti* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 113,21); CP. *ucchallanti*, *nīpatanti* (Hc. 4,326); A. *vihasanti* = *vikasanti*, *karanti* = *kurvanti* (Hc. 4,365; 445,4). In A., however, the common ending is *-hī*, of which the origin is obscure²: *maūliahī* = *mukulayanti*, *anuharahī* = *anuharanti*, *lahahī* = *labhante*, *navahī* = *namanti*, *gajjahī* = *garjante*, *dharahī* = *dharanti*, *karahī* = *kurvanti*, *sahahī* = *sobhante* etc. (Hc. 4,365,1. 367,4. 5. 382). In the

passive *ghēppahi* = *grhyante* (Erz. 158,14). The same ending is found in AMg. *acchahi* = *tiṣṭhanti* (Uttar. 667)³ in the verse, and in *ādhāhi*, *parijāñāhi* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 223. 500. 510) in prose.

1. According to Hc. 4,268. 302 -*ha* too would be permissible in Ś. Mg. Cf. also PISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff. — 2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 337.—3. So to be read with JACOBI, SBE. 45,114, note 2. The edition has in the text and commentary *atthihim*; the commentary explains *atthahi* (sic ?) *iti tiṣṭhanti*. Cf. *assāsi* § 461.

2. INDICATIVE OF THE ĀTMANEPADAM.

§ 457. The flexion is :

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭe</i>	is wanting
2. <i>vaṭṭase</i>	is wanting
3. <i>vaṭṭae</i> , JŚ. <i>vaṭṭade</i>	<i>vaṭṭante</i>

Cf. Vr. 7,1. 2. 5; Hc. 3,139. 140. 145; 4,274. 302. 319; Ki. 4,2. 3; Mk. fol. 50. Vr. and Hc. restrict the use of the endings -*se*, -*e* explicitly to the *a*-stems, as is mentioned by Mk. too. According to Hc. 4,274, in Ś. and according to 4,302, in Mg. too, the ending -*de*=*-te* would be permissible with the *a*-stems. The best texts do not attest these. All the MSS., in the example quoted by Hc. from Mg., from Venis.35,17;36,3, read *ṣuṇīade*=*śrūyate* and the text has *ṣuṇīadi*. Without doubt by Ś. here, as in other cases (§ 21), is meant JŚ. Vr.12,17 and Mk.fol. 70 forbid the ātmanepada for Ś. Mg. completely. It is found in isolated forms in verses and in prevalently standing expressions. Examples from the different dialects are: 1. M. *jāne* (H. 902), *ṇa āne* (R. 3,44; Śak. 55,15); frequently in Ś.: *jāne* (Śak. 131,9; Mālav. 66,8; Lalitav. 564,4; Anarghar. 66,5; Uttarar. 22,13; 64,7; Viddhaś. 67,1; 96,1) and *ṇa āne*, as we should read throughout with the v. l., in places where sometimes even now there stands in the text *ṇa jāne* (Śak. 70,11; 123,14; Vikr. 35,5; Mālav. 30,8; 34,9; Venis. 59,5); in AMg. too (Uttar. 512); M. *maṇṇe* = *manye* (G. H. [delete 546]; R.), in Ś. too (Mṛcch. 22,13; Mallikām. 56,1; 60,7; 74,22; 80,15; 83,5; Anarghar. 61,3; 66,10; Viddhaś.20,6), and *anumaṇṇe* (Śak. 59,11), and in AMg. *manṇe* (Uttar. 571), in M. also according to the 1. class *maṇe* (H. R.; Hc. 2,207), and so is probably also the adverbially used *vaṇe* (Hc. 2,206), originally a 1. sing. ātmanep., if it be = *maṇe* (§ 251) or = *vaṇe* (cf. Dhātupāṭha in B-R. s. v. *van*). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has reconstructed the word in R. 14,43 (ZDMG. 32,103) according to Hc. In Vr. 9,12 *vale* stands. AMg. *rame* (Uttar. 445); Ś. *lahe* = *labhe* (Vikr.42,7), *icche* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 25,10); Mg. *vāe* = *vāmi* and *vādayāmi*, *gāe* = *gāyāmi* (Mṛcch. 79, 12. 13).—2. M. *maggase*, *jānase*, *vijjhase*, *lajjase*, *jaṃpase* (H. 6.181.441.634. 943), *sohase* (G. 316); AMg. *paḥāsase* = *prabhāsase*, *avabujjhase* = *avabudhyase* (Uttar. 358. 503); AMg. *iścāse* = *icchase* (Mṛcch. 123,5; P. *payacchase* = *prayacchase* (Hc. 4,323).—3. M. *taṇṇāe*, *paḍicchae*, *vaccāe*, *peccchae*, *dāvāe*, *niacchae*, *palambae*, *andolae*, *laggae*, *parisakkāe*, *vikuppae* (H. 59. 701; 140.169.397.489.507.582.855.951.967), in the passive *tīrae* = *tīryate* (H. 195.801.932), *jujjae*=*yujyate*, *jhijjae*=*kṣiyate*, *niṇvariijjae*=*nirvriyate*, *khijjae*=*kṣiyate* (H. 12. 141. 204. 362); JM. *bhuñjae*=*bhunkte*, *nirikkhae*=*nirikkate* (Erz. 25,30; 70,7); *cintae* (Āv. 36,25; Erz. 70,35; 74,17); *ciṭṭhae*=*tiṣṭhate*, *viuvvāe* = **vikurvate* = *vikurute* (Āv. 36,26. 27); passive *muccae* = *mucyate* (Erz. 71,7); *tīrae* = *tīryate*, *ḍajjhae* = *dahyate* (Dvār. 498,21. 22); AMg. *lahae*, *kīḷae*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 438. 570. 789); *titikkhae*=*titikkate*, *samḥavevāe*=*samḥavedate* (Āyār. 2,16,3); JŚ. *maṇṇade* = *manyaṭe*, *bandhade* = *bandhnite*,

jāyade = *jāyate*, *bhāsade* = *bhāṣate*, *bhuñjade* = *bhuñkte*, *kuvvade* = **kurvate* = *kurute* (Kattig. 399,314; 400,327. 332. 333; 403,382. 384; 404,309); passive *ādīyade* (Pav. 384,60); *thuvvade* = *stūyate*, *jujjade* = *yuyate*, *sakkade* = *śakyate* (Kattig. 401,351; 403,380; 404,387); D. *jāac* = *jāyate*, *vaṭṭae* = *vartate* (Mṛcch. 100,3. 6). For Ś. Hc. 4,274 mentions *acchade*, *gacchade*, *ramade*, for P. 4,319 *lapate*, *acchate*, *gacchate*, *ramate*, for the passive Ś. *kijjade* = *kriyate* (4,274). P. *giyyate*, *tiyyate* (so to be read), *ramiyyate*, *paḍhiyyate* (4,315); at 4,316 stands *kirate* = *kriyate*.—In the 1. plur. sometimes the forms, such as *kāmamhe* = *kāmayāmahe*, which, however, are not attested by good manuscripts, are also found (WEBER on H. 417).—3. plur. M. *gajjante* = *garjante* (Hc. 1,187 [see the translation]; 3,142), *biḥante* = **bhīṣante*, *uppaḍjante* = *utpadyante* (Hc. 3,142), *ucchāhante* = *utsāhayante* (H. 638); AMg. *uvalabhante* (Sūyag. 755), *riyante* (Āyār. 1,8,2,16; Dasav. 613, 12), *ciṭṭhante* = *tiṣṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4. 10). The examples from AMg., on the whole, and from JM. in the largest measure are from verses.

§ 458. Beside the ending *-nte*, Pkt. has also the ending *-ire*, corresponding to Vedic Skt. and Pāli¹: *pahuppire* = **prabhutvire* (§ 286) in *dōṇṇi vi na pahuppire bāhū* = *dvāv api na prabhavato bāhū*; *vicchuhire* = **vikṣubhire* (Hc. 3, 142); *hasaire*, *hasaire*, *hasire* = *hasante*; *saheire*, *sahaire*, *sahire* = *sahante*; *hueire*, *huaire*, *huire*, *hoire*, *hoaire*, *hoire* = *bhavante* (Sr. fol. 46. 47). Sr. fol. 49 teaches this ending for the optative too: *hujjāire*, *hujjāire*, *huējjāire*, *huējjāire* = *bhaveran* and fol. 51 for the future: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire* = *hasisyante*. According to Hc. 3,142 *-ire* is used in the 3. sing. too: *sūsaire gāmacikkhallo* = *śusyati grāmaccikkhallo*. Triv. 2,2,4, who gives as examples *sūsaire tāṇa tāriso kaṇṭho* = *śusyati tāsām tādrṣaṇ kaṇṭhaḥ*, teaches the same.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 94; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 97; WINDISCH, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Arischen Italischen und Celtischen. Leipzig, 1887 (AKSGW. X, No. vi), where further literature is also provided. Cf. particularly p. 32 f. of the SA. 478 f.

3. OPTATIVE

§ 459. The optative is extraordinarily frequent in AMg. and JM., more seldom in M. and only isolated in the other dialects. Its manner of formation is a two-fold one. In M. AMg. JM. the flexion is usual, that P. too has, but in Mg. A. it is sporadic.

Sing.

Plur.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāmi</i> | <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāma</i> |
| 2. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāsi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāhi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjahi</i> ,
<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāsu</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjasu</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> . | <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāha</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjaha</i> |
| 3. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> , [<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāi</i>] | <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> |

These dialects, AMg. JM. especially in verses, JŚ. almost always, Ś. exclusively, Mg. A. sporadically, have beside these the flexion:

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Ś. <i>vaṭṭeam</i> , <i>vaṭṭe</i> | is wanting |
| 2. AMg. A. <i>vaṭṭe</i> , A. <i>vaṭṭi</i> | is wanting |
| 3. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. <i>vaṭṭe</i> | AMg. Ś. <i>vaṭṭe</i> |

That the two kinds of formation go back to the optative of the first conjugation in *-eyam*, as assumed by JACOBI¹, is phonetically impossible. It follows clearly that the 1. sing. in *-e* has followed the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing., a form, that is used as 3. plur. too. The forms in *-eṭṭjā* and *-eṭṭja* become hence closely fitting. The lengthening of the final vowel is the original. The

shortening is found in prose only before enclitics, as: *āgacchējjā vā ciṭṭhējjā vā niṣējjā vā tujatṭējjā vā ullāṅghējjā vā palāṅghējjā vā* = *āgacched vā tiṣṭhed vā niṣided vā sayita vā ullāṅghed vā pralāṅghed vā* (Ovav. § 150; cf. Vivāhap. 116; Āyār. 1,7,2,1; other examples in Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,3,2,7 etc.), beside with the lengthening, as *avaharējjā vā vikṭhirējjā vā bhindhējjā vā acchindhējjā vā pariṭṭhāvējjā vā* = *apahared vā viṣkired vā bhindyād vā acchindyād vā pariṭṭhāpayed vā* (Uvās. § 200), elsewhere in verses only, as always in M. One compares AMg. *kujjā* = *kuryāt* (§ 464), *dejjā* = *deyāt*, *hojjā* = *bhūyāt* (§ 466), thus it is clear that even *kuvvējjā* presupposes one **kuryāt*, *karējjā* one **karyāt* and *havējjā* one **bhavyāt*, that is to say the optative in -ējjā goes back to the optative formed with -yā- of the second conjugation². For ē, very often the MSS. give i, which is not possible to be explained according to § 84, since the development has resulted from the 1. sing., hence -*eya-* was by no means originally existent in the form. Rather ē, according to § 119, has originated from i, that is a separation-vowel: AMg. *bhuñjējjā* = **bhuñjīyāt*, *bhuñjīyāt*, *karējjā* = **kariyāt* = **karyāt*, likewise *jāñijjā* *jāñējjā* = *jāñīyāt*. The first conjugation might have exercised its influence in the prevalent *e*-colouring. It is only in this manner that ā and the reduplication of *j* are explained³. On remnant of the old flexion of the second conjugation and the precative see § 464. 465. 466.

1. KZ. 36, 577.—2. Whether one will derive *karyāt* from the present stem *kar* with JACOBI or take it as = precative *kriyāt* with FISCHER, KZ. 35, 143, it is equally valid for the explanation. That I exactly meant, as JACOBI, is shown by the suffix of the passive **karyāte* KZ. 35, 141, what JACOBI has overlooked. The question is only about the equation *karijjai*: *kriyāte* = *karējjā*: *kriyāt* (KZ. 35, 143).—3. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 142 ff.

§ 460. Singular: 1. AMg. *āosējjā vā hañējjā vā bandhējjā vā mahejjā vā tajjējjā vā tālējjā vā nicchoḍējjā vā nibbhacchējjā vā... varovējjā* = *ākroṣeyam vā hanyām vā badhniyām vā* (mathniyām vā) *tarjayeyam vā tāḍayeyam vā niśchoḷayeyam vā nirbhartsayeyam vā... vyāparopeyam* (Uvās. § 200), *pāssiijā* = *paṣyeyam* (Nirayāv. § 3), *muccejjā* = *mucyeya* (passive; Uttar. 624), *aiwāējjā*, *aiwājāvējjā* = *atipātayeyam*, *samanujāñējjā* = *samanujāñīyām* (Hc. 3, 177); JM. *laṅghējjā* (Āv. 8, 18); M. *kuppejjā* = *kupyeyam* (H. 17); Ś. *bhaveam* (Vikr. 40, 21; Pārvatīp. 29, 9) and *bhave* (Śak. 65, 10; Mālav. 67, 10) = *bhaveyam*, *pahave* = *prabhaveyam* (Śak. 25, 1), *laheam* (Śak. 13, 9; 30, 9; Pārvatīp. 27, 16; 29, 8) and *lake* (Mudrār. 38, 2; cf. Vikr. 42, 7?) = *labheya*, *jiveam* = *jiveyam* (Mālav. 55, 11), *kuppe* = *kupyeyam* (Mālav. 67, 10)¹. Seldom -*mi* is the ending of the primary tense: M. *ñējjāmi* = *nayeyam* (R. 3, 55); AMg. *karējjāmi* = *kuryām* (Vivāhap. 1281).—2. In the 2. sing. the form ends in -*ijjā*, seldom in -*ējjā*: AMg. *udāharijjā* = *udāhareḥ* (Sūyag. 932); *uvadamsejjā* = *upadarśayeh* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 4); *vināējjā* = *vinayeh* (Dasav. 613, 27). In AMg. the ending -*si* comes in generally: *payāējjāsi* = *prajāyethāḥ* (Nāyādh. 420); *nivedijjāsi* = *nivedayeh* (Ovav. § 21); *samanuvāsejjāsi* = *samanuvāsayeh*, *uvalimpiijjāsi* = *upalimpeḥ*, *parakkamejjāsi* = *parākramēḥ* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 4, 4; 5, 3; 6, 2 etc.); *vattējjāsi* = *vartethāḥ* (Uvās. § 200).—Beside that stands the form in -*e*: *dāve* = *dāpayeh*, *paḍigāhe* = *pratigrāhayeh* (Kappas. S. § 14–16), almost always in verses only: *gacche* = *gaccheḥ* (Sūyag. 178); *pamāyae* = *pramādayeh*, *āie* = **ādriyeh* = *ādriyethāḥ*, *sambhare* = *samsmareḥ* (cf. § 267. 313), *care* = *careḥ* (Uttar. 310 ff. 322. 440. 504). Sometimes the form in -*ējjāsi* is used in place of that in -*e* or in -*ējjā* at the end of verses corresponding to the paragraph in prose against the metre². Thus *āmo'kkhāe*, *parivvāējjāsi* metrically false for *parivvāe* (Sūyag. 99. 200. 216); *ārambham ca susamoude carejjāsi*, metrically false for *care* (Sūyag. 117); *no pañiṇaṇ paṇe samārabhejjāsi*, metrically false for *samarābhejjā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3). Cf. besides in prose: Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 4, 4; 5, 3; 6, 2; 1, 3, 1, 4; 1, 4, 1, 3; 3, 3; 1, 5, 2, 5; 4, 5; 6, 1 etc. The

2. sing. in *-ējjāsi* occurs in JM. too: *vilaggējjāsi* = **vilagyeh* (Erz. 29,12), *āhañējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1), *vaññējjāsi* (Āv. 11,11), *pe'cchējjāsi* (Āv. 23,18).

1. FISCHER, Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā p. 22 f.; BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 228.

—2. JACOBI, who has not recognized the forms in *-ējjāsi* in his edition of Āyār., thinks that *si* is to be separated and may stand for *se=asau* (SBE, 22,17, note 1). The scholiasts give the correct direction.

§ 461. Besides *-ējjāsi* there occurs in AMg. also *-ējjasi*: *-āosējjasi* = *ākrośeh*, *hañējjasi* = *hanyāh*, *vavarovējjasi* = *vyaparopoyeh* (Uvās. § 200). Moreover, the 2. sing. has the endings of the imperative *-hi* and in M.JM. A. especially *-su* (§ 467), before which the vowel is either short or long: M. *hasējjahi* = *haseh* (Hc. 3,175; Sr. fol. 50); AMg. *vandējjāhi* = *vandethāh*, *pajjuvāsējjāhi* = *pariyupāsithāh*, *upanimanīējjāhi* = *upanimantrayeh* (Uvās. 187); JM *vaccejjasu* = *vrajeh* (Āv. 25,20), *bhañējjasu* = *bhaneh* (Āv. 25,31. 43); M. JM. *karējjāsu* (H. 154. 181. 634; Erz. 81,10), JM. *karējjasu* (Sagara 7,5), M. *kuñijjāsu* (Śukasaptati 48,4) = *kuryāh*, A. *karijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144 etc.); JM. *sāhijjasu* = *sādhaya* in the sense of *kathaya* (Kk. 272,19); M. *galijjāsu* = *galeh*, *paṃhasijjāsu* = *prasmareh*, *pariharijjāsu* = *parihareh* (H. 103. 348. 521); A. *salahijjasu* = *ślāghasva*, *bhañijjasu* = *bhaṇa*, *ṭhavijjasu* = *sthāpaya* (Piṅgala 1,95. 109. 144). Since in A. the passive is used in the sense of the active too, many of these forms may be taken also as the imperative of the passive, as *muñijjasu* beside *muñiāsu* (§ 467), *dijjasu* (§ 466) on account of *i* by the side of *dējjahi*. A critical edition of the Piṅgala may some day make the disclosure whether *i* or *ē* is to be read. The forms in *-ē*, *-i* in A., indicated by Hc. 4,387 as of the imperative, likewise are of the optative: *karē* = *kare* = **kareh* = *kuryāh* (Hc. 4,387) and thence *kari* (Prabandhac. 63,7; Śukasaptati 49,4) according to § 85. So: A. *viāri* = *vicārayeh*, *ṭhavi* = *sthāpayeh*, *dhari* = *dhārayeh*, properly = **vicāreh*, **sthāpeh*, **dhāreh*, (Piṅgala 1,68. 71. 72); *joi* = **dyoteh* = *paśya* (Hc. 4,364. 368), *ruñujhuṇi*, *roi* = **rodeh* = *rudyāh*, *cari* = *careh*, *mēlli* in the sense of *tyajeh*, *kari* = **kareh* = *kuryāh*, *kahi* = **katheh* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,368. 387. 1.3. 422,14). The same formation is found in AMg. in the verse in *assāsi* (text *asāsi*, correctly in the commentary): *evam assāsi appāṇam* (Uttar. 113), explained by the commentator with *evam ātmānam āśvāsaya*. Cf. also *acchahim*, *ādhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (§ 456). So is explained also *puñḍe* = *vraja* (Deśin. 6,52) as optative. Cf. also *puḍa utsarge* Dhātupāṭha 28,90. *hasējje* = *haseh*, that is taught by Hc. 3,175 and Sr. fol. 50 as the imperative, is a double formation with the optative character of both the conjugations. Sr. teaches also *hasejjahi*, *hasejjasu*, *hasejje*.

§ 462. 3. sing. PG. *karēyya*, *kāravējjā* (6,40); M. *jivējjā* = *jivet* (H. 588), *paavējja* = *pratāpet*, *dharejjā* = *dhriyeta*, *viharejjā* = *vihare*, *nañējja* = *namet* (R. 4,28; 5,4; 8,4); JM. *vivajjējjā* = *vipadyeta*, *nirakkhijjā* = *nirikṣeta*, *sakkējja* = *śakyet* (Erz. 43,22; 49,35; 79,1), *aikkamijjā* = *atīkrāmet* (Kk. 271,7); AMg. *kuppējjā* = *kupyet*, *pariharejjā* = *pariharet* (Āyār. 1,2, 4,4; 5,3), *karējjā* = **karyāt* = *kuryāt* (Āyār. 2,5,2. 4. 5; Paṇṇav. 573; Vivāhap. 57. 1524. 1549 ff.), *karējja* (Āyār. 2,2,2,1), *labhējjā* = *labheta* (Kappas. S. § 18), passive: *ghēppejjā* = *grhyeta* (Paṇḥāv. 400); in verses often with a short final vowel: *rakkhējja* = *rakṣet*, *viṇaējja* = *vināyet*, *sevējja* = *seveta*, passive: *muccējja* = *mucyeta* (Uttar. 198. 199. 247); P. *huvēyya* = *bhavet* (Hc. 4,320.323); A. *caejjā* = *tyajet*, *bhañējjā* = *bhramet* (Hc. 4,418.6). Sr. fol. 51 gives also *hasējjāi*. Beside those in *-ējjā*, *-ējja* AMg. JM. often have the forms in *-e* = *-et*: *gijjhe* = *grdhyet*, *harise* = *harṣet*, *kujjhe* = *krudhyet*

(Āyār 1,2,3,1.2), *kiṇe, kiṇāvae* = **krīṇet, *krīṇāpayet* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), especially in verses: *care = caret* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4; Uttar. 190. 567), *ciṭṭhe = tiṣṭhet, uvaciṭṭhe = upatiṣṭhet* (Uttar. 29. 30) beside *uvaciṭṭhejjā, ciṭṭhejjā* (Uttar. 34. 35), *labhe = labheta* (Uttar. 180); sometimes both the forms occur in the same verse: *acchiṇ pi no pamajjijā no vi ja kaṇḍujae muṇi gāyaṇ = aksy api no pramārjayen no api ca kaṇḍūyāyen munir gātram* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19); JM. *parikkhae = parikṣeta, dahe = dahet, vināsae = vināsayet* (Erz. 31,21; 38,18). In Ś. Mg. is found only -e: Ś. very frequently *bhave = bhavet* (Mṛcch. 2,23; 51,23; 52,13; Śak. 20,3,4; 50,3; 53,4; Vikr. 9,3; 23, 5. 16 etc.), *pūrae = pūrayet* (Mālav. 73,18), *uddhare = uddharet* (Vikr. 6, 16)¹; Mg. *bhave = bhavet* (Mṛcch. 164,6; 170,18. 19), *mūṣe = mūset, khayye = *khādyet = khādet* (Mṛcch. 119,16. 17)². With the exception of *hojjā* (§ 466) JM. too hitherto has the only opt. in -e: *have = bhavet* (Pav. 387, 25; Kattig. 398,302. 309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 343. 345 ff. etc.), *nāsae = nāsayet* (Kattig. 401,341).

1. So we should read for *uddharedi* with the v.l., ed. Calc. 1830, LENZ, Sh.P. PAṆḌIT (6,7 *saṁ uddhare*), since *avi nāma* is joined with the optative only (Śak. 13,9; Vikr. 13, 18; 40,21; Mālav. 44,1; Mahāv. 17,9; Mālatīm. 56,2; 289,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,18) or future (Mālatīm. 74,3; 100,1; 284,9) when a wish will have to be expressed. The indicative (Vepīs. 58,7) and imperative (Mg.; Mṛcch. 114,16) denote an interrogation.—
2. Cf. Mṛcch. 121,3, where for *khajje* we should read *khayyedi* beside *mūṣedi*.

§ 463. The 1. plur. occurs only in PG. *karējjāma* (7,41). For JM. JACOBI (Erz. XLVII) suggests (*pucchejjāmo*) and (*kahejjāmo*). Forms such as *rakkhemo* (Erz. 52,15) are not optative (JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *rakkhaī*), but indicative (§ 472). In the 2. plur. as in the 2. sing. the ending of the imp. enters: AMg. *bhavejjāha = bhaveta* (Nāyādh. 912.915.918.920), *viharejjāha = vihareta* (915. 918), *gacchejjāha = gaccheta* (916. 918), *ciṭṭhejjāha = tiṣṭheta, uvāga-cchejjāha = upāgaccheta* (921); JM. *pāejjāha = pāyayeta* (Erz. 38,1), and with *ā*: *khamējjāha = kṣamedhvam, dhoējjāha = dhaukedhvam, duhējjāha = duhyāta* (Erz. 25,26; 26,16; 37,37), *kahejjāha = kathayeta* (Āv. 47,23), *bharijjāha = *bhareta* (may you fill; Kk. 265,10); D. *karējjāha* (Mṛcch. 99,24); A. *rakkhejjāhu* (Hc. 4,350,2).—3. plur. AMg. *āgacchejjā* (Tṭhān. 125: *loganti yadevā...ā*); Ś. *bhave = bhaveyaḥ* (Vikr. 26,2; *akkharā...visajjidā bhavē*; Raṅganātha: *bhave ity atra bahuvacana ekavacanam ca*); AMg. *manne = manyeran* (Sūyag. 575. 576. 578; *johā nam ee purisā* [text *purise*] *manne*; uncertain, since beforehand 575 *jahā nam esa purise manne*), *samabhiloe = samabhilokayeyuḥ* (Vivāhap. 929; *te pe'cchāgā tam naṭṭijam...samabhiloe' tti i hanta bhante samabhiloe*).

§ 464. The old formation of the optative of the 2. conjugation has been retained in a few verbs in AMg. JM. So particularly the very frequent AMg. *siyā = syāt* (c.g. Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 6,3; Vivāhap. 39.40. 146f. etc.; Kappas.), also *asiyā = na syāt* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2); AMg. *kujjā = kuryāt* (c.g. Āyār. 1,2,6,1; Uttar. 28. 29. 198; Dasav. 613,15; Kappas. etc.), also in *pāukujjā = prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474); AMg. *būyā = brūyāt* (c.g. Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 1,5,5,3), especially frequent in the combination *kevalī būyā* (Āyār. p. 72. 77 f. 132 ff.); besides AMg. *hañijā = hanyāt* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), found sporadically in verses, beside *hañijā* (Jiv. 295; Uttar. 198), *hañējjā* (Paṇhāv. 396. 397), JM. *āhañējjāsi* (Āv. 11.1) and AMg. *hañe* (Āyār. 1,2, 6,5; 1,3,2,3). A 2. sing. with the ending -hi of the imperative is AMg. *ējjāhi = eyāḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Erz. 29,5).

§ 465. An old optative is the hitherto obscure Pāli, AMg. JM. *sakkā*. CHILDERS¹ wished to take it as past passive participle = *śakta*,

which became an indeclinable, PISCHEL² considered it as a shortened dative sing., and FRANKE³, with whom JOHANSSON agrees, thought it to be the nom. sing. fem., which became the nom. plur. neut. It is strictly = Vedic *śakyāt* and is appropriately used as the opt. in the earliest writings. So: AMg. *na sakkā na soum saddā sojavisajām āgajā* "the sounds, that have come within the reach of hearing cannot be not heard" (Āyār. p. 136, 14); *na sakkā rūvam adaṭṭhūm cakkhuvisajām āgajām* "one cannot not see a form that has come within the range of eye-sight" (Āyār. p. 136, 22; cf. p. 136, 31; 137, 7. 18); *egassa dōṇha tiṇha va saṁkhējjāṇa va pāsum sakkā disanti sarirāim ṇojajivān' anantānam* "one can see one, two or three or numerable (ṇoja- being), they see bodies of unending number of many ṇoja- being"; *kiṁ sakkā kām je jaṁ neccaha osaṁ muhā pām* "what can one do when you do not like to drink medicine in vain" (Paṇhāv. 329; cf. Dasav. N. 644, 28). Cf. also Nāyādh. § 87. JM. *kiṁ sakkā kām* "what can one do" (Āv. 30, 10); *na sakkā eṇa uvāṇam* "it cannot be done in this manner" (Āv. 35, 11); *na jā sakkā pām so vā ane vā* "and neither he nor others can drink" (Āv. 42, 8; cf. 42, 28 *na vi appaṇo pivaī na vi annam sakkei jūham pām*). In consequence of the phonetic resemblance with *sakkāi*=*śakyate* the infinitive is later used in the passive sense. So: *no khalu se sakkā keṇā subāhūṇa vi uram ureṇam giṇhittae* "he could not be caught breast to breast even by a very strong person" (Vivāgas. 127); *no khalu se sakkā keṇā ... nigganṭhāo pāvayaṇāo cālitṭae vā khobhittae vā vipariṇāmittae vā* "he could not by anybody be staggered or made waver from or made disloyal to his faith in Jainism (Uvās. § 113), and the same change with the first pers. sing., as in the other opt. in -ā, in *no khalu aham sakkā...cālitṭae...* (Nāyādh. 765. 770). Cf. still Uvās. § 119. 174; Dasav. 636, 25. Manifestly an exactly similar development takes place in the case of AMg. *cakkiyā*, about whose optative character there cannot be any doubt. So: *ejamsi ṇam bhante dhammatthikājamsi...cakkiyā kei āsittae vā ciṭṭhittae vā...* "can, O Lord, anybody sit or stand in this religious organisation?" (Vivāhap. 513; cf. 1119. 1120. 1346. 1389); *erāvai kuṇālāe jattha cakkiyā sijā egaṁ pāyam jale kiccā egaṁ pāyam thale kiccā evaṁ cakkiā* "when there (is a stream) like the Airāvati in Kuṇālā, where he (can go across), he should go across it with one foot in the water and one foot on the dryland" (Kappas. S. § 12; cf. § 13). *cakkiyā* standing for **cakkiyā*=**cakyāt* according to § 195 belongs to M. *caai* (can; is capable; Vr. 8, 70 [so to read for *vaai*]; Hc. 4, 86; Ki. 4, 60; R.)=**cakati*, to which Aśoka *caghati* for **cakhati* with aspiration belongs according to § 206⁵. I derive *caai*=**takati* from *taki saṇe* (Dhātupāṭha 5, 2; cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini 3, 1, 97, ed. KIELHORN 2, 82) with palatal for dental according to § 216.—Accordingly Pāli AMg. *labbhā*=**labhyāt*, like AMg. *savve pāṇā...na bhajadukkhā ca kiṁci labbhā pāveum*, "may no creature experience the least fear and grief" (Paṇhāv. 363; Abhayadeva: *labhyā yogyo* [sic; read *yogyā*]); *na tāim samaṇeṇa labbhā daṭṭhūm na kaheum na vi jā sumareum* "a mendicant should not see it, should not talk about it and should not even think about it" (Paṇhāv. 466; Abhayadeva: *labbhā tti labhyāni ucitāni*); *dugaṁchāvattiyā vi labbhā uppāeum* (ed. *uppāteu*; Paṇhāv. 526; Abhayadeva: *labhyā ucitā yogyety arthaḥ*), for which at 537 f. stands: *na dugaṁchāvattiyaṇam labbhā uppāeum* "he should not excite the feeling of abhorrence".

1. Dictionary s. v. *sakko* p. 420.—2. Ved. Stud. 1, 328.—3. BB. 17, 256.—4. BB. 20, 91.—5. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1891—3, p. 28 ff., who at p. 30 wrongly maintains that I had wrongly equated, under Hc. 4, 86, *caai*=*tyajati*, where I have merely translated Hc. and have expressly separated *caai* from its other synonyms.

4. IMPERATIVE.

§ 467. The paradigm is:

Sing.	Plur.
1. [vaṭṭāmu, vaṭṭamu]	AMg. JM. vaṭṭāmo; M. Ś. Mg. Dh., also JM. vaṭṭamha, vaṭṭe'mha
2. vaṭṭa, vaṭṭasu, vaṭṭesu, vaṭṭehi, AMg. also vaṭṭāhi, A. vaṭṭu, vaṭṭahi	vaṭṭaha; Ś. Mg. [Dh] vaṭṭadha, vaṭṭedha; A. vaṭṭahu, vaṭṭehu; CP. vaṭṭatha
3. vaṭṭāu, Ś. Mg. Dh. vaṭṭadu	vaṭṭantu, A. also vaṭṭahi

The 1. sing. is traceable only in the grammarians, who mention *hasāmu*, *pe'cchāmu* (Hc. 3,173), *hasamu* (Bh. 7,18; Ki. 4,26; Sr. fol. 51) as examples. As regards the correctness of this form there is so little to be doubted, as the 2. sing. in *-su* is used all the dialects, especially in M., as also in the optative (§ 461). This form has hitherto been considered to be in the ātmanepada and the ending *-su*, we have been equating as = Skt. *-sva*, hence *rakkhasu* = *rakṣasva*¹. The circumstance, that this ending is found also with the verbs, that are never conjugated in the ātmanepada in Skt. and further that it frequently occurs in Ś. Mg., that otherwise use ātmanepadam, shows little that this is wrong. The endings *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* correspond to the endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-i* of the indicative. M. *viramasu* = *virama*, *rajjasu* = *rajjyasva* (H. 149), *rakkhasu* = *rakṣa* (H. 297), *parirakkhasu* = *parirakṣa* (R. 6,15), *osarasu* = *apasara* (H. 451); M. JM. Ś. *karesu* = *kuru* (H. 48; Sagara 3,12; Kk. 273,41; Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9 etc.); M. *apunesu* = *anunaya* (H. 152. 946); Ś. *ānesu* = *ānaya* (Śak. 125,8²; Kārṇas. 51,17), *avanesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhuñjasu* = *bhuñgdhi* (H. 316; Uttar. 369; Āv. 12,14; Mṛcch. 70,12); AMg. *jāsu* = *yāhi* (Sūyag. 177); AMg. *kahasu* (Uttar. 700. 703), Ś. *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16; Kārṇas. 37,7. 12) = *kathaya*, AMg. *saddhasu* = *śraddhehi* (Sūyag. 151); JM. *khamasu* = *kṣamasva* (Sagara 3,12; Dvār. 497,13), *varasu* = *vr̥ṇīsu* (Sagara 1,15), *sarasu* = *smara* (Āv. 7,34); M. JM. *kunasu* = *kuru* (H. 607. 771; Sagara 6, 2. 11. 12; Kk. 266, 16; 274, 27); Mg. *lahkaśu* = *rakṣa* (Caṇḍak. 69,1), *āgaśceśu* (Mṛcch. 116,5) = *āgaścha*, *deśu* (Prab. 58,8; B. *dessu*, P. M. Bb. *dehi*), *dihkaśu* (Prab. 58,18; B. *dikkhassu*, P. *dikkhassa*, M. *dikkhehi*, Bb. *dikkhaya*) = *dikṣaya*, *dhāleśu* (Prab. 60,10; B. *dhālēssu*, P. Bb. *dhālesu*, M. *dāvaa*) = *dhāraya*; A. *kejjasu* = *kuru* (passive in the sense of the active § 550; Piṅgala 1,39; 2,119. 120), *muñiāsu*, metrically for *muñiasu*, passive of *muñ* (§ 489) in the sense of the active (Piṅgala 1,111,112) beside *muñijjasu* (2,119), *bujjhasu* = *budhyasva* (Piṅgala 2,120). In Ś. in the texts we find, more than once, ātmanepada forms in *-ssa*, as *uvālahassa* (Śak. 11,4), *avalambassa* (Śak. 119,13; 133,8), *pe'kkhassa* (Prab. 56,14), *paḍivajjassa* (Venis. 72,19), also *pariramhassu* (Viddhaś. 128,6), and many others in Indian editions. We should see in them examples of Sanskritisms, that are to be removed from the texts. The v.l. has mostly the correct reading. In AMg. the imp. in *-su* is traceable only in verses.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 179. 338; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 61; JACOBI, Erz. § 54; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43.—2. So to be read with R; cf. BLOCH l. c. p. 43.

§ 468. If the stem ends in a short vowel, as a rule, as in Skt., it is used as the 2. sing. imp.; if it ends in a long vowel, the ending *-hi* enters in. In AMg. mostly and in M. JM. Mg. sometimes, the *a*-stems take the ending *-hi*, before which *a* is lengthened. A. too has this formation frequently; here,

however, *ā* is again shortened. In Ś. Mg. the ending *-āhi* appears beside *-a* in the case of the roots of the ninth conjugation and those formed on their analogy, in connection with the 3. sing. in *-ādu*. In Dh. and A. final *a* becomes *u* (§ 106): M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *bhaṇa*, A. *bhaṇu* (H. 163, 400; Nāyādh. 260; Āv. 15,3; Śāk. 50,9; 114,5; Piṅgala 1,62; Hc. 4,401,4), but D. Ś. Mg. also *bhaṇāhi* (D. Mṛcch. 100,4; on Ś. Mg. see § 514); A. *bhaṇāhi* (Vikr. 63,4); Ā. *ciṭṭha* = *tiṣṭha*, *ehi*, *vāhehi* (Mṛcch. 99,18, 20; 100, 18); AMg. Ś. *gaccha* (Uvās. § 58, 259; Lalitav. 561,15; Śāk. 18,2; Mṛcch. 38,22; 58,2), Mg. *gaśca* (Mṛcch. 38,22; 79,14), but AMg. also *gacchāhi* (Uvās. § 204); M. JM. *peṭṭha* (H. 725; Āv. 18,12); Ś. D. *peṭṭha* (Śāk. 58,7; Mṛcch. 17,20; 42,2; D. 100,14), Mg. *peṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 12,16; 13,6; 21, 15), A. *peṭṭkhu* (Hc. 4,419,6) and *peṭṭkhaḥi* (Piṅgala 1,61); M. Ś. *hasa* (H. 818; Nāgān. 33,5), Mg. *haśa* (Mṛcch. 21,4); Mg. *piva* = *piba* (Prab. 60,9) and *pivāhi* (Veṇis. 34,2, 15), *palittāhi* = *paritrāyasva* (Mṛcch. 175, 22; 176,5, 10); M. *rua* (H. 895) beside *ruehi* (784) and *ruasu* (143, 885, 909), Ś. *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,15; Nāgān. 24,8, 12) = *rudihī*; AMg. *vigīṇca* = **vikṛntya* = *vikṛnta* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 170), *jāṇāhi* = *jānihi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *bujjhāhi* = *budhyasva*, *vasāhi* = *vasa*, *harāhi* = *hara*, *vandāhi* = *vandasva*, *akkamāhi* = *ākrāma* (Kappas. § 111, 114; Ovav. § 53; Uvās. § 58, 204; Nirayāv. § 22); JM. *viharāhi* = *vihara* (Āv. 11,6); M. JM. AMg. Ś. *karehi* (H. 225, 900; Āv. 11,4; Kk. s. v. *kar*; Ovav. § 40; Mṛcch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10; Śāk. 78,14; 153,13), Mg. *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5); A. *karāhi*, *karahi* (Piṅgala 1,149; Hc. 4,385) and *karu* (Hc. 4,330, 2); D. *oṇāmehi* = *avanāmaya* (Mṛcch. 102,2); AMg. *padikappehi* = *pratikālpaya*, *saṃnāhehi* = *saṃnāhaya*, *upaṭṭhāvehi* = *upasthāpaya*, *kāravehi* = *kārāya* (Ovav. § 40), *roehi* = *rocaya* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *pucchehi* = *precha* (Kk. 272,31), *maggehi* = *mārgaya*, *viyāṇehi* = *viyānihi* (Erz. 59,6; 71,12); Ś. *manthehi* = *mantraya*, *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Lalitav. 554,8; 565,15), *siḍhilehi* = *śiṭhila* (Śāk. 11,1; Veṇis. 76,4), *jālehi* = *jvālaya* (Mṛcch. 25,18); Mg. *mālehi* = *māraya* (Mṛcch. 123,15; 165,24), *ghoṣehi* = *ghoṣaya* (Mṛcch. 162, 9); Dh. *pasalu* = *prasara* (text **ru*; Mṛcch. 32,16), whilst elsewhere the MSS. falsely give *-a* in the final syllable: *geṇha* (29,16; 30,2), *paaccha* (31,4, 7, 9; 32,3, 8, 12, 14; 34,24; 35,7), *āaccha* (39,17); *dehi* (32,23; 36,15); A. *suṇehi* = *śṛṇu* (Piṅgala 1,62); M. JM. Ś. *hohi* = **bhodhi* = Vedic *bodhi* = *bhava* (H. 259, 372; Erz. 11,31; 39,24; Mṛcch. 54,12; Śāk. 67,2; 70,9; Vikr. 8,8; 12,12; 23,6 etc.). On the assumptive imp. in *-e*, *-i* in A. see § 461.

§ 469. The 3. sing. ends in *-u*, Ś. Mg. D. Dh. *-du* = *-tu*: M. *marāu* = *mriyatām* (H. s. v. *mar*), *paṭṭāu* = *pravartatām* (R. 3,58), *deu* = **dayatu* (G. 58); AMg. *pāsāu* = *paśyatu* (Kappas. § 16), *āpucchaū* = *āprechatu* (Uvās. § 68), *viṇeu* = *vinayatu* (Nāyādh. § 97, 98); JM. *kirāu* = *kriyatām*, *suṇāu* = *śrūyatām* (Erz. 15,9; 17,14); *deu* = **dayatu* (Kk. II, 508,29), *suṇāu* = *śvapitu* (Dvār. 503,3); Ś. *pasīdadu* = *prasīdatu* (Lalitav. 561,9; Śāk. 120,11), *āruhadu* = *ārohatu* (Uttar. 32,6,7), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Śāk. 121,10), *suṇādu* = *śṛnotu* (Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; Veṇis. 12,5; 59,23 etc.); D. *gacchadu* (Mṛcch. 101,1); Mg. *muṇcadu* = *muṇcatu*, *suṇādu* = *śṛnotu*, *viśīdadu* = *niśīdatu* (Mṛcch. 31,18, 21; 37,3; 38,9); A. *ṇandaū* = *nandatu* (Hc. 4,422,14), *dijjāu* = *diyatām*, *kijjāu* = *kriyatām* (Piṅgala 1, 81^a); M. JM. AMg. A. *hou*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodu* = *bhavatu* (M. H. R.; Hc. s. v. *bhū*; JM. Erz. 18,12; Kk. s. v. *ho*; AMg. Kappas. Nāyādh. s. v. *ho*; Ś. Mṛcch. 4,23; Śāk. 24,13; Vikr. 6,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 38,8; 79,18; 80,4; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,14, 18; 31,19, 22; 34,20).

§ 470. As 1. plur. imp. in AMg. and partly in JM. is used the

1. plur. indicative: AMg. *gacchāmo...vandāmo namasāmo sakkāremo saṁmāṇemo...pajjuvāsāmo* = *gacchāma...vandāmahai namasyāma satkārayāma saṁmāṇayāma...paryupāsāmahai* (Vivāhap. 187. 263; Ovav. § 38), *gñhāmo* = *grñhāma*, *sāijjāmo* = **svādyāmahai* = *svāddāmahai* (Ovav. § 86), *jujjhāmo* = *yudhyāmahai* (Nirayāv. § 25); JM. *harāmo* = *harāma* (Erz. 37,11), *gacchāmo* = *gacchāma*, *pavisāmo* = *praviśāma* (Sagara 5,1. 6). Vr. 7. 19 and Hc. 3,176 know only the ending -āmo: *hasāmo*, *tuvarāmo*, Sr. fol. 51 also *hasimo*, *hasemo*, *hasamo*, as in the indicative. Thus we find AMg. *bhuñjimo* = *bhuñjāma* (verse; Uttar. 675); JM. *nijjhāmemo* = *niḥkṣāmayāma* (Dvār. 505, 9), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35), *pūremo* = *pūrayāma* (Sagara 3,17); AMg. *homo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,34). The special ending of the imp. is -mha, which has not been found in AMg., in M. JM. it is found very seldom, therefore, it has not been mentioned by Vr. Hc. Sr.¹, on the other hand, the only form occurring in Ś. Mg. Dh. is prescribed by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś. A rich collection from Mṛcch., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn. has been given by BLOCH². M. *abbhatthē'mha* = *abhyarthayāma* (R. 4,48); JM. *ciṭṭhamha* = *tiṣṭhāma*, *gacchamha* = *gacchāma* (Erz. 14,33; 60,21)³; Ś. *gacchamha* (Mṛcch. 75,3; Śak. 67,10; 79,8; 115,3; Vikr. 6,14; 18,13; Mālav. 30,12; 32,13; Ratn. 294,8; 295,11; 303,20; 312,24 etc.), *uvavisamha* = *upaviśāma* (Śak. 18,9), *uvasappamha* = *upasarpāma* (Śak. 79,11; Vikr. 24, 3; 41,14; Nāgān. 13,8; Bālar. 216,1), *pe'kkhamha* = *prekṣāmahai* (Mṛcch. 42,14; Vikr. 31,14; 32,5; Ratn. 303,25 etc.), *karēmha* = *karavāma* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Ratn. 303,21; Prab. 63,11; Venis. 9,23 etc.), *nivedē'mha* = *nivedayāma* (Śak. 160,7 [so to be read]; Mālav. 45,15; 293,29; 309,26), *ativāhe'mha* = *ativāhayāma* (Ratn. 299,32), *hō'mha* = *bhavāma* (Śak. 26,14; Vikr. 36,12); Mg. *aṇṇesamha*⁴ = *anveṣayāma* (Mṛcch. 171,18), *pivamha* = *pibāma* (Venis. 35,22), *palāamha* = *palāyāmahai* (Caṇḍak. 72,2), *kalē'mha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Caṇḍak. 68,15; Venis. 36, 6); Dh. *aṇusalē'mha* = *anudarāma* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,19), Dh. Mg. Ś. *kiḷē'mha* = *kriḍāma* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 94,15; 131,18), Dh. Mg. *nivedē'mha* (Mṛcch. 36,22; 171,11). Forms in -mo and -ma that are found in manuscripts and editions sporadically, as *pe'kkhāmo* (Mālav. 15,17), Mg. *pe'skāmo* (Mṛcch. 119,1), *pavisāmo* (Mālav. 39,19; v.l. *pavissamha*; Sh. P. PANDIT 75,2 correctly *pavisamha*; cf. Ratn. 294,17; 302,29; Nāgān. 27,7; Mahāv. 35, 17), *avakkamāma* (Mālav. 48,18; correctly *avakkamamha* Mṛcch. 22,2), *ṇivārema* (Mālav. 62,13; v.l. *ṇivārehmi*), Mg. *ṇaccāmo* (Prab. 61,7; ed. M. 75,22 correctly *ṇaccamha*)⁵ are likewise false for the imp., as the forms in -mha for the ind. (§ 455). If, therefore, -mha is merely related to the imperative, its derivation from *smaḥ* (we are)⁶ is false. -mha is = -sma of the aorist and one *ñēmha* = **neṣma* (§ 474) is regulated exactly in the same manner as Vedic *jeṣma*, *geṣma*, *deṣma*, used only imperatively and according to the 2. sing. *neṣa*, *parṣa* (WHITNEY § 894c. 896; cf. also NEISSER, BB. 20,70 ff.). A. uses the 1. plur. of the ind.: *jāhū* = *yāma* (Hc. 4,386).

1. Ś. Mg., in which the imp. in -mha is throughout frequent, are treated by these grammarians very briefly. It is, therefore, not astonishing that this form is not mentioned by them, what BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43 has severely criticised—2. l.c. p. 44, unfortunately with many false quotations and without distinguishing between the three dialects. The examples given above have been selected with discretion, here upon.—3. Overlooked by JACOBI, Erz. p. XLVII.—4. For Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *aṇṇesasma*, *pivasma*, *kalē'sma* etc. would be expected. Cf., however, § 314.—5. More in BLOCH, l. c. p. 45.—6. BOPP, Vgl. Grammatik 11, 120; BURNOUF et LASSEN, Essai sur le Pali (Paris 1826) p. 180 f.; HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto § 187 nota III; LASSEN, Inst. § 117,2; BRUGMANN, Grundriss II¹, 1354, note 1; BLOCH, l. c. p. 46 f.

§ 471. As 2. plur. of the ind. (§ 456) is used M. *namaha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 1,7), A. *namahu* (Hc. 4,446), CP. *namattha* (Hc. 4,326);

M. *rañjeḥa* = *rañjayata*, *raeḥa* = *racayata*, *deḥa* = **dayata* (H. 780); M. *uaha* = **upata*¹ = *paśyata* (Bh. 1,14; Deśin. 1,98; Triv. 2,1,75; G. H.; Śak 2,14); also *uvaha* (Sr. fol. 45; Karp. 67,8; Pratāp. 205,9; 212,10; v. l. to H.); AMg. *haṇaḥa khaṇaḥa chaṇaḥa dahaha*, *paḥaḥa ālumpha vilumpha sahasakkāreha viparāmusaha* = *hata khanata kṣaṇuta dahata pacata ālumpha vilumpha sahasāḥkārayata viparāṃśata* (Sūyag. 596; cf. Āyār. 1,7,2,4), *khamāha* = *kṣamadhvam* (Uttar. 366. 367), *tāḥa* = *tādayata* (Nāyādh. 1305); JM. *acchaha* = *ṛcchata* (Āv. 14,30), *kaṇḍūyaha* (Erz. 36,21), *ciṭṭhaha*, *āisaha*, *giṇhaha* = *tiṣṭhata*, *ādiśata*, *grhṇita* (Kk. 264,11. 12), *ṭhavaḥa*, *damseha* = *sthāpayata*, *darśayata* (Kk. 265,7; 274,21); Ś. *parittāadha* = *paritrāyadhvam* (Śak. 16, 10; 17, 6; Vikr. 3, 17; 5, 2; Mālatīm. 130,3), Mg. *palittāadha* (Mṛcch. 32,25); AMg. JM. *kareha* (Kappas.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kk. 270, 45), AMg. also *kuvvāhā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), A. *karehu* (Piṅgala 1,122), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107), *kuṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118), *kuṇahu* (text **ha*; Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79), Mg. *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23); Ś. *paattadha* = *prayatadhvam* (Śak 52,15), *samassasadha* = *saṃśāsita* (Vikr. 7,1), *avaṇedha* = *apanayata*, *hodha* = *bhavata*, *māredha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 97,23; 161,16); Mg. *ośaladha* = *apasarata* (Mṛcch. 96,21. 23; 97,1; 134,24. 25; 157,4. 12 etc.; Mudrār. 153,5; 256,4 [so to be read]; Caṇḍak. 64,5), *ṣuṇādhā* = *ṣṛṇuta* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; Prab. 46,14. 16), *māledha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 165,123; 166,1)². Dh. *ramaha* (Mṛcch. 39,17) is to be emended as *ramamha* with BLOCH³; A. *piahu* = *piḥata* (Hc. 4, 422, 20), *ṭhavahu* = *sthāpayata*, *kahehu* = *kathayata* (Piṅgala 1,119. 122). D. has *āacchadha* = *āgacchata* beside *jatteha* = *yata-dhvam*, *karējjāha* = *kuruta*, *johaha* (Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3). — The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ntu : M. *deṇtu* = **dayantu* (G. 44), *ṇandantu*, *vilihantu* (Karp. 1,1. 4); AMg. *bhavantu* (Vivāhap. 508), *nijjantu* = *niryāntu*, *phusantu* = *spṛśantu* (Ovav. § 47. 87), *suṇantu* = *ṣṛṇvantu* (Nāyādh. 1134); Ś. *paśidantu* = *praśidantu* (Mudrār. 253,4), *peḥkhantu* = *prekṣantām* (Mṛcch. 4,3), *hōntu* = *bhavantu* (Vikr. 87,21); Mg. *paśidantu* = *praśidantu* (Śak. 113,5); A. *piḍantu* (Hc. 4,385), and the ind. *lehi* (Hc. 4,387,3)⁴.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,211. Wrong WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29, note 4 and on Hāla² 4.—
2. On Ś. cf. FISCHER, KB. 8,134 ff.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.—4. In case one reads *jam* for *je* here we have a case of the indicative.

§ 472. As remarked in § 452, the *a*-stems have become prevalent through coalescence of the 1. and 2. conjugations. Beside them, except in A., the *e*-stems have undergone wide extension. Vr. 7,34 and Kī. 4,37—39 permit *e* in all the tenses and moods, Hc 3,158, with whom Mk. fol. 51 seems to be in agreement, limits its entry into the indic. imp. and the parasmaipada pres. participle. Bh. gives as examples *hasei*, *hasai*, *padhei*, *padhai*, *haseṇti*, *hasanti*, *haseu*, *hasai*; Hc. has *hasei*, *hasai*, *hasema*, *hasemu*, *hasemo*; *haseu*, *hasai*; *supēu*, *supai*, *haseṇto*, *hasanto*, Kī. *hasai*, *hasei*, *caai*, *caei*, Mk. *bhaṇai*, *bhaṇei*, *bhaṇasi*, *bhaṇesi*. These forms in -e are found in a large number in all c'asses, beside those in -a, and it can be determined with certainty, in spite of the great fluctuation of the MSS. Its entire mode of formation forbids it directly to be put in a series with the causatives and denominatives¹. From *kṛ* one forms *karaī* and *karei*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *karedi*, the causative, however, *kārei*, Ś. Mg. *kāredī*, JŚ. *kārayadi* (Kattig. 403,385). One says *hasai* and *hasei*, but in the caus. *hāsei*, Ś. *muñcadi*, *muñcedi*, but in the caus. *moāvedi* etc. Hence it is more correct to say that the character -e from -aya of the derived verbs can plainly enter into Pkt.² too. I do not consider it correct to say that the forms such as Ś. *gaccheṃha* (Mṛcch. 43, 20; 44,18), Dh. *gēṇhēṃha* (Mṛcch. 36,24), *aṇusalēṃha* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,

19), Dh. Ś. Mg. *kiḷmha* (Mṛcch. 30,18;94,15;131,18), Ś. *suṣmha* (Mṛcch. 46,9) are to be explained as false with BLOCH².

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 53, II, where *nemi*, *demi* are to be deleted completely (§ 474).—2. LASSEN, Inst. § 120,3.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.

§ 473. The verbs of the first conjugation, of which the roots end in *-i*, *-u* are conjugated mostly as in Skt.: *ji* forms *jaāi* (Hc. 4,241; G. H. s. v. *ji*; Karp. 2,6), AMg. JM. *jayāi* (Nandis. 1,22; Erz.), Ś. *jaadi* (Vikr. 44,4; Mudrār. 224,4. 5. 6), imperative Ś. *jaadu* (Śak. 41,1; 44,3; 138,6; 162,1; Vikr. 27,8; 28,14; 44,3; 47,20; 82,8. 9; Ratn. 296,1;305,15;320,16; 321,28 etc.). The form *jedu*, which is often found beside *jaadu*, pro ex. Venis. 59,13 beside *jaadu* 29,11, further in Prab. 32,12 Mg. *yedu* beside Ś. *jaadu* 40,8 and occurring only in the Devanāgarī recension of Śak. (ed. BÖHTLINGK 27,12; 29,17; 89,15; 90,9; 107,8) is badly accredited¹. In M. JM. AMg. Dh. A. *ji* is conjugated also according to the 9. conjugation, in M. JM. AMg. A. it crosses over to the 1. conjugation at the same time: Dh. *jinādi* (Mṛcch. 34,22); AMg. *jināmi* (Uttar. 704); M. *jinai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), AMg. *parāinai* (Vivāhap. 123,124); A. *jinai* (Piṅgala 1,123^a); M. *jinanti* (R. 3,40); AMg. *jinējja* (Uttar. 291), *jināhi* (Jiv. 602; Kappas. § 114; Ovav. § 53), *jinantassa* = *jayatah* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *jinium* (absol.; Āv. 36,42); A. *jinia* (Piṅgala 1,102^a). On the passive *jinijjai*, *jivvai* see § 536. For Ś. Mk.fol. 71 appears to prescribe or to forbid *jinādi*. From the absolute Ś. *samassaia* (Śak.2,8) follows a present **samassaa* = *samāśrayati*. In AMg. *śri* too is conjugated according to the 9. conjugation, like *ji*: *samussināmi*, *samussināsi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 2).—Of *ci* and *mi* are found also the contracted forms (§ 502). For the roots in *-u*, *-ū* Hc. 4,233 teaches, without distinguishing between their class, a similar conjugation: *nīhavaī*, *nīhavaī* = *nīhute*, *cavaī* = *cyavate*, *ravaī* = *rauti*, *kavaī* = *kavate*, *savaī* = *sūte*, *pasavaī* = *prasūte*. So AMg. *pasavaī* (Uttar. 641), *nīṇaavējja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *nīhava* (Dasav. 631,31), *aṇīhavamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 83); whilst the passive M. *nīṇhuvijjanti* (H. 657), Ś. *nīṇhuvīdi* (Ratn. 303,9) and the past participle Ś. *nīṇhuvīdo* (Śak. 137,6) = **nīṇhuvai* presuppose the flexion according to the 6. conjugation; M. *paṇhaaī* = *prasna-uti* (H. 409,462 v. l. *paṇhuaī*); AMg. A. *ravaī* (Thāṇ. 450; Piṅgala 2,146). Beside *ravaī*, *ru* is conjugated according to the 6. conjugation too: *ruvai* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ruvai*, *ruvanti*, *ruvasu* (H. s. v. *rud*), *paḍiruvanti* (R.), passive *ruvvaī* and *ruvijjai* (Hc. 4,249), M. *ruvasu* in the middle sense (H. 10). Thence is deduced a root *ruv*, which, like *dhau*, *svap* (§ 482,497), secondarily is conjugated according to the first class: *rovaī* (Hc. 4,238); M. *rovanti* (H. 494); JM. *rovāmi* (Dvār. 503,17), inf. *rovium* (Dvār. 503,15; 504,6), past passive participle *roviya* (Dvār. 504,7). The grammarians derive the forms from *rud* (Vr.8,42; Hc.4,226) occasioned through similarity in flexion (§ 495) and similarity in meaning. Cf. Gypsy *ruvāva*, *ruvāva* “to weep” and English *to cry* “to weep” and “to howl”².—AMg. *luējjā* = **luwējjā* = *luniyāt* (Vivāhap. 1186), *puvanti* = *plavante* (Vivāhap. 1232) according to the 6. conjugation. Cf. also § 494. 503. 511.

1. CAPPELLER on Ratn. p. 369; almost everywhere is found in the text the v. l. *jaadu*, beside *jedu*, in the best MSS.; cf. pro ex. Mudrār. 38,4; 46,4; 54,6; 84,7 etc.—2. WEBER on Hāla 141; FISCHER on Hc. 4,226.

§ 474. The roots of the 1. conjugation in *-i* tend to change *-aya* into *-e* through *saṃprasāraṇa*: M. *ṇesi*, *ṇei* = *nayasi*, *nayati* (H. 553. 939. 647), *āṇei* (R. 8,43); AMg. JM. *nīnei* = *nirṇayati* (Uttar. 578; Erz. 29,6); JM. *nei* (Erz. 11,11), M. *parīnei* (Karp. 7,4), Ś. *parīnedi* (Viddhaś. 50,1), *āṇedi* (Karp. 109,8). According to these also the 1. sing. JM. *nemi* (Sagara 9,6), M. *āṇemi* (Karp. 26,1), Ś. *avaṇemi* = *apanayāmi*, *aṇuṇemi*, *parāṇemi*

(Mṛcch. 6,7; 18,23; 166,16); 3. plur. M. *ñēnti* (R. 3,14; 5,2; 6,92). Imp. JM. *Ś. ñehi* (Erz. 43,24; Vikr. 41,2), AMg. *Ś. uvañehi* = *upanaya* (Vivāgas. 121,122; Mṛcch. 61,10; 64,20,25; 96,14; Vikr. 45,9), *Ś. āñehi* (Vikr. 41,1) and *āñesu* (Śak. 125,8 [so to be read]; Karpas. 51,17), *avañesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10), *Ś. ñedu* (Mṛcch. 65,19; 67,7); *Ś. Mg. ñēmha* (Mudrār. 233,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l. and the Calcutta editions, that have *ñēmā*]; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,12), JM. *ñiñeha* (Dvār. 496,5); Mg. *Ś. ñedha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 161,9). In verses are found JM. *āñasu* (Erz. 78,9) and A. *āñahi* (Hc. 4,343,2). They are to be explained from **āñasu*, **āñāsu*, **āñāhi*, **āñāhi*. The flexion of Skt. occurs in M. *ñañi* (Viddhaś. 7,2), *ñañti* (G. 803), *Ś. pariñadu* (Śak. 39,3), *ñañā* = **ñayiya* = *ñitvā* (Mṛcch. 155,4) and in the parasmaipada pres. participle Mg. *ñañte* = *nayan* (Mṛcch. 169,12). — *ñi* with *ud* forms *uñdei*, 3. plur. *uñdeñti* (Hc. 4,237; H. 218; G. 232 [to be read *uñdinti* with JJ. 770; Mg. Mṛcch. 120,12), particip. parasmaip. *uñdeñta* (G. 543; so to be read with P). — *lei* = *layati* from *li* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ahilei* (G.R.), *ahileñti* (H.), *parileñta* (R.), whilst M. *alliañi* (G.H.R.), JM. *alliyāñi* (Āv. 47,16), AMg. *uvalliyāñi* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), M. *samalliañi* (R.), JM. *samalliyāñi* (Āv. 47,17) presuppose a flexion **liyāte*, the participia M. *āliamāñya* (G.), *Ś. ñliamāñya* (Vikr. 80,20) the flexion of Skt. (§ 196). Likewise is inflected *daya-* (to give; Hc. s. v. *dā*; Kī. 4,34) : M. JM. *dei*, *dēñti*, *dehi*, *desu*, *deu*, *deha*, particip. *dēñta* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *dei* (Nirayāv. § 21,22), *demo* (Vivāhap. 819); JŚ. *dedi* (Kattig. 399,319,320; 402,360,365,366); *Ś. demi* (Ratn. 312,30; Mṛcch. 105,9), *desi* (Mālav. 5,8), *dedi* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 147,17; Vikr. 43,14; Viddhaś. 29,7), *dehi* (as in Skt.) very frequently (pro ex. Mṛcch. 38,4,23; 44,24; 94,17; Śak. 95,11; 111,6 etc.), *dedu* (Karp. 38,1); D. *deu* (Mṛcch. 105,21); particip. *Ś. dēñta-* (Mṛcch. 44,19); Mg. *demi* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 45,2; 79,18; 127,12; 131,9,10,13), *dehi* (Mṛcch. 45,12; 97,2; 132,4), *deśu* (Prab. 58,8), *dedha* (Mṛcch. 160,11; 164,14,16; 170,6); Dh. *dehi* (Mṛcch. 32,23; 36,15); P. *teti* (Hc. 4,318), *tiyyate* (to be read so; Hc. 4,315); A. *desi*, *dei*, *dēñti*, *dehu*, *dēñtahō* = *dadatah*, *dēñtihiṃ* = *dadatibhiḥ* (Hc. s. v. *dā*), absol. *dēppīṇu* (Hc. 4,440) and *devam* (Hc. 4,441). The flexion **dañi* = **dāyati* presupposes the future *Ś. dāissam* = *dayisye* (Mṛcch. 80,20), false *dāissam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Karp. 112,5), *dāissāmo* (Viddhaś. 121,3; s. v. l.); cf. Vr. 12,14; Mg. *dāiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 31,6,8,15; 32,9,24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19; 81,5; 97,3; 123,21; 124,5,9), and the absol. *Ś. Mg. dāia* = **dayiya* = *dayitvā* (Mṛcch. 32,19 [a°]; 37,12; 51,12; 168,2). The root *dā* has retained only in M. JM. *dāñya*, *dāñm*, *dijjāñi* (G. H. R.; Erz.), AMg. inf. *dāñm* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *Ś. diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6; so to be read also at Mṛcch. 49,7 for *dijjadi*), *diadu* (Karp. 103,7), *dādavva* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 150,14; Karp. 103,6; Jivān. 43,12,15); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); in the fut. M. JM. AMg. *dāham*, *dāsam* (§ 530), past participle *dijjāñi*, *datta* (§ 566). AMg. mostly uses *dalayāñi* (§ 490), for which we often find *dalañi* as v. l. (HOERNLE, Uvās.; Translation, note 287).

§ 475. Hc. 4,60 teaches the forms *hoi*, *huvañi*, *havañi*, *bhavañi*, in compounds *pabhavañi*, *paribhavañi*, *sambhavañi* and *ubbhavañi*, which presupposes a simplex **bhuvañi* from *bhū*. This occurs in *bhuvañi*, that is taught by Hc. 4,269 beside *huvañi*, *bhavañi*, *havañi*, *bhodi*, *hodi* as *Ś.*; further in the aorist AMg. *bhuvi* (§ 516) and in P. *phuvati* (Kī. 5,115). Vr. 8,1; Kī. 4,56; Mk. fol. 53 teach *hoi*, *huvañi* and Vr. 8,3; Mk. fol. 53 in compounds *bhavañi*, as *pabhavañi*, *ubbhavañi*, *sambhavañi*, *paribhavañi*, Kī. 4,58, *havañi* as *pahavañi*. Vr.'s rule 12,12 is not clear on *Ś.*, for which Kī. 5,81 and Mk. fol. 71 prescribe *bhodi*, while Śākalya, according to Mk., accredits *hodi* too and Sr. fol. 71 teaches *bhodi*, *hodi*, *bhuvañi*, *huvañi* etc. (*ityādi*). *bhavañi*, the form that exactly corresponds

to Skt. *bhavati* is frequent in AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,1,1 ff; Thāṇ. 156; Vivāhap. 116. 137. 917. 926. 935 ff.; Nandis. 501 f.; Paṇṇav. 666. 667; Kappas. S. § 14—16), *bhavasi* (Vivāhap. 1245. 1406), *bhavanti* (Vivāhap. 926. 1309; Ovav. § 70 ff.; Kappas.), *bhavaū* (Kappas.); also in JM. it is not seldom: *bhavaī* (Āv. 10,20; 13. 37; 20,11 ff.), *bhavanti* (Erz. 3,14), *bhavasū* (Erz. 11,10). Beside them AMg. JM. have also the forms with initial *ha*: JM. *havāmi* (Erz. 35,15), AMg. JM. *havaī* (Paṇṇav. 32. 115; Nandis. 329. 361 ff.; Uttar. 342. 344. 754 (beside *hoi*); Āv. 36,44); AMg. *havanti* (Sūyag. 253. 255; Vivāhap. 138; Paṇṇav. 40. 42. 91. 94. 102. 106. 115 etc.; Nandis. 461; Jiv. 219; Ovav. § 130); likewise in the optative beside *bhavējjā* (Ovav. § 182), 2. plur. *bhavējjāha* (Nāyādh. 912. 915. 918. 920) in verses also *bhavējja* (Sūyag. 341; Vivāhap. 426; Ovav. § 171), *bhavējjā* (Uttar. 459), JM. *haviija* (Erz. 74,18). In prose in Āv. 29,19 we should read *hōjjā*, with the v. l. for *bhavējjā*. AMg. JM. have also the opt. *bhave* (Vivāhap. 459; Uttar. 678; Nandis. 117; Erz.). In Ś. Mg. 1. sing. is *bhaveam*, 1. 2. 3. sing. 3. plur. are *bhave*, the only form that can be used (§ 460—402). In compound is found also Ś. *pahave* (Śak. 25,1); false is Ś. *have* (Mālav. 44,1. 3¹). In JŚ. the form that is very usual is *havadi* (Pav. 380,9; 381,16; 382,24; 384,54. 58; 385,65; 386,70. 4; 387,18. 19; 388,5; Kattig. 398,303; 400,334), also *havedi* (Kattig. 401,341; MS. *havei*), beside *hodi* (Pav. 381,18; 385,64; 386,6; Kattig. 399,308; 400,326. 328. 329. 330; 402,368; 403,372. 376. 381; 404,391), *homi* (Pav. 385. 65), *hunti* (Kattig. 401,352), *hōnti* (Kattig. 402,363. 364; 404,387), inf. *hodum* (Kattig. 402,357); MS. *hourm*). The opt. is *have* (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302; 399,309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 345 etc.). Therefore, Hc. should have Ś. *havadi*, *hodi* (§ 21. 22). Of the stem *bhava-*, the forms, excluding the mentioned ones, are only sporadic: Mg. *bhavāmi* (Mṛcch. 117,6); Ś. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Śak. 32,6; Karp. 61,11), which is supported by JŚ. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Kattig. 404,388; MS. °*viya*°) and Ś. *bhavidavadā* (Śak. 126,10; Vikr. 52,13); inf. *bhaviṃ* (Hc. 4,60), Ś. Mg. *bhavidum* (Śak. 73,8; 116,1 [so to be read]; in Mālav. 47,7 false reading¹). Very frequent is the absolutive *bhavia* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 27,12; 45,8; 64,19; 78,10; Śak. 30,9; 119,3. 13; 160,1; Vikr. 24,5; 25,15 etc.) and Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; 124,23; 134,23; 170,11), JŚ. *bhaviya* (Pav. 380,12; 387,12), AMg. *bhavittā* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *pāubbhavittāṇam* (Uvās.). On the future see § 521. The passive Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) stands in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). M. *aggabhavantio* in G. 588 is a false reading for *aggabhorantiu* (see v. l. p. 376). Except in the forms mentioned in AMg. JM. JŚ. the stem *hava-* is found also in M. *havanti* (G. 901.936.976). The stem *bhava-* is prevalent in the formation with prefixes. I have only to add BLOCH's examples from Ś. Mg.: Ś. *anubhavanto* = *anubhavan* (Vikr. 41,9), *anubhavida* (Karp. 33,6). The stem *hava-* is usual only after the prefix *pra-*, further in the substantive *vihava*³; otherwise it occurs just sporadic after *anu-* in M. *anuhavaī* (H. 211), Ś. *anuhavanti* (Mālav. 51,22; Prab. 44,13); yet Mālav. has the v. l. *anuhoṃti*, in Prab. *anubhavanti*, as it should be read; similarly in Śak. 74,6 we should, with the v. l., read *vibhāvedī* for *vihāvedī*. Vr. is substantially correct when he requires *bhava-* for the composita.

1. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 41. who has compiled a plentiful collection for Ś. Mg. from Mṛcch. Śak. Vikr. Mālav. Ratn. on *bhū*, should be supplemented for completing the list.—2. l. c. p. 39. 40.—3. BLOCH, l. c. p. 40.

§ 476. *huva-*, that is to say the flexion according to the sixth conjugation is found in M. *huvanti* (G.988; H.285), in the opt. *huvia* (§ 466) and P. *huvējya* (Hc.4,320.323), ind. pass. Mg. *huviadi* (Venis.33,6.7; 35,8; in the sense

of the fut. parasmaip.; cf. *bhaviādi* § 475) and especially in the future in Ś. and Mg. (§ 521). Transgressing against the dialect, a false form is Ś. fem. parasmaip. pres. part. *huvanti* and probably also Mg. particip. necessitatis *huvīdavañ* (Lalitav. 555,5; 565,13).—In M. JM. A. in the simplex the dominant stem is *ho-* from *hava-*, which AMg. too has more seldom and JŚ. has frequently: *homi*, *hosi*, *hoi*, *hōnti* and *hunti*; imp. *hohi*, *hosu*, *hou*, *homo*, *hōntu*; indic. pres. pass. *hoīai*, *hoijjai*; parasmaip. pres. particip. *hōntu*, *hunto*, *ātmanep. homāno*; inf. *houm*, JŚ. *hodum*; absol. *hoūna*; particip. nec. AMg. JM. *hoyavva*¹. On *hōjjā*, *hōjja* see § 466. Besides this, the precativ in AMg. are *hoi*, *hou* only, especially in the combination *hoū nam*, and the preterite *hōtthā* in frequent use. In Ś. one says *homi*, *hosi*, *hōnti*, imp. *hohi*, *hōmha*, *hodha*, *hōntu*, Mg. imp. *hodha*², but Ś. Mg. Dh. only *bhodi*, *bhodu*³. False forms in the texts are *bhomi*, *hodi*, *bhohi*, *hodu*, *bhōntu*⁴. P. has *photi* (Ki. 5,115). The particip. nec. is Ś. Mg. *hodavva*⁵; on Ś. JŚ. *bhavidavva* see § 475, on Mg. *huvīdava* see above. The particip. pret. is M. *hūa* (Hc. 4,64; Ki. 4,57; Mk. fol. 53) in *mañḍanīhūam* (H. 8), *añuhūa* (Hc. 4,64; H. 29), *parihūeṇa* (H. 134; so to be read with v. l. and ed. Bomb.), *pahūa* (Hc. 4,64), A. *hūā* (Hc. 4,384) and *huā* (Hc. 4,351), Ś. Dh. D. *bhūda* (Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; Śak. 43,9; 80,2; Vikr. 23,14; 52,21; 53,12 [read °*bhūdo*]; Dh. Mṛcch. 36,21; 39,16; D. Mṛcch. 101,13), Mg. *kiappahūda* = *kiyatprabhūta* (Veṇis. 34,16).—Sr. fol. 47 knows also the flexion *hoai*, *hoi*, *huai*, *hwei*, exactly according to the type of the *a*-stem.

1. References in § 469 under the instances quoted on *hou* and in the relevant paragraphs, on JŚ. in § 475. Cf. also WEBER, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1882,811 f.; IS. 16,393.—2. References in BLOCH, l. c. p. 41.—3. FISCHER, KB. 8,141 and above § 469; Mg. *bhodi* e. g. Mṛcch. 121,6; 168,3. 4. 5, false *hodi* 168,6.—4. BLOCH, l. c. p. 41; collection also in BURKHARD, Flexiones Pracriticae p. 20 f.—5. BLOCH, l. c. p. 42. On the flexion of *bhū* cf. also DELIUS, Radices Pracriticae s. v.

§ 477. The roots in *-r* and *-ṛ* form the stem in *-ara*: *dharai*, *varai*, *sarai*, *harai*, *jarai*, *tarai* (Vr. 8,12; Hc. 4,234; Ki. 4,32). In OIA. this flexion has been carried over to a few roots found in the Vedas, or merely mentioned by the grammarians, such as in the case of *jṛ*, *dhṛ*, *mṛ*, *vṛ*, *stṛ*, in Pkt. this is the rule. Beside it the flexion with the *e*-stem is frequent. So: M. JM. *dharai* and *dharemi*, *dharei*, *dharēnti*, particip. pres. *dharanta* and *dharēnta* (G. H. R.; Erz.); Ś. *dharāmi* = *dhriye* (Uttarar. 83,9); A. *dharai* (Hc. 4,334; 438,3) and *dharei* (Hc. 4,336), *dharahi* (Hc. 4,382), imp. *dharahi* (Hc. 4,421; Piṅgala 1,149).—M. *osarai* = *apasarati*, *osaranta* = *apasarat*, *osaria* = *apasṛta* (G. H. R.), imp. *osara*, *osarasu* (H.); JM. *osarai* (Erz. 37,30); Mg. *osaladi* (Mṛcch. 115,23), *osalia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129,8); imp. JM. Ś. *osara* = *apasara* (Erz. 71,31; Vikr. 10,12), Mg. *osala* (Prab. 58,2; so rightly ed. M. 73,6), Ś. *osaramha* (Uttarar. 66,7), JM. *osaraha* = *apasarata* (Kk. 265,6; II, 507,1), Mg. *osaladha* (§ 471); M. *samosarai*, *samosaranta* etc. (G. H. R.), AMg. imp. *samosaraha* (Nāyādh. 1233. 1235); Ś. *nisaradi* (Dhūrtas. 8,6); M. AMg. *pasarai* (R.; Vivāhap. 908), Ś. *pasaradi* (Śak. 31,10), Mg. *paśalaśi* (Mṛcch. 10,15), Dh. imp. *pasalu* (Mṛcch. 32,16), also Dh. *aṇusalēma* (§ 472) beside Ś. *aṇusaramha* Viddhaś. 105,5). Cf. § 235.—M. JM. *marāmi* = *mriye*, *marai*, *maranti*, imp. *mara*, *marasu*, *marau*, particip. pres. *maranta* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *mara* (Śūyag. 635; Uttar. 214; Vivāhap. 363 f.), *maranti* (Uttar. 1099 ff.; Vivāhap. 1434), *maramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1385); Ś. *maradi* (Mṛcch. 72,22; so to be read); Mg. *malāmi* (Mṛcch. 118,13), but also *maledu*, *malēnti* (Mṛcch. 114,21; 118,12); A. *marahi*, *marai* (Hc. 4,368. 420,5). M. *marijau* = *mriyatām* (H. 950) stands in the sense of the passive, AMg. inf. *marijjium*

(Dasav. 624, 40; cf. § 580) in the sense of the active. AMg. *mijjai*, *mijjanti* (Sūyag. 275. 328. 333. 540. 944) are correctly equated by the scholiasts as = *miyate*, *miyante*. — JM. *varasu* = *vṛṇṣva* (Sagara 1,15). — M. JM. *harai* (G. H. R.; Erz.), JŚ. *haradi* (Kattig. 400,336), M. also *haremi* (H. 705), AMg. opt. *harejjāha* (Nāyādh. 915. 918), Mg. *halāmi*, *haladi* (Mṛcch. 11,8; 30,21. 24); very frequently in compounds in all the dialects, as M. *ahiharai*, *paharai* (G.), JM. *pariharāmi* (Kk. 272,16), AMg. *sāharanti* = *saṃharanti* (Thāp. 155), *paḍisāharai* = *pratisaṃharati* (Vivāhap. 239), *viharai* (Kappas.; Uvās. etc.), Ś. *uvahara*, *uvaharantu* (Śak. 18,3; 40,9); *avaharadi* = *apaharati* (Mṛcch. 45,24), Mg. *palihalāmi* = *pariharāmi* (Mṛcch. 125,10), *śamudāhalāmi* (Mṛcch. 129,2), also *vihaledi* = *viharati* (Mṛcch. 40,9), A. *aṇuharahi*, *aṇuharai* (Hc. 4,367,4; 418,8). — M. *tarai* (G. H.); AMg. *taranti* (Uttar. 567), *uttarai* (Nāyādh. 1060), *pacuttarai* (Vivāhap. 909); Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 44,19; 108,21; Mālatīm. 265,6), imp. *odaramha* = *avatarāma* (Mālatīm. 100,3; Privad. 12,4); Mg. imp. *odalā* = *avatara* (Mṛcch. 122,14. 15. 16), absol. *odalā* (Mṛcch. 122, 11) = Ś. *odaria* (Vikr. 23,17); A. *uttarai* (Hc. 4,339). — *kṛ* forms, corresponding to Skt. *kirāti*, M. *ukkirai* (H. 119), *kiranta-* (G. R.).

§ 478. According to Hc. 4,74 *smṛ* may form *sarai*, so stands JM. *sarāmi* (Āv. 41,20), AMg. *sarai* (Uttar. 277) in the verse, JM. *sarai* (Āv. 47, 27), *sarasu* (Āv. 7,34) in prose. The common form in all the dialects, which Vr. 12,17; Mk. fol. 72 particularly prescribe for Ś. in addition, is *sumara-* for *smara-* with a separation-vowel (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53). Beside it the prose very frequently has the *e*-stem *sumare-*. So M. *sumarāmi* (R. 4,20 [so to be read]. 22); JM. absol. *sumariṇa* and *sumariya*, past passive particip. *sumariya* (Erz.); AMg. imp. *sumaraha* (Vivāhap. 234); Ś. *sumarāmi* (Mṛcch. 134,15; Uttarar. 118,1), *sumarasi* (Uttarar. 126,6), better accredited *sumaresi* (Mṛcch. 66,15. 18; 103,20; 104,10; 105,15; Vikr. 23,9), as *sumaredi* (Śak. 70,7; 167,8; Mālatīm. 184, 4; Viddhaś. 125,11) and in the imp. *sumarehi* (Ratn. 137,17), *sumaresu* (Vikr. 13,4), *sumaredha* (Śak. 52,16), yet *sumara* (Mālatīm. 251,2; all texts) and A. *suvarahi* (Hc. 4,387), opt. *sumari* = *smareḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1); Ś. *sumarāmo* (Mālatīm. 113. 9); Mg. *śumalāmi*, *śumaleṣi*, *śumaleḍi* (Mṛcch. 115,23; 127,25; 134,13), imp. *śumala* and *śumalehi* (Mṛcch. 128,20; 168,11; 170,8); particip. praet. pass. Ś. *sumarida* (Mālatīm. 249,6; Prab. 41,7), Mg. *śumalida* (Mṛcch. 136,19); particip. nec. Ś. *sumaridavva* (Vikr. 48,14; Mālatīm. 184,3), Mg. *śumalidavva* (Mṛcch. 170,9). In conjunction with *vi* Hc. 4,75 teaches *vimharai* and *visarai*, whence M. *visaria* = *vismṛta* (H. 361; Śak. 96,2), JM. *vissariya* (Āv. 7,34); JŚ. *visarida* (Kattig. 400,335; text °ya). Mk. fol. 54 teaches *visarai*, *visurai* and *visarai*, which occurs in M. *visaria* (R. 11,58) and in the modern Indian dialects¹. In Ś. and Mg. the stem is strictly the same as in the simplex; pro ex. Ś. *visumarāmi* (Śak. 126,8), *visumaresi* (Vikr. 49,1); Mg. *viśumaleḍi* (Mṛcch. 37,12). Ś. *vimharida mhi* of Vikr. 83,20 has been wrongly equated in the text against all the MSS. by BOLLENSSEN; the ed. Bomb. p. 133,9 correctly has *visumarida mhi*², as *visumarida* stands also at Śak. 14,2; Vṛṣabh. 14,6. On *bharai* see § 313.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,75. — 2. Wrongly BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 59,10, where we should at least read *vimharai* with the ed. Bomb. 1883, p. 64,11.

§ 479. The roots in *-ai* are conjugated as a rule as in Skt. (Vr. 8,21. 25. 26), Hc. 4,6; Kī. 4,65. 75); M. *gāanti* (Kāleyak. 3,8; Bālar. 181, 6), *uggāanti* = *udgāyanti* (Dhūrtas. 4,14), *gāanta-* (Karp. 23,4); JM. *gāyai* (Āv. 8,29), *gāyanti* (Dvār. 496,36), *gāyantehim*, *gāium* (Erz. 1,29; 2,10); AMg. *gāyanti* (Jiv. 593; Rāyap. 96. 181), *gāyantā* (Ovav. § 49 V),

gāyamāṇe (Vivāhap. 1253); *Ś. gāmi* (Mudrār. 35,1), *gādi* (Nāgān. 9,6), *gāadha* (Viddhaś. 12,4), imp. also of the *e*-stem *gāedho* (Viddhaś. 122,10; 128,4), *gāanteṇa*, *gāanto* (Mṛcch. 44,2, 4); Mg. *gāe*, *gāidam* (Mṛcch. 79,14; 117,4).—*Ś. parittādi* = *paritrāyate* (Mṛcch. 128,7), *parittāsu* (Mahāv. 30,19; Bālar. 173,10; Viddhaś. 85,5), *parittāhi* (Uttarar. 63,13), *parittāadu* (Ratn. 325,9, 32), *parittāadha* (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17; 5,2; Mālatīm. 130,3); Mg. *palittāadha*, *palittāadu* (Mṛcch. 32,25; 128,6).—JM. *jhāyasi* = *dhyāyasi* (Erz. 85,23), *jhāyamāṇi* (Erz. 11,19); AMg. *jhīyāyāmi*, *jhīyāyasi*, *jhīyāyāi*, *jhīyāyaha*, *jhīyāyamāṇa* (Nāyādh.); M. *ñijhādi* = *nirdhyāyati* (H. 73, 413); *Ś. ñijhādi* (Mṛcch. 59,24; 89,4; Mālatīm. 258,4), *ñijhānti* (Mṛcch. 69,2), *ñijhāido* (Mṛcch. 93,15), *ñijhāidā* (Vikr. 52,11), *sañjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12).—*Ś. niddādi* = *nidrāyati* (Mṛcch. 46,5; 69,2; Mālav. 65, 8).—*Ś. parimilādi* = *parimlāyati* (Mālatīm. 120,2; so to be read with ed. Bomb. 92,2 and ed. Madras 105,3).—Since in Pkt. the roots ending in *-ā* may be a inflected according to the fourth conjugation (§487), so reversely the roots in *-ai* follow sometimes in M. JM. AMg. the analogy of the roots in *ā*: M. *gāi* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; H. 128,691), *gāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ganta*-(H. 547); JM. *uggāi* (Āv. 8,28); M. *jhāi* = Epic *dhyāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; R. 6,61), JS. *jhādi* (Pav. 385,68) beside *jhāyādi* (Pav. 385,65; 403, 372); *jhāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ñijhāi* (Hc. 4,6); AMg. *jhīyāi* (Vivāgas. 219; Uvās. § 280; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *jhīyāmi* (Vivāgas. 114, 220; Nāyādh.), *jhīyāsi* (Vivāgas. 114), *jhāijja* (verse; Uttar. 14). Likewise AMg. *jhīyāi* = *kṣāyati* beside *jhīyāyanti* (§ 326); AMg. *gilāi* = Epic *glāti* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1, 2), beside *vigilā-ējjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28); M. *niddāi*, *mlāi* (Hc. 4,12,18), in addition to which Epic *mlānti*.—In *Ś.* is found several times *parittāhi* (Śak. 145,8; Prab. 11, 13); Uttarar. 60,4,5; Mālatīm. 357,11), in Mg. *palittāhi* (Mṛcch. 175,19). The v. l. almost everywhere has in *Ś.* the correct *parittāhi*. On *palāyasee* § 567.

§ 480. The verbs *iṣ*, *gam*, *yam*, of the old *-ska*-class are conjugated in all the dialects as in Skt.: *icchaī*, *gacchaī*, *jacchaī*. Isolated is Mg. *śāmyammadha* (§ 488) and AMg. *uggamamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 41). Hc. 4,215, besides derives *acchaī* from *ās*, Kt. 4,10 from *as* (to be), the scholiasts mostly equate it with *tiṣṭhati*. ASCOLI will like to trace it back to the corresponding Pāli *acchati*, from a hypothetical future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate*¹ of *ās*, CHILDERS² and PISCHEL³ to **āssakadi* from *ās*, as Hc., E. MÜLLER to *gam* with dropping out of *g*⁴, later with TRENCKNER and TORP to an aorist **ātsit* from *ās*⁵; E. KUHN considers it to be an inchoative formation from *as*⁶, JOHANSSON thinks it to be a future **assyati*, **atsyati* from **as*⁷. However, it strictly corresponds to the fourth verb in Skt., built according to *ṛcchati* from *ṛ* “to come into”, “to knock at”, of the *-ska*-conjugation, and which the Indian grammarians post as *ṛch* and B.-R. as *arch*. The meaning “to remain”, “to stand” is proved from the statement, that it is used in the sense of *indriyapralaya* as well as of *mūrtibhāva*, given in the Dhātupāṭha at 28,15. One compares also the use of *ṛcchati*, *ārchat* in the Brāhmaṇa⁸. Examples are: M. *acchasi*, *acchanti*, *acchaū*, *acchijjāi* (G. H.); JM. *acchaī*, *acchae*, *acchāmo*, *acchasu*, *acchaha*, *acchantassa*, *acchiūm*, *acchiya*, *acchijavam* (Erz.; Dvār. 498,12; 500,9; 501,9; Āv. 14,25, 30; 24,17; 26,28; 29,22); AMg. *acchaī* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4; Uttar. 902 ff.), *acchāhi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Vivāhap. 807, 817), *acchējja* (Hc. 3,160; Vivāhap. 116; Ovav. § 185), Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16)⁹; P. *acchati*, *acchate* (Hc. 4,319); A. *acchaū* (Hc. 4,406,3). On *acchā* see § 466.

1. Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft p. 265, note 49.—2. Dictionary s. v. *acchati*.—3. GGA. 1875, 627 f.; BB. 3,155 f.; on Hc. 4,215.—4. Beiträge p. 36.—5. Simplified Grammar. p. 100.—6. In E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 66.—7. Shāhbzgarhi II, 23; KZ. 32,460, note 2.—8. B.-R. s. v. *arch*; PISCHEL, GGA. 1890, 532. JOHANSSON

l. c. note 3 wrongly rejects this derivation, since he thinks of $\xi\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$.—g. On Vr. 12,19 see FISCHER, KB. 8,143 f.

§ 481. Deviating from Classical Skt. *kram* retains, as not seldom in the Epic in Skt., the short vowel in the parasmaip. : M. *kamanta-*, *akkamasi*, *akkamanta-*, *nikkamai*, *nikkhamai*, *viṇikkamai*, *viṇikkhamai*, *saṅkamai* (G. H.); JM. *kamai* (Rṣabhap. 38), *akkamāmo* (Erz. 35,36), *aikkamai*, *aikkamejja* (Āv. 47,23; Kk. 271,2.7); AMg. *kamai* (Vivāhap. 1249), *aikkamai* (Vivāhap. 136. 137), *aikkamanti* (Kappas. S. § 63), *avakkamai*, **anti* (Vivāhap. 845. 1252), *avakkamejja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *nikkhamai*, *nikkhamanti* (Vivāhap. 146; Nīraṣāv. § 23; Kappas. § 19), *nikkhamējja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7; 2,1,9,2), *nikkhamamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2), *paṇṇikkhamai*, **anti* (Vivāhap. 187,916; Nāyādh. § 34; p. 1427; Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṅkamai* (Vivāhap. 1249), *vakkamai*, **anti* (Vivāhap. 111. 465; Paṇṇav. 28. 29. 41. 43; Kappas. § 19. 46^b), *viukkamanti* (Vivāhap. 465), metrically also *kammai* = *krāmyati* (Uttar. 209); Ś. *adikkamasi* (Ratn. 297,29); Ś. D. *avakkamadi* (Mṛcch. 97,24; 103,15); *nikkamāmi* (Śak. 115,6), *nikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 51,4; Vikr. 16,1), *nikkama* (Mṛcch. 16,10; Śak. 36,12), *nikkamamha* (Priyad. 17,16; Nāgān. 18,3; Ratn. 306,30; Karp. 85,7). In Mālatīm. 188,2 *parikkāmadi* is a false reading for *paribbhamadi* or *paribbhamanti*, as the ed. Bomb. 1892 and the ed. Madras (both **mandi*) have, at 285,2 stands *parikkamedha*; Mg. *adikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 43,10), *avakkamamha*, *ṇiskamadi*, *ṇiskama* (Mṛcch. 22,2; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22). Cf. § 302.

§ 482. Several verbs, that in Sanskrit are of the first conjugation, presuppose in Pkt., as the vowel points, to be of the sixth conjugation. M. *jai* = **jivati* for *jīvati*, *jianti*, *jiaū*, *jianta-*, but also *jiasī*, *jīvējja*, *jianta* (Hc. 1,101; G. H. R.), Ś. Mg. have only a long vowel. So Ś. *jīāmi* (Uttarar. 132, 7; so to be read with ed. Calc. 1831, p. 89,10), *jivadi* (Mṛcch. 172,6; 325,18), *jiāmo* (Mudrār. 34,10), *jīveam* (Mālav. 55,11), *jiva* (Mṛcch. 145,11; Śak. 33,7; 67,7), *jiadu* (Mṛcch. 154,15); Mg. *yīadi*, *yīaśi*, *yīva*, *yīanta-* (Mṛcch. 12,20; 38,7; 161,19; 170,5; 171,8. 9), also *yīveśi* (Mṛcch. 119,21) — *ghisai* = **ghasati* for *ghāsati* = *ghasti* (Vr. 8,28 [so to be read]; Hc. 4,204; Ki. 4,46 [text *gha*]; Mk. fol. 55). — *jimai* beside *jemai*, *jimmai* (§ 488). — AMg. *bhisanta-* (Ovav.), *bhisamāṇa* (Nāyādh.), *bhisamāṇa* (Rāyap. 47. 105), intensive *bhibbhisamāṇa*, **māṇa* (§ 556) from *bhisai* = **bhāsati* for *bhāsati* (§ 109; Hc. 4,203). — *uvivai* = **udvipāte* for *udvīpate* (§ 236). — The doubling of *l* in M. *alliai*, *ualliai*, *samalliai* = *āliyate*, *upā*, *samā* (§ 196. 474), AMg. causative *alliṣāve* (§ 551) too may point to the same flexion. Cf. § 194. *ruh* tends to be inflected according to the 6th conjugation, when it is combined with a prefix: M. JM. *āruhai*, *samāruhai*, *samāruhasu* (G. H. R. ; Erz.); AMg. *duruhai* = *udrohati* (§ 118; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often), in Vivāhap. throughout (pro ex. 124,504. 506. 824 f. 980. 1128. 1231. 1301. 1311. 1317. 1325 ff.) and elsewhere often as v. l. *durūhai*, hardly correct, *duruhejja* (Āyār. 2,3, 1,13. 14), JM. *duruhe'ttā* (Erz.); AMg. *paccoruhai*, *paccoruhanti* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. also 870. 1354. 1456); Vivāhap. 173. 948), *viruhanti* (Uttar. 356), *āruhai* (Vivāhap. 1273); Ś. *āruhadha*, *āruha* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 66,14. 17), *āruhadi* (Pras. 35,8), *āruhadu* (Uttarar. 32,6. 7); Mg. *āluha* (Nāgān. 68,3), *āluhadu*, *ahiluha*, *ahiluhāmi*, *ahiluhadu* (Mṛcch. 99,8; 119,3. 6,9. 11. 13). The simplex is inflected: M. JM. *rohanti* (G. 727; Dvār. 503,7) and so also *ārohadu* (Śak. 39,12; 97,18; Vikr. 39,2). — *dhai* (to wash) may, according to Hc. 4,238, form *dhāvai* = Skt. *dhāvati*. In M. however, it behaves as of the 6. conjugation: *dhuvasi* (Hc. 2,216 = H. 369), *dhuasi* (H.), *dhuvai* (Hc. 4,238), *dhuai* (H.), *dhuvanta-* (R.). Thence a root *dhu* is deduced, which secondarily is inflected according to the 1. conjugation, as *ru*, *svap* (§ 473. 497): AMg. *dhovasi*, *dhovai* (Nīraṣāv. 77;

Sūyag. 344); also according to the *e*-conjugation *dhovei* (Nirayāv. 76. 77; Nāyādh. 1219. 1220. 1501), *padhoveṇti* (Āyār. 2,2,3,10); JM. *dhovanti* (Āv. 25,22); Ś. *dhoadi* (Mṛcch. 70,10), inf. *dhoidum* (Mṛcch. 45,5); Mg. *dhovehi*, fut. *dhoiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 45,7. 20). So Pāli *dhovati*. — *hivai*, which Hc. 4,238 mentions beside *havaī*, is derived from *bhu* by Sr.fol.47.—Beside the usual *sīai*, JM. AMg. *sīyai*, Ś. *sīdadi*, Mg. *śīdadi* = *sīdati*, according to Hc. 4,219, *siḍai* too is in use (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,219). On *pasia* see § 80, on *bhaṇ* § 514.

§ 483. *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* build the present stem, as in Skt. by reduplication: *āigghai* = *ājighrati* (Hc. 4,13), *jigghia* = *ghrāta* (Deśin. 3,46).—M. *piāi*, *pīanti*, *piāū*, *pīantu* (G. H. R.), *pivai* (Nāgān. 41,5), *piāmo* (Karp. 24,9=Kāleṃyak. 16,17, where *pibāmo*); JM. *pivai* (Āv. 30,36; 42,12. 18. 20. 28. 37), *pijaha* = *pibata* (Dvār. 496,35), also *piei* (Erz. 69,1); AMg. *piṇai* (Vivāhap. 1256), *piva* (Nāyādh. 1332), *pie* (Dasav. 638,26), *piejja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2), *piyamāne* (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. *pivadi* (Viddhaś. 124,4), *pīanti* (Mṛcch. 71,10), *pivadu* (Śak. 105,13), *āpivanti* (Mṛcch. 59,24); Mg. *pivāmi*, *pivāhi*, *pivamha* (Venis. 33,4; 34,2. 15; 35,22), *pīanti* (Mṛcch. 113,21), *piva* (Prab. 60,9); A. *piāi*, *pīanti*, *piāhu* (Hc. 4,419,1. 6; 422,20). On *pijai* see § 539. — *sthā* forms M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,16; H.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5. 6; 1,5,5,1; Sūyag. 310.613; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *ciṭṭhae* (Āv. 36,26; Kk.); AMg. *ciṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 274. 282.291. 612 f.; Kappas.), *ciṭṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10), *ciṭṭhejja* (Āyār. 2,1,4,3 [text false *ce*]); 2,1,5,6. 6,2; 2,3,2,6; Vivāhap. 116. 925), *ciṭṭhe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,16), *ciṭṭham*, *aciṭṭham* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *ciṭṭhai* (H.); JM. *ciṭṭhaha* (Kk.); AMg. inf. *ciṭṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513. 1119) beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1. 2), particip. nec. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163); AMg. *āciṭṭhāmo* (Sūyag. 734), *pariviciṭṭhai* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), also in the noun *saṃciṭṭhapa* = *avasthāna* (Vivāhap. 55ff.). Whilst *ciṭṭhai* is seldom in M., so that Vr. Kī. Mk. do not at all mention it for M., *ciṭṭhadi* is the exceptional form in Ś. (Vr. 12,16; Kī. 5,81 [text *thiṭṭhadi*]; Mk. fol. 71; Mṛcch. 27,4; 45,23; 54,4. 10; 57,3; 59,23; 72,10 etc.; Śak. 34,3; 79,11; 155,10; Vikr. 15,12.14; 24,6; 41,9 and exceedingly often), *ciṭṭhāmi* (Mṛcch. 6,8; Vikr. 33,4), *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 12,4; Vikr. 32,5), *ciṭṭhamha* (Priyad. 17,4; Mālatim. 255,5), *ciṭṭhadha* (Mālatim. 247,4) and very often, also in compounds, as *anuciṭṭhadi* (Mṛcch. 151,16; 155,5; Vikr. 41,6), *anuciṭṭhāmi* (Prab. 69,3), *anuciṭṭha* (Vikr. 83,1), *anuciṭṭhida* (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15), *anuciṭṭhiadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Prab. 3,5) etc. so also A. *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 99,18); D. *ciṭṭhai* (Mṛcch. 104,2), *anuciṭṭhidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. *ciṭṭhadi* (Hc. 4,360). Mg., has *ciṭṭhadi*, which is pointed to by the manuscripts (§303), according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298; Kī. 5,95 [text *ciṭṭah*]; Mk. fol. 75 [MS. *ciṭṭitrā*]. According to Kī. 5,96 P. too has the same form as Mg. Cf. also § 216. 217. Like all roots in -ā (§ 487), *ghrā* and *sthā* too behave according to the 2. and 4. conjugations: M. AMg. *agghai* = Epic *āghrāti* (H. 641; Nāyādh. § 82; Paṇṇav. 429. 430); M. *agghānta* = *ājighrat* (H. 566; R. 13. 82); AMg. *agghāyāi* (Āyār. p. 136,27. 33); opt. *agghāijja* (Nandis. 363); AMg. *agghāyaha*, *agghāyamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 83.104); M. JM. *thāi* = **sthāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,16; Kī. 4,76; H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 41,8), M. *niṭṭhai* (H.), *saṃṭhai* (H. R.); JM. *thāha* (Āv. 27,27); A. *thanti* (Hc. 4,395,5); AMg. *thāējjā* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *abbhuṭṭhanti* = *abhyutiṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 734); JM. *thāyanti* (Rṣabhap. 27) corresponding to *thānti*, *thāai*, *thāau* in Vr. 8,25,26; Kī. 4,75,76 (§487). After *ud*, the vowel, according to the analogy of the *a*-declension, is shortened: *uṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,17); so JM. *uṭṭhaha* (Erz. 59,30); A. *uṭṭhai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). Usually the flexion with the *e*-stem is selected: AMg. *uṭṭhei*

(Vivāhap. 161. 1246; Uvās. § 193), *abbhutt̥hei* (Kappas.); JM. *uṭṭhemi* (Āv. 41,19), *uṭṭhei* (Dvār. 503,32), *uṭṭhehi* (Erz. 42,3), *samutt̥hehi* (Dvār. 503,27. 31); Ś. *uṭṭhehi* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 18,22; 51,5. 11; Nāgān. 86,10; 95,10; Priyad. 26,6; 37,9; 46,24; 53,6. 9), *utṭhehi* (Vikr. 33,15), *utṭhedu* (Mṛcch. 93,5; Śak. 162,12), *uṭṭhedha* (Mṛcch. 24,17); Mg. *uṭṭhehi*, *uṭṭhedu*, *uṭṭhedī*, also *uṭṭhanta-* (Mṛcch. 20,21; 134,19; 169,5). Cf. § 309.

§ 484. *daśi* forms, according to Hc. 1,218, *ḍasai* (§ 222) corresponding to Skt. *daśati*. So JM. *ḍasai* (Āv. 42,13); AMg. *dasamāṇe*, *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4). Ś. forms, with retention of the nasal *daśisadi* (Śak. 160, 1), past passive participle from the present stem: *daśisido* (Mālav. 54,6).—*labh* shows nasal in the stem in AMg. *labhāmi* (Uttar. 103) and in the fut. and passive in Ś. Mg. (§ 525. 541). On *khāi* = *khādati* (also Ki. 4, 77) and *dhāi* = *dhāvati* see § 165.

§ 485. Of the verbs of the 6th class, those which insert a nasal in the present stem, *lip*, *luḥ*, *vid* and *sic* are treated as in Skt. From *lip* is found *allivai* = *ālīmpati* (§ 196; Hc. 4,39). Beside the *a*-stem the *e*-stem too may be used, as Ś. *siñcedi* (Śak. 74,9) beside *siñcamha*, *siñcadi* (Śak. 10,3; 15,3). *sic* forms also *seai* = **secati* (Hc. 4,96).—*muc* does not usually insert a nasal in M. JM. AMg. (Hc. 4,91): M. *muasi*, *muai*, *muanti*, *mua*, *muasu*, *muanta-* (G. H. R.; Śak. 85,3), *āmuai* (G.); JM. *mujai* (Āv. 17,4; Erz. 52,8), *muḥyasu* (Kk. 262,19), *muḥjanto* (Erz. 23,34; so to be read); AMg. *mujai* (Vivāhap. 104. 508), *omuḥjai* (Āyār. 2,15. 22; Vivāhap. 796. 835. 1208. 1317; Kappas.), *muḥjantesuṇ* = *muḥcatsu* (Nāyādh. § 62. 63), *viṇimmuḥjamāṇa*, *muḥjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 254), *viṇimmuḥjamāṇi* = *vinirmuḥcamāṇā* (Vivāhap. 822). So also JŚ. *muḥjadi* (Kattig. 403,383). The nasalized stem too is not seldom in M. JM: M. *muñcai* (H. 614; R. 3,30; 4,9; 7,49; 12,14), *muñcanti* (G. 258), *muñcaha* (R. 15,8; Karp. 12,6), *muñcanto* (Karp. 67,6; 86,10); JM. *muñca*, *muñcasu*, *muñcaha* (Erz.), *muñca*, *muñcanti* (Kk. 261,12; 272,7); in Ś. Mg. it alone can be used: Ś. *muñcadi* (Mudrār. 149,6), *muñca* (Mṛcch. 175,21; Śak. 60,14; Ratn. 316,4; Nāgān. 36,4; 38, 8), *muñcadu* (Vikr. 30,2), *muñcadha* (Mṛcch. 154,16; 161,18); Mg. *muñcadu*, *muñcanti* (Mṛcch. 31,18.21; 168,19), *muñca* (Prab. 50,6). Not seldom is also the *e*-stem: M. *muñcesi* (H. 928); Ś. *muñcedi*, *muñcesi* (Śak. 51,6; 154,12), *muñcedha* (Mṛcch. 161,25; Śak. 116,7), *muñcehi* (Mṛcch. 326,10; Vṛṣabh. 20,15; 59,12).—*kṛt* (to chop) forms AMg. *kantai* (Sūyag. 360), dialectically *oandaī* = *apakṛntati* (Hc. 4,125 = *ācchinatti*; cf. § 275). In AMg. the root in conjunction with *vi* under retention of the nasalization goes over to the 4. conjugation: *vigiñcai* = **vikṛntyati*, *vigiñcamāṇe* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,6,2,4); *vigiñca* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Uttar. 170), *vigiñcejja* (Āyār. 2,3,2,6); absol. *vigiñca* (Sūyag. 500. 506). Cf. *kiñci* § 271 and *ñirūñjhai* § 507.

§ 486. *spr̥ś* forms in AMg. regularly *phusai* = *spr̥śati*, *phusanti* = *spr̥śanti*, *phusantu* = *spr̥śantu*, *phusamāṇe* = *spr̥śamāṇaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3. 3,2. 5,1; 1,7,7, 1; Vivāhap. 97. 98. 354. 355. 1288; Ovav.). Identical with it are *phusai* *pusai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105; G. H. R.) and *phusai* (rooms about; Hc. 4, 161)¹. Hc. 4,182 mentions also *phāśai*, *phamsai*, *pharisai*, which presuppose one **sparśati*. *phāśai* occurs in AMg. *samphāse* = **samsparset* = *samspṛset* (Āyār. 2,1,3,3. 5,5. 9,2. 4. 5. 6. 10,2. 3; 2,3,2,13). *pharisai* is formed as *karisai* = *karṣati*, *marisai* = *marṣati*, *varisai* = *varṣati*, *harisai* = *harṣati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Ki. 4,72)². The same type of conjugation is presupposed by *puṃsai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105), *uppuṃsia*, *ōppuṃsia* (G. 57. 778 beside *ōppusia* 723), which has been forced into Skt. as *utpuṃsaya*³.—*truṭ* forms also *toḍai* = **trōṭati* (Hc. 4,116), beside *tuḍai* = *truḍāti* and *tuḍṭai*

= *trūtyati*, as *mil* forms *melaī* in *M. meliṇa* (§ 562), *AMg. melanti* (*Vivāhap.* 950), *A. melavi* (*Hc.* 4,429,1).—On *kr*, *mṛ* see § 477, on *sr* § 235, on *phuṭṭai* § 488, note 1.

1. The common basic meaning is "to slip over something, to go away", which easily yields "to rest". The derivation from *proñch* (WEBER. *Hāla* s. v. *pus*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG.* 32, 99) is linguistically impossible.—2. References in FISCHEL on *Hc.* 4,235 and above under § 135.—3. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* p. 58. The nasal in *pūṃsai* is not original as S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG.* 32, 99 note 2 means, but it is to be explained, as in *phāṃsai*, according to § 74. In *H.* 706 *Dhvaṇyāloka* 155,11 reads *mā pūṃsa* for *mā pusasu*.

§ 487. The 4. class has in *Pkt.* undergone a wider extension than that in *Skt.* There are a larger number of roots, that are conjugated according to this class, that were either never or only seldom so conjugated in *Skt.* All the roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than *a*, may according to *Hc.* 4,240 (cf. *Vr.* 8,21. 25. 26; *Ki.* 4,65. 75. 76; *Mk.* fol. 54) follow this conjugation: *pāai* = **pāyati* beside *pāi* = *pāti* (protects); *dhāai*, *dhāi* = *dadhāti*; *thāai*, *thāi*, 3. plur. *thāanti*, *JM. thāyanti*, *A. thanti* (§ 483); *vikkeai* beside *vikkei* = **vikrayati*; *hoai* beside *hoūna* from the stem *ho* = *bhava*, which according to *Sr.* fol. 47 is inflected also as *hoāmi*, *hoasi*, *hoai* (§ 476). The duplicity of flexion is sometimes found already in Vedic, as *uvāai* = Vedic *udvāyati*, *uvāi* = *Skt. udvāti*.—*jambhāi*, *jambhāi* are denominatives from *jṛmbhā*. *AMg. jāi* (*Sūyag.* 540; *Uttar.* 170), beside the usual *M. jāai* = *jāyate*, too is formed from *jan* according to a similar analogy. Examples from literature are *M. māsi*, *māai*, *māanti*, *amāanta-* (*H.*), *JM. māyanti* (*Erz.*), *Ś. nimāanta-* (*Mālatim.* 121,1) from *mā*, which forms *māyate*; *A. māi* (*Hc.* 4,351,1) too, in addition to *māti*, *mimīte*, according to *Dhātupāṭha* 26,33.—*M. vāai* (*Ratn.* 293,3), *vāanti*, *vāanta-* (*G. R.*), *niivāanti*, *niivāanta-* (*R.*), *parivāai* (*G.*), *pavvāai* (*R.*), *Ś. vāadi* (*Śak* 115,2 v. 1.), beside *M. vāi*, *āvāi*, *niivāi* (*G. H.*), *JŚ. niivādi* (*Pav.* 388,6), *M. vanti* (*Karp.* 10,2 v. 1.; *Dhūrtas.* 4,20 v. 1.), yet *vāanti* (*Karp.* 12,4).—*JM. paḍihā ai* (*Āv.* 33,28); *Ś. paḍihādi* = **pratibhāyati* = *pratibhāti* (*Bālar.* 135,11) beside *paḍihāsi* (*Vikr.* 7,18), *paḍihādi* (*Mṛcch.* 71,25 [°bhā°]; *Śak.* 12,7; *Vikr.* 13,2; 24,2; *Nāgān.* 5,9), often with the v. 1. *paḍihādi*; *M. A. paḍihāi* (*Hc.* 3,80; *G. H.*; *Hc.* 4,441,1); *Ś. bhādi* (*Mṛcch.* 73,14), *vihādi* (*Prab.* 57,2).—*Ś. pattiāsi* = *pratiyāsi* (§ 281) (*Mṛcch.* 82,3; *Ratn.* 301,7; 317,9; *Nāgān.* 37,7 [so correctly the v. 1.]), *pattiādi* (*Nāgān.* 30,3 [so rightly ed. *Calc.* 29,8]; *Pras.* 46,14; *Ratn.* 309,24; *Vikr.* 41,10 [so to be read with v. 1.]); *Mg. pattiāsi* (*Mṛcch.* 130,13), *pattiādi* (*Mṛcch.* 167,2), *pattiāadha* (*Mṛcch.* 165,9; *Mudrār.* 257,4 [so rightly v. 1. and ed. *Calc.* 212,9]), *pattiāanti* (*Mṛcch.* 167,1), passive *pattiāadi* (*Mṛcch.* 165,13).³ Against this are inflected in *AMg. JM. M.* completely according to the analogy of the first class: *AMg. pattiāmi* (*Sūyag.* 1015; *Uvās.* § 12; *Nāyādh.* § 133; *Vivāhap.* 134. 161. 803), *pattiāi* (*Vivāhap.* 845), *pattiānti* (*Vivāhap.* 841 f.), opt. *pattiājjā* (*Paṇṇav.* 577; *Rāyap.* 250), imperative *pattiājhi* (*Sūyag.* 1016; *Vivāhap.* 134); *JM. pattiāsi* (*Erz.* 52,20), *apattiānta* (*T.* 6,18); *M. pattiāsi*, *pattiāi* (*R.* 11,90; 13,44); from which the imperative is *M. pattiā* (*H.*), falsely *M. pattihi* (*R.* 11,94; the v. 1. rightly *pattiā*; *Kāvyaprakāśa* 195,2; v. 1. rightly *pattiā*) and *M. pattiāsi* (*H. v. 1.*), in dependence upon the false etymology = *pratihi*. *Ś. pattiāmi* (*Karp.* ed. *Bomb.* 42,12), *pattiāsi* (*Karṇas.* 31,11) are false; for the first *KONOW* 40,9 reads *pattiāmi*.—*nhāi* = *snāti* (*Hc.* 4,14); *AMg. snāi* (*Sūyag.* 344); *JM. nhāmo* = *snāmaḥ* (*Āv.* 17,7); *Mg. snāmi* = *snāmi* (*Mṛcch.* 113,21).—Cf. § 313. 314.—*AMg. paccāyanti* (*Ovav.* § 56) belongs to *jan* (*LEUMANN* s. v.), likewise *āyanti*, as *Kappas.* § 17 is to be read according to the v. 1.; opt. 1. sing. *payājjā* (*Nirayāv.* 59), 2. sing. *payājjāsi* (*Nāyādh.* 420). On *AMg. jāi* = *jāyate* see above. Cf. also § 479.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 343; PISCHEL, BB. 13,9. — 2. *vikkeai* is more correctly to be taken as the denominative from *vikreya* (§ 511). — 3. There with the help of the v. l. it is to be read: *yam loccakam pi na pattidiadi*. The form *pattidiadi* is likewise false as *Ś. pattidiadi* at Mṛch. 325,19.

§ 488. The auslaut of the roots ending in a consonant in conjunction with *ya* undergoes the alteration described in the section on Phonology (§ 279—286): *ṇaccaī = ṇṭyati*; *jujhaī = yudhyate*; *tutṭai = trutyati*; *maṇṇai = manyate*; *kuppaī = kuṇyati*; *lubbhaī = lubhyati*; *uttammaī = uttāmyati*; *ṇassaī*, AMg. JM. *nāsaī*, M. *nāsaī = naṣyati* (§ 63); *rūsaī, tūsaī, sūsaī, dūsaī, pūsaī, śīsaī* (Bh. 8,46; Hc. 4,236; Kī. 4,68), AMg. JM. *pāsaī = paśyati* (§ 63). — According to the *e*-conjugation is formed JM. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400,335). Deviating from Skt. are conjugated according to the 4. class pro ex. *kukkaī, kōkkaī = *krukyati = *kruṣyati = kroṣati* (Hc. 4,76)²; *callai = *calyati = calati* (Vr. 8,53; Hc. 4,231) beside the usual *calaī*, also in compounds, as *oallanti = avacalanti, oallanta-* (R.), *paal'ai* (Hc. 4,77), *pariallai* (Hc. 4,162); *jimmai = *jimyati* beside *jimai, jemaī = jemati* (Hc. 4,230; cf. 4,110); *thakkaī = *sthakyati* (Hc. 4,16)³; **millai = *milyati = milati* in compounds: *ummillai, nimillai, pamillai, saṃmillai* (Vr. 8,54; Hc. 4,232; G. R.; in A. *ummillai* (Hc. 4,354); Mg. *saṃnyammadha = *saṃnyamyata = saṃnyacchata* (Mṛch. 11, 3); Ś. *ruccadi = *rucyate = rocate* (Vikr. 31,3; 40,18; Mālav. 15,14; 77, 21), A. *ruccaī* (Hc. 4,341,1), beside *roadi* (Mṛch. 7,14; 44,5; 58,14; Śak. 54,4; Vikr. 24,7; 41,18), Mg. *loadi* (Mṛch. 139,16; Śak. 159,3); *laggaī = *lagyati = lagati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230); Ś. *olagganti* (Mālav. 39,14), *vilaggantaṃ* (Mṛch. 325,14); Mg. *laggadi* (Mṛch. 79,10); A. *laggaī* (Hc. 4,420,5; 422,7), *laggiṇi* (Hc. 4,339); Dh. *vajjasi, vajjadi, vajja* from *vraja* (Mṛch. 30,4,10; 39,10), Ś. *vajjamha* (Pras. 35,17), false *vaccasi* (Cait. 57, 2)⁴, Mg. *vayye'nti, pavayyāmi* (Mṛch. 120,12; 175,18). In Mg. A. *vraj* may be conjugated also according to the 9. class: Mg. *vaññāmi, vaññānadaśa* (Lalitav. 566,7, 17), *vaññadi = *vrajñāti* (Hc. 4,294; Sr. fol. 63)⁵; A. *vuñai*, absol. *vuñē'ppi, vuñē'ppinu* (Hc. 4,392). AMg. has also *vajāmo* (Sūyag. 268), *vajanti* (Sūyag. 277).

1. PISCHEL, BB. 13,18 f. In many cases one could think of the flexion according to the 6. class, as it certainly is in *phutṭai = sphuṭa'ti* (Vr. 8, 53; Hc. 4,231). — 2. PISCHEL, BB. 3,256. — 3. PISCHEL, BB. 3,258 f. — 4. Cf. § 202. In Mṛch. 109,19 we should for *vajjissāmo* read *bajjhissāmo*, fut. pass. from *bandh*; cf. v. l. — 5. In the verse in Mudār. 250,5 we should approximately read *vayyedha* instead of the transmitted *vajjeha*, as with HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,109 *vaññedha*. Cf. also *vaññāde* (Mallikām. 144,7).

§ 489. Some roots that follow the 4. class in Sanskrit go over to the first class or to the sixth class, partly compulsorily and partly optionally in Pkt. *man* may form *maṇai = *manate* too (Hc. 4,7) beside the usual *maṇṇai = manyate*. Thereof the 1. sing. pres. atm. *maṇe* is frequent in M. (§ 457). M. AMg. JM. A. *muṇai, JŚ. muṇadi* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Mk. fol. 53; G. H. R.; Acyutaś. 82; Pratāp. 202,15; 204,10; Vikr. 26,8; Āyār. 1,7,8,13; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,85. 86. 90. 95 etc.; Kattig. 398, 303; 399,313. 316; 400,337) and AMg. *muṇejaṇva* (Paṇṇav. 33), JŚ. *muṇe-davva* (Pav. 380,8; text °ja°) too are traced back to *man*. Against this derivation speaks the meaning "to know" as well as Pāli *munāti*. I derive *muṇai* from Vedic *mūta* in *kāmamūta* and Skt. *muni*. Cf. *animo movere*. — As sometimes already in Epic Skt., *śam* in Pkt. may form its stem according to the 1. class: *śamaī* (Hc. 4,167), *uvasamaī* (H. 4,239). So M. *paḍisamaī* (R. 6,44); AMg. *uvasamaī* (Kappas. S. § 59); JM. *uvasamasu* (Erz. 3,13), *pasamanti* (Āv. 16,20); Mg. *uvasamadi* (Hc. 4,299 = Venis. 34,11, where GRILL reads *uvasammadi*; cf. however, the v. l. and ed. Calc. 71,7). But more frequent is the inflection according to the 4. class, as

in Skt.: M. *ṇisammaī*, *ṇisammanti*; *ṇisammasu*, *ṇisammanta-* (G.), *pasammaī*, *pasammanta-* (G.R.); *paṇisāmaī* (Hc. 4,167).—*śram* is conjugated according to the 1. class: AMg. *samaī* (Uttar. 38); JM. *uvasamanti* (Āv. 35,29); M. JM. *viśamāmi*, *viśamasi*, *viśamaī*, *viśamāmo*, *viśamasu*, *viśamaū* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Hc. 1,43; 4,159); JM. *viśamamāṇa* (Dvār. 501,5); Ś. *viśama* (Mṛcch. 97,12), *viśamamha* (Ratn. 302,32), passive *viśamiadu* (Mṛcch. 77,11), *vissamiadu* (Śak. 32,9; Vikr. 77,15).—*vidh* (*vyadh*) goes in M. AMg. JM. according to the 6. class with nasal inserted: M. *vin dhanti* (Karp. 30,6); AMg. *vin dhai* (Uttar. 788), opt. *vin dhējja* (Vivāhap. 122), *āvin dhējja vā pivin dhējja vā* (Āyār. 2,13,20), also in the causative *āvin dhāvei* (Āyār. 2,15,20); JM. *āvin dha* (Āv. 38,7,10,35), *āvin dhāmo*, *āvin dhasu* (Āv. 17,8; 38,33), *oindhai* (Āv. 38,36). In AMg. *vehai* = *vedhati* (Sūyag 186) goes according to the 1. class, and with *ud* according to the 6. class without nasal: *uvvihai* = **udvidhāti* = *udvidhyati* (Nāyādh. 958,959; Vivāhap. 1388).—*śliṣ* forms *silesai* = **śleṣati* = *śliṣyati* (Hc. 4,190) according to the first class.

§ 490. The verbs of the 10. class and the denominatives and causatives, so far as they are built similarly, tend to contract -*aya-* to -*e-*: PG. *abhatthemī* = *abhyarthayāmi* (7,44); M. *kahei* = *kathayati* (H.), *kahēnti* (G.); JM. *kahemi*, *kaheha* (Erz.); AMg. *kahei* (Uvās.), *parikahemo* (Nirayāv. 60); Ś. *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 60,2; 80,17; 142,9; 146,4; 152,24; Śak. 37,16; 50,12; Vikr. 51,11 etc.), *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Mṛcch. 28,2; Śak. 52,7; 113,12); Mg. *kadhedī* (Śak. 117,5).—M. *gañei* = *gayayati*, *gañēnti* (R.); *gañesi* (Śak. 156,5).—M. *cintesi*, *cintei*, *cintēnti*, *cintem* (G. H. R.); AMg. *cintei* (Uvās.); JM. *cintesi* (Erz.), *cintēnti* (Āv. 43,21); Ś. *cintemi* (Vikr. 40,20), *cintehi* (Śak. 54,7; Vikr. 46,8; Ratn. 309,13), *cintemo* (Mahāv. 134,11).—Ś. *takkemi* (Mṛcch. 39,3; 59,25; 79,1,4; 95,3; Śak. 9,11; 98,8; 117,10; 132,11 and very often), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 99,11; 122,12; 141,2; 163,22; 170,17); A. *takkei* (Hc. 4,370,3).—AMg. *pariyāteeṇti* = *paritāpayanti* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); Ś. *saṁtāvedī* (Śak. 127,7).—AMg. *vedhei* = *veṣṭayati* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 621; Nirayāv. § 11), *varemo* = *varayāmah* (Vivāgas. 229), *vedemo* = *vedayāmah* (Vivāhap. 70). Non-contracted forms are more frequent only before the following double consonants, especially *nt*, as AMg. *tālayanti* = *tādāyanti* (verse; Uttar. 360,365) beside *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālei* (Nāyādh. 1236,1305), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *sobhayantā* (Jiv. 886), *paḍisaṁveṣayanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *avaaṁsaanti* = *avataṁsayanti* (Śak. 2,15); JM. *cintayanto*, *cintayantāṇam* (Erz.); Ś. *cintaanto* (Vikr. 42,8), *cintaantassa* (Śak. 30,5); P. *cintayamāṇi*, *cintayanto* (Hc. 4,310,322); Ś. *daṁsaanti* = *darśayantyā*, *daṁsaamha*, *daṁsaṁssam*, *daṁsaṁssasi*, °di; Mg. *daṁsaante* beside Ś. *daṁsemi*, *daṁsesi*, *daṁsehi*, *daṁsedum* (§ 554); Ś. *paāsaanto* = *prakāśayan* (Ratn. 313,33) beside M. *paāsei*, *paāseṇti*, *paāseṇtiṁ* (G.); Mg. *paṇjāseṇmha* (text °se°) = *prakāśayāma* (Lalitav. 567,1); Ś. *peṣaanteṇa* = *preṣayantā* (Śak. 140,13); Ś. *āṇsaanti* = *āyāsayanti* (Vṛṣabh. 50,10). More seldom in other cases, as Ś. *pavesaāmi* (Mṛcch. 4,25) beside Ś. *pavesehi* (Mṛcch. 68,5); Mg. *paveṣehi* (Mṛcch. 118,9,19); Ś. *viraaāmi* = *viracayāmi* (Śak. 79,1), Ś. *assāsaadi* = *āsvāsayati* (Venṣ. 10,4); Ś. *ciraadi* = *cirayati* (Mṛcch. 59,22); Ś. *jaṇaadi* = *janayati* (Śak. 131,8), where, however, we should, with the v. l. read *jaṇedi*, as M. *jaṇei* (H.), *jaṇēnti* (H. R.); M. *vaṇṇaāmo* = *varṇayāmah* (Bālar. 182,10). Always in AMg. JM., and in AMg. very frequently is used *dalaya-* "to give": *dalayāmi* (Nāyādh. § 94; Nirayāv. § 19; p. 62; Erz. 67,27), *dalayai* (Vivāgas. 35,132,211,223; Nāyādh. § 55,125; p. 265,432,439,442,449; Rāyap. 191 ff.; Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc.), *dalayāmo* (Vivāgas. 230; Nāyādh. 291), *dalayanti* (Vivāgas. 84,209; Nāyādh.

§ 120), *dalaṣṣṣjjā*, *dalaṣṣṣhi* (Āyār. 1,7,5,2; 2,1,10,6. 7; 2,6,1,10), *dalaṣṣaha* (Nirayāv. § 19), *dalaṣṣamāṇe* (Nāyādh. § 113; Kappas. § 103 [so to be read, as § 28 *dalaṣṣai* with A]). Cf. § 474.

§ 491. In Skt. denominatives may be derived from nominal stems without a particular affix, as *āṅkurati* from *āṅkura*, *kṛṣṇati* from *kṛṣṇa*, *darpaṇati* from *darpaṇa* (KIELHORN § 476; WHITNEY § 1054). This sort of formation, that is not frequent in Skt., is very usual in Pkt., especially in M. and A. The denominatives derived from the feminine forms ending in *-ā* shorten it, as in all similar cases (§ 487. 500. 510 f.) and are conjugated according to the 1. class. Thus from M. *kahā* = *kathā* are derived *kahāmi* *kahasi*, *kahāi*, *kahāmo*, *kahaha*, *kahanti*. From this it results that beside the forms ending in *-e* = *-aya*, mentioned in § 490, those in *-a* are found not seldom. So: M. *kahāi* (Hc. 1,187; 4,2; H. 59); AMg. *kahāhi* (Sūyag. 423), *kahasu* (Uttar. 700,703); A. *kahi* = **kathēḥ* = *kathayēḥ* (Hc. 4,422, 14).—M. *gaṇai*, *gaṇanti*, *gaṇantiē* (H.); A. *gaṇai*, *gaṇanti*, *gaṇantiē* (Hc.; also 4,353).—M. *cintai*, *cintanta* (H.), *viintantā* = *vicintayantaḥ* (G.); A. *cintai*, *cintantāḥ* = *cinlayatām* (Hc.).—M. *ummūlanti* = *ummūlayanti* (H.), *ummūlanta* (R.) beside *ummūlēnti* (R.), *kāmanta* = *kāmayamānaḥ* (H.) beside *kāmei* (Hc. 4,44), *kāmemo* (H.), *kāmēnti* (G.), *paṣānti* = *prasādayanti* beside *paṣāsi*, *paṣāamāṇassa* (H.), *papphoḍai*, *papphoḍanti* = *prasphoḍayati*, *ḡyanti* (H.), *maūlanti* = *mukulayanti* (H.), *maūlau* (G.), *maūlanta* (R.) beside *maūlei*, *maūlēnti* (R.), *maūlīntā* (G.); A. *pāhasi* = *prārthayasi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 530). *a* is found preponderantly before *nt*, as the uncontracted forms (§ 490). Thence it is possible that the entire formation of these forms has developed. A *gaṇaanti* = Skt. *gaṇayanti* must have through **gaṇānti* become *gaṇanti*, whence are deduced *gaṇāmi*, *gaṇasi*, *gaṇai*. In S. Mg. the forms with *a*, except in verses, are never found. In no case we can assume transition of *e* into *a*¹. On the causatives see also § 551 ff., on the denominatives § 557 ff.

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 60; cf., however, there the note 4.

§ 492. The roots in *-a* of the 2. class are conjugated as in Skt. or according to the 4. class (§ 487). *khyā* in conjunction with prefixes may in AMg. be conjugated according to the 2. class: *akkhāi* = *ākhyāti* (Vivāhap. 966); *akkhanti* = *ākhyānti* (Sūyag. 456. 465. 522); = *āgham* = *ākhyān* (Sūyag. 397), *paccakkhāmi* (Uvās.), *paccakkhāi* (Thāp. 119; Vivāhap. 119. 607; Uvās.); *paccakkhāmo* (Ovav.). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24) is a false reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 499). However, in AMg., as in Pāli, the roots are mostly reduplicated and inflected according to the *a*-conjugation as *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* (§ 483)¹: *āikkhāmi* = **ācikkhyāmi* (Sūyag. 579; Thāp. 149; Jiv. 343; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 325. 341. 1033), *āikkhāi* (Sūyag. 620; Āyār. 2,15,28,29; Vivāhap. 915.1032; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.) = Pāli *ācikkhati*; *saṁcikkhāi* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2), *āikkhāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *āikkhanti* (Āyār. 1,4, 1,1; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 647. 969; Vivāhap. 139. 341; Jiv. 343), *abbhāikkhāi*, *abbhāikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3), *abbhāikkhanti* (Sūyag. 969); *paccāikkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,15,5,1), *āikkhe*, *āikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,6,5,1; 2,3,3,8; Sūyag. 661.663), *paḍijāikkhe* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2), *paḍisaṁcikkhe*, *saṁcikkhe* (Uttar. 103. 106), *āikkhāhi* (Vivāhap. 150), *āikkhaha* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8 ff.; Nāyādh. § 83), *āikkhamāṇa* (Ovav. 59), *paccāikkhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 607), *saṁcikkhamāṇa* (Uttar. 440).

1. FISCHER, BB. 15,126. The usual derivation from *caks* (§ 499) is wrong.

§ 493. *i* is inflected mostly as in Skt. The 3. plur. *parasmaipada* nevertheless is M. AMg. *ēnti* (G. R.; Kāleyak. 3,8; Āyār. p. 15,6), likewise in compounds: M. *aṇṇēnti* = *anuyanti* (R.); M. *ēnti* = *āyanti* (R.;

Dhūrtas. 4,20 Karp. 10,2); M. AMg. *uvēnti* = *upayanti* (G.; Āyār. 2,16,1; Sūyag. 468; Dasav. 627,12), AMg. *samuveṇti* (Dasav. 635,2). AMg. has for it also *inti* (Paṇṇav. 43), *niinti* = *niyanti* in the sense of *niryanti* (Paṇhāv. 381.382), *palinti* = *pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95.134), *saṃpalinti* (Sūyag. 52), *uvinti* (Sūyag. 259) and *uvinte* (Sūyag. 271), *samanninti* = *samanuyanti* (Ovav. [§ 37]). It is obvious to consider *e* as the original, that developed on the analogy of the sing. *emi*, *esi*, *ei* and to derive *i* from it according to § 84. If, however, AMg. *niinti* is the correct reading, it cannot be separated from M. *ṇinti* (G.; H. v. 1.; R.), *viṇinti* (Dhvanyāloka 237, 2 = H. 954), *aiṇti* (G.), *parinti* (R.), which then must be explained as having arisen from *niinti*, **ṇinti*, **viṇinti*, **aiṇti*, **pariinti*, **parinti*. *inti*, as Pāli too has, is formed according to **imo*, **iha* = Skt. *imāḥ*, *iha*. The participle is JM. *into* (Dvār. 499,27); it occurs in M. *ṇinta-* (G.H.R.), *viṇinta-* (G.), *aiṇta-*, *parinta-*, (R.), *pariṇinta-* (Sarasvatik. 9,21)² = *niyant-*, *vinīyant-*, *atiyant-*, *pariyant-*, **pariniyant-* too. *e*, in the v. l. *ṇēnti* (G.H.R.), *viṇēnti* (Sarasvatik. 206,25)³ must be explained as having arisen from *i* according to § 119, in the same way as in the forms *eṇti*, *anṇēnti*, *uvēnti*, cited above. From the plural forms **aimo*, **aiha* = *atimāḥ*, *atilha*, **ṇimo*, **ṇiha* = *nimāḥ*, *nitha*, **parimo*, **pariha* = *parimāḥ*, *paritha* and others a singular is deduced: M. *aii* = **aiṇti* (Hc. 4,162; R.), *ṇisi* = **ṇiṣi* (R.); M. JM. *ṇii* = **ṇiti* (G. H. R.; Āv. 41,13. 22), M. *parii* = **pariti* (Hc. 4,162; R.)⁴. AMg. gives the regular forms *ei* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,5,1,1. 4,3; Sūyag. 328. 460), *accei* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 6,4; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 540), *uei* = *udeti* (Sūyag. 460), *ueu* (Āyār. 2,4,1,12; text *udeu*), *uvei* = *upaiti* (Āyār. 1,2,6,1; 1,5,1,1; Sūyag. 268. 523) etc. AMg. *eṇṇāsi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,8) is = *eyāḥ*; imp. is *eṇṇāhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). On *i* with *palā* see § 567. — *fi* forms in AMg. *sayai*, *āsayai* (Kappas. § 95); opt. *sae* (Āyār. 1,7,8,13) and *saeṇṇā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,25. 26), particip. pres. *sayamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,26). Monstrous is S. *serade* (Mallikām. 291,3).

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 96. — 2. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,414. — 3. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,415. — 4. On these forms treated collectively by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,110 ff. and ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,411 ff., where further literature. The establishment of a root *ni* "to go beyond" is impossible. From the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa *upanayati* (OLDENBERG, KZ. 27,281) and Pkt. *ṇipai* + **nirayati* (Hc. 4,162) is deduced a root *ni* "to go", which occurs in AMg. *nae* = *naet* (§ 411; note 2; Āyār. 2,16,5), but that has nothing to do with *ni*, as the flexion and parallel forms *aii*, *parii* show. The assumption that *ni* stands in the sense of *niḥ* simply creates difficulty. Further instances on this are wanting. It is impossible to derive *ni*, with WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741, from *nis* "weakening".

§ 494. The roots ending in *-u*, *-ū* of the second class mostly go over to the first class: *paṇḥai* = *prasnauti*, *ravai* = *rauti*, *savai* = *sūte*, *pasavai* = *prasūte*, *aṇiṇhavamāṇa* = *aninhuvāṇa*; *hnu* goes over to the 6th class too (§ 473). *stu* is conjugated in M. JM. AMg. as a verb of the 9. class in Pkt.: *thunai* (Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), *thunimo* (Bālar. 122,13); AMg. *saṃthunai*, absol. *saṃthunittā* (Jiv. 612), *abhitthunanti* (Vivāhap. 833), *abhitthunamāṇā*, *abhisamthunamāṇā* (Kappas. § 110. 113); JM. *thunei* according to the *e*-conjugation (Kk. II, 508,23), absol. *thuniya* (Kk. II. 508,26). In S. Mg. it follows the 5. class: S. *uvathunṇanti* = **upastunvanti* (Uttarar. 10,9; 27,3; so to be read; cf. LASSEN; Inst. p. 264 note); Mg. *thunu* (Mṛcch. 113,12; 115,9). The passive *thuvai* (§ 536) presupposes a flexion also according to the 6. class = **thuvai* = Skt. **stuvāti*, the absol. JM. *thoṇa* (Kk. 277,31; II, 507,25; III, 513,3) one **stotvāṇa*. — *brū* has retained its old flexion of Skt. in the frequent AMg. *bemi* = *bravīmi* (§ 166; Hc. 4,238; Āyār. p. 2 ff.; 8 ff.; Sūyag. 45. 84. 99. 117. 159. 200. 322. 627. 646f. 863. 950; Dasav. p. 613 f.; 618,16; 622 ff.). From it is built a 3. plur. AMg. JM. *beṇti* (Dasav. N. 651,5. 16. 20; 658,25; 661,8; Erz. 4,5),

binti (Sūyag. 236); the 1. plur. is AMg. *būma* (Uttar. 784; verse), the imp. *būhi* (Sūyag. 259. 301. 553). On the optative *būjā* see § 464. In A. it goes according to the 6. class: *bruvaha* = *brūta* (Hc. 4,391); AMg. *buija* presupposes the same flexion (§ 565).

§ 495. The roots *rud*, *śvas* and *svap* have completely gone to the *a*-conjugation. *rud* is conjugated according to the 6. class in M. and mostly in JM. A. too: M. *ruāmi*, *ruasi*, *ruai*, *ruanti*, *rua*, *ruhi*, *ruasu* (H. R.; Dhvanyāloka 173,3 = H. 966); JM. *rujasi* (Āv. 13,33; 14,27), *rujai* (Āv. 14,26), *rujasu* (Sagar. 6,11), *rujaha* (Āv. 14,28), *rujanti* (Āv. 13,33; Erz. 15,24), *rujantīe* (Erz. 22,36), *rujamāni* (Erz. 43,19), *rujamāniṃ* (Āv. 14,26); A. *ruahi* = *rodiṣi* (Hc. 4,383,1), *ruai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). More seldom is the flexion according to the 6. class in AMg. JM.A.: AMg. *rojanti* (Sūyag. 114); JM. *rojai* (Āv. 17,27), particip. fem. *rojanti* (Āv. 12,34); JM.AMg. *rojamānā* (Erz. 66,24; Uttar. 169; Vivāhap. 807; Vivāgas. 77. 118. 155. 225. 239. 240); A. *roi* = **rodeḥ* = *rudyāḥ* (Hc. 4,368), *roanti* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). This alone is prevalent in Ś. Mg., as Ś. *rodasi* (Mṛcch. 95,22), *roadi* (Mṛcch. 95,5; Venis. 58,20 [so to be read for *roidi* with v. l. as also Uttarar. 84,2]), *roanti* (Venis. 58,15), *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,12; Nāgān. 24,8. 12; 86,10 [roa]), *rodidum* (Śak. 80,8; Ratn. 318,27), also according to the *e*-conjugation *rodesi* (Mālatīm. 278,7), as with the v. l. for *rodisi* of the text we should read, if one will not like to read with the ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 207,3 and the ed. Madras. II, 65,4 *rodidi* [both texts *rodidi*], as stands also at Ratn. 318,9 and Mudrār. 263,6; Mg. *loda*, *loda-mānāśā* (Mṛcch. 20,25; 158,12). The flexion according to the 6. class is found in Mg. only in Mṛcch. 158,7. 9 *luadi* in verses; in Ś. stands *rudatu* [sic] Viddhaś. 87,9 in both the editions, certainly falsely. Cf. § 473.

§ 496. *śvas* is inflected: M. *sasai*, particip. pres. *parasmaip. sasanta-* (H. R.), *āsasai* (G.), *āsasu* for *āsasasu* (H.), *ūsasai*, *ūsasanta-* (Hc. 1,114; G. R.), *samūsasanti*, *samūsasanta-* (G. H.), *ṇisasai*, *ṇisasanta-* (Hc. 4,201; G. H.), *visasai* (Hc. 4,43; H. 511 v. l.); AMg. *ussasai* (Vivāhap. 112), *ūsasanti* (Vivāhap. 26. 852; Paṇṇav. 320 ff. 485), *ūsasējjā*, *ūsasamāne* (Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *nissasai*, *ṇisasanti* (Vivāhap. 112.852; Paṇṇav. 320 ff. 485), *ṇisasamāna* (Vivāhap. 1253; Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *visase* (Uttar. 181); Ś. *ṇisasanti*, *ṇisasadi* (Mṛcch. 39,2; 69,8; 70,8; 79,1), *visasāmi*, *visasadi* (Śak. 65,10; 106,1), *samassasa* = *samāśvasiḥi* (Vikr. 7,6; 24,20; Ratn. 327,9; Venis. 75,2; Nāgān. 95,18), *samassasadu* (Mṛcch. 53,2. 23; Śak. 127,14; 142,1; Vikr. 71,19; 84,11; Ratn. 319,28 and often, also Venis. at 93,16 with the ed. Calc. 220,1 to be read), *samassasadha* (Vikr. 7,1); Mg. *śasadi*, *śasantā* (Mṛcch. 38,8; 116,17), *ūśasadu* (Mṛcch. 114,20), *śamuśasadi* (Mṛcch. 133,22), *ṇīśasadu* (Mṛcch. 114,21), *śamaśśasadu* (Mṛcch. 130,17).

§ 497. *svap* as a rule follows the 6. class: M. *suasi*, *suvasi* = **supāsi* (H.), *suai* (Hc. 4,146; H.), *suvaī* (Hc. 1,64), *suanti* (G.), *suvasu*, *suaha* (H.); JM. *suwāmi* (Erz. 65,7), *sujai* (76,32), *sujaū* (Erz. 50,13; Dvār. 503,3), *suyantassa* (Erz. 37,12), *sujamāno* (Dvār. 503,4); Ś. *suwāmi* (Kārnas. 18,19); *suveṃmha* (Mṛcch. 46,9), particip. nec. *suvidavvaṃ* (Mṛcch. 90,20); A. *suahi* = *svapanti* (Hc. 4,376,2). The secondary root *suv* = *sup* is sometimes conjugated according to the 1. class, just as *rovaī* beside *ruvaī* and *dhovaī* beside *dhuvaī* (§ 473. 482); *sovaī* (Hc. 1,64); JM. *sovēnti* (Dvār. 503,28), inf. *soum* (Dvār. 501,7); A. particip. nec. *soevā* (Hc. 4,438,3).

§ 498. With the exception of AMg., in all the dialects the 1. and 2. sing. and plur. of *as* are used only as enclitics, in which the sing. forms lose the initial *a* (§ 145). Sing. M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* (text *mhi*) *si*. The 1. plur. reads according to Vr. 7,7 *mha*, *mho*, *mhu*, according to Hc. 3,147; Kī. 4,9; Sr. fol. 50 only *mha*, *mho*. We have found in the text M.

mha and *mho* (H.), *Ś. mha* (Śak. 26,11; 27,6; 55,13; 58,6; Vikr. 23,8. 14 etc.) corresponding to *sma* of the Epic. The very seldom 2. plural is *M. ttha* (R. 3,3). In AMg. the 1. sing. is *aṃsi* (§ 74,313; Āyār. 1,1,1,2,4; 1,6, 2,2; 1,6,4,2; 1,7,4,2; 1,7,5,1; Sūyag. 239. 565 ff. 689), enclitic *mi* (Uttar. 113. 116. 406. 439. 574. 590. 597. 598. 615. 625. 708; Kappas. § 3. 29), as also in JM. (Āv. 28,14. 15; Erz. 65,10; 68,21) the 1. plur. *mo* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4 [so to be read according to § 85]), as also JM. has (Āv. 27,4). The 3. sing. in all the dialects is *atthi*, that in Mg. is to be equated as *asti*. *atthi* is used for all persons of the sing. and plur. as a non-enclitic form (Hc. 3, 148; Sr. fol. 50). Thus *Ś. atthi dāva aham* (Mudrār. 42,10; 159,12); Mg. *asti dāva hage* (Mudrār. 193,1; cf. v. l.); plur. AMg. *natthi sattovavāi jā = na santi sattvā upapādītā* (Sūyag. 28), *natthi naṃ tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pājā vā kaṇṇā vā = na sto nūnam tasya dārakasya hastau vā pādau vā kaṇṇau vā* (Vivāgas. 11); JM. *jassa oṭṭhā natthi = yasyausthau na staḥ* (Āv. 41,6); *Ś. atthi aṇṇāim pi candaūttassa kovakāraṇāim cāṇakke = santy anyāny api candra-guptyasya kopakāraṇāni cāṇakye* (Mudrār. 164,3; so to be read; cfr. v. l. and ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 141,14). The 3. plur. *santi* is seldom : AMg. (Uttar. 200; Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585); JŚ. (Pav. 383,74; 385, 65); Mg. *śanti* (Venī. 34,21; cf., however, v. l.). From the imp. is found in AMg. *tthu* in the combination *namo tthu naṃ* (Hc. 4,283; 380. 760; Ovav. § 20,87; Kappas. § 16). The optative is AMg. *siyā* (§ 464). On the use of *atthi*, *santi*, *siyā* at the beginning of the sentence, as well on the pronominal use of *aṃhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* see § 417. Accordingly we have the following flexion:

Sing.	Plur.
1. AMg. <i>aṃsi</i> , <i>mi</i> ; M. JM. JŚ. <i>Ś. mhi</i> , JM. also <i>mi</i> ; Mg. <i>smi</i> .	1. M. <i>mho</i> , <i>mha</i> ; Ś. <i>mha</i> ; Mg. <i>sma</i> ; AMg. <i>mo</i> , <i>mu</i> ; JM. <i>mo</i> .
2. M. JM. <i>Ś. si</i> ; Mg. <i>śi</i> .	2. M. <i>ttha</i> .
3. M. JM. AMg. JŚ. <i>Ś. atthi</i> ; Mg. <i>asti</i> .	3. M. AMg. JŚ. <i>santi</i> ; Mg. <i>śanti</i> .

Opt. AMg. *siyā*; imp. AMg. *tthu*. On the imperf. *āsi* see § 515.

§ 499. The remaining roots that in Skt. behave as of the 2. class go over to the *a*-conjugation and are conjugated according to the 1. class. So one says: AMg. *aḥiyāsae = adhyāste* (Āyār. 1,8,2,15) and = *adhyāsita* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8 ff.); AMg. *pajjuvāsāmi = paryupāse* (Vivāhap. 916; Nirayāv. § 3; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsāi* (Vivāhap. 917; Nirayāv. § 4; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsāhi*, *pajjuvāsējjāhi* (Uvās.); *pajjuvāsanti* (Ovav.).—M. *niacchāi = *nicakṣati = niścaṣṭe* (Hc. 4,181; R. 15,48), *niacchāmi* (Śak. 119. 7), *niacchae*, *niacchaha*, *niacchanta*, *niacchamāṇa*, also according to the *e*-conjugation, *niacchesi* (H.), *avaacchāi*, *avaakkhāi*, *avakkhāi*, *oakkhāi = avacaṣṭe* (Hc. 4, 181; *avakkhāi* also Vr. 8,69); AMg. *avaṇyakkhāi* (Nāyādh. 958); Ś. *ācakkha* (Ratn. 320,32), past pass. part. of the pres. stem *ācakkhida = *ācakṣita* (Śak. 63,15 [so to be read]; 77,14; 160,15), *aṇācakkhida* (Vikr. 80,4); Mg. *ācaskadi* (Hc. 4, 297), *aṇācaskida* (Mṛcch. 37,21); Dh. *ācakkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24; so to be read; cf. v. l. in GODABOLE p. 101,4); A. *ācakkhahi* (Vikr. 58,8; 59,14; 65,3), *ācakkhiu* (Vikr. 58,11); Ś. inf. *pacācakkhidum* (Śak. 104,8). Cf. § 324.—JŚ. *padussedi* (Pav. 384,49) is not = *pradveṣṭi*, as the translation suggests, but = *praduṣyati* and enters for the explanation of AMg. JM. JŚ. *dosa* (§ 129). *sāhai = śāste* (Hc. 4,2); M. JM. *sāhāmi*, *sāhai*, *sāhāmo*, *sāhanti*, *sāhasu* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.), also according to *e*-conjugation : *sāhemi*, *sāhēnti*, *sāhesu*, *sāhehi*, *sāheu*, *sāhēnti* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); of the weak root *ṣiḥ* according to the 4. class: *sisai* (Hc. 4,2), seen up

till now only as passive = *śiṣyate* (G. R.); AMg. *anusāsasmi* = **anusā-sāmi* = *anusāsmi* (Uttar. 790)¹, *anusāsanti* (Sūyag. 517; Uttar. 33); passive D. *sāsijjāi* (Mṛcch. 103,16), *ś. sāsīdāi* (Mṛcch. 155,6); Mṛg. *śāsādi* (Mṛcch. 158,25). — M. *haṇāi* = *hanti* (H. 214), *ṇihaṇanti*, and according to the *e*-conjugation *ṇihaṇemi* (R.); AMg. *haṇāmi* (Vivāhap. 254. 850 f.), *haṇāi* (Vivāhap. 849 f.), in the verse also *haṇāi* (Uttar. 630), *abhihaṇāi* (Vivāhap. 348), *samohaṇāi* (Vivāhap. 114. 212 ff. 420; Nāyādh. § 91. 96; p. 1325; Kappas.); JŚ. *ṇihaṇadi* (Kattig. 401,339); AMg. *haṇaha* (Uttar. 365), *haṇanti* (Sūyag. 110), *samohaṇanti* (Rāyap. 32. 45). *sāhaṇanti* = *saṃghnanti* (Vivāhap. 137.138.141), in the verse also *viṇihanti* (Sūyag.339), opt. *haṇiyā haṇijjā*, *haṇējjā*, *haṇe* (§ 464), imp. *haṇaha* (Sūyag. 596; Āyār. 1,7,2,4); JM. *āhaṇāmi* (Āv. 28,2), *haṇāi* (Erz. 5,32), imp. *haṇa* = *jahi* (Erz. 2,15), opt. *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1); Ś. *paṭihaṇāmi* = *pratihaṇmi* (Mudrār. 182, 7 v. l.), *vihaṇanti* (Prab. 17,10); Mṛg. *āhaṇedha* (Mṛcch. 158,18); A. *haṇāi* (Hc. 4,418,3).

1. JACOB, SBE. 45,151, note 1 wrongly likes to read *anusasasmi*. Cf. § 74. 182.

§ 500. The 3. class of Skt. has been retained in Pkt. just in scanty remnants. For *dā* in the present is used *de-* = *daya-* (§ 474), mostly in AMg., sometimes in JM. *dalaṇya-* (§ 490). — Of *dhā*, the old stem *dahā-* = *dadhā-* has generally been retained only in compounds with *sad-* = *śrad-*, which behaves almost exclusively according to the *a*-conjugation, as sometimes also in Vedic and Epic Skt. and in Pāli *dahati*¹. So *saddahāi* = *śraddadhātī* (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Sr. fol. 57); M. *saddahimo* = *śraddadhāmaḥ* (H. 23), past passive participle of the present stem *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; Hc. 1,12; Acyutaś. 8); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134. 1316; Niraṇv. 60; Uvās. § 12. 210; Nāyādh. § 132), *saddahāi* (Vivāhap. 845; Paṇṇav. 64; Uttar. 805), in the verse also with old flexion *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804); JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399,311); opt. *saddahe* (Uttar. 170), *saddahējjā* (Rāyap. 250; Paṇṇav. 577. 583), imp. *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151) and *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134; Rāyap. 249. 258); JM. *asaddahanto* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahamāṇa* (Hc. 4,9; Āyār. 2,2,2,8). In AMg., in addition, is found also *ādahāi* (Ovav. § 44), *ādahanti* (Sūyag. 286). Cf. § 222. Otherwise *dhā*, as all other roots in *-ā* (§ 483. 487), is inflected according to the 2. or 4. class: *dhāi*, *dhāi* (Hc. 4,240); M. *saṃdhantēṇa* = *saṃdadhatāi* (R. 5,24); AMg. JM. with cerebralization (§ 223) very frequently: *ādhāmi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; Vivāhap. 1210), *ādhāi* (Thāṇ. 156. 285. 479 ff.; Vivāgas. 460. 575; Niraṇv. § 8. 18. 19. p. 61 ff.; Rāyap. 78. 227. 252; Uvās. § 215. 247; Nāyādh. § 69; p. 460. 575; Vivāhap. 228. 234; Āv. 27,3), AMg. *ādhanti* (Vivāgas. 458; Vivāhap. 239), *ādhāyanti* (Vivāhap. 245; Nāyādh. 301.302.305), *ādhāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 456), *ādhāha* (Nāyādh. 938) and *ādhaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *ādhāmāṇa* (Vivāhap. 240), *ādhāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4,5), *anādhāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2) and *anādhāyamāṇa* (Uvās. [so to be read; see v. l. ; Vivāgas. 217; Rāyap. 282), passive *anādhāijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 235; Uvās.). Like *sthā* (§ 483), *dhā* with prefixes usually goes over to the *e*-conjugation: M. *saṃdhei* (H. 733; R. 15,76), *saṃdhēnti* (R. 5,56), *saṃdhinti* (G. 1041; so to be read; see v. l.); *vihesi* (G. 332; read *khambhehi va vihesi* and cf. v. l.); AMg. *saṃdhei* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6), *saṃdhemāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3), opt. *nihe* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,3; 1,4,1,3), *pihe* (Sūyag. 129); JM. *āsaṃdhei* (Āv. 46,25); Ś. *anusamdhemi* (Karp. 10,3), *anusamdhedha* (Karp. 23,1). AMg. *saṃdhāi* (Sūyag. 527), **nihaī*, **pihaī* is the connecting link. — *hā-* forms AMg. *jahāsi* (Sūyag. 174. 176), *jahāi* (Sūyag. 118), *jahāi* (Thāṇ. 281), *pajahāmi* (Uttar. 377), *vippajahāmi* (Vivāhap. 1237. 1242), *vippajahāi* (Vivāhap.; Ovav.), *vippajahanti* (Sūyag. 633. 635. 978), opt. *jahe* (Āyār. 2,16,9), *payahijja* and *payahējjā* (Sūyag. 128. 147), *payāhe* (Sūyag. 410), *pajahe* (Uttar. 456), *vippajahe*

(Uttar. 244), imp. *jahāhi* (Sūyag. 414), particip. *vip̄pajahamāṇā* (Vivāhap. 1385); JŚ. *jahādi* and *jahadi* (Pav. 383,24; 385,64). According to the 4. class: AMg. *hāyāi* (Ṭhāṇ. 294 f.); future Ś. *parihāssadi* = *parihāsyate* (Śak. 2,1). — *mā* see § 487.

1. FISCHER, BB. 15, 121.

§ 501. *bhī* shows the old flexion in *bihemi* = *bibhemi*, *bihei* = *bibheti* (Hc. 1,169, 4,238). M. JM. *bihaī* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 3,134. 136; 4,53), *bihante* (Hc. 3,142), JM. *bīhasu* (Erz. 81,34), dragged to *bhī*, and M. *bihei* (H. 311. 778), JM. *bīhehi* (Erz. 35,33; 83,7), *bīhesu* (Erz. 82,20), formed according to the *e*-conjugation, do not belong to *bhī*, but is = **bhīṣati* from *√bhīṣ*, of which only the causative is used in Skt. AMg. *bihaṇa*, *bihaṇaga* (§ 213. 263) proves it. Generally *bhī* is conjugated as the *ai*-roots (§ 479), always in Ś. Mg. So JM. *bhāyasu* (Erz. 31,18); Ś. *bhāmi* (Vikr. 24,13; 33,11), *bhādi* (Ratn. 301,18; Mālav. 63,12), *bhāhi* (Śak. 90,12; Mālav. 78,20; Ratn. 300,10; Priyad. 16,18; 21,5; Mallikām. 293,15); Mg. *bhāmi*, *bhāsi* (Mṛcch. 124,22. 23; 125,21). In M. according to the analogy of the *a*-roots too (§ 479); *bhāi* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 4,53); *bhāsu*, v. l. *bhāhi* (H. 583). — *hu* (to offer) goes over to the 9. class in AMg.: *huṇāmi*, *huṇāsi* (Uttar. 375), *huṇāi* (Vivāhap. 910); also with retention of reduplication: AMg. *juhuṇāmi* (Ṭhāṇ. 436. 437). Cf. Skt. *hunet* in BÖHTLINGK s. v. *hun* (!).

§ 502. Remnants of the 5. class of Skt. are found almost only in Ś. and there they are doubtful. Most of the roots of the 5. class have gone over to the 9. class, but prevalently they behave according to the *a*- and *e*-conjugations: AMg. *sañciṇu* (Uttar. 170); Ś. *avaciṇomi* (Mālatim. 72,5 [ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 53,1 and ed. Madras. 61,3 *avaiṇummi*]; Unmattar. 6,19), *avaciṇumo* (Pārvaṭip. 27,14), *uccīṇosi* (Viddhaś. 81,9; both the editions; nevertheless doubtful); false forms also Priyad. 11,4; 13,15. 17. Against that *ciṇai* (Vr. 8,29; Hc. 4,238. 241), fut. *ciṇihii* (Hc. 4,243), passive *ciṇijjāi* (Hc. 4,242. 243); *uccīṇai* (Hc. 4,241); M. *uccīṇasu*, *samuccīṇai* (H.), *vicīṇanti* (G.); AMg. *ciṇāi* (Uttar. 931. 937. 942. 948. 952 etc.; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 136. 137), *uvaciṇāi* (Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 113. 136. 137) and *sañciṇai* (Uttar. 205), *uvaciṇai* (Vivāhap. 38. 39), *ciṇanti* (Ṭhāṇ. 107; Vivāhap. 62. 182), *uvaciṇanti* (Ṭhāṇ. 108; Vivāhap. 62); Ś. imp. *avaciṇamha* (Śak. 71,9; Mālatim. 111,2. 7 [so to be read; cf. v. l.; Cait. 73,11; 75,12 [°ṇu]]), past passive participle *vicīṇida* (Mālatim. 297,5), also according to the *e*-conjugation: Ś. *uccīṇedi* (Karp. 2,8), inf. *avaciṇedum* (Lalitav. 561,8). In M. Mg. A. *ci* is conjugated according to the 1. class too: *uccei* (Hc. 4,241, H. 159), *uccēnti* (G. 536), imp. *ucceu* (Sr. fol. 49), inf. *ucceum* (H. 159); Mg. *sañcehi* (Veṇiś. 35,9), A. opt. *sañci* (Hc. 4,422,4); likewise *mi* in M. *nimesi* (G. 296). Cf. 473.

§ 503. *dhu* (*dhū*) forms AMg. *dhuṇāi* (verse; Āyār. 1,4,4,2), usually M. AMg. *dhuṇai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,59. 241; Ki. 4,73; G. 437; H. 532; R. 15,23; Viddhaś. 7,2; Sūyag. 321), opt. AMg. *dhuṇe* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,4,3,2; 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 408. 550); AMg. *viḥuṇāmi* (Nāyādh. 938); M. *viḥuṇai* (R. 7,17; 12,66); M. AMg. *viḥuṇanti* (G. 552; R. 6,35; 13,5; Ṭhāṇ. 155); AMg. *viḥuṇe* (Sūyag. 921), *viḥuṇāhi* (Uttar. 311), *niddhuṇe* (Uttar. 170), absol. *dhuṇiṇya*, *viḥuṇiṇya* (Sūyag. 111. 113), *viḥuṇiṇyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24), *sañvidhuṇiṇya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5), *niddhuṇittāna* (Uttar. 605), particip. pres. ātmanep. *viṇiddhuṇamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1253); passive *dhuṇijjāi* (Hc. 4,242); Ś. absol. *avadhuṇiṇya* (Mālatim. 351,6). It may be conjugated according to the 6. class too: *dhuvaī* (Hc. 4,59), from which the passive *dhuvaī* (§ 536); further according to the *e*-conjugation M. *viḥuṇēnti* (R. 8,35); Ś. *vidhuvedī* (Mṛcch. 71,20). On the past passive participle *hūṇa*, *viḥūṇa*, *vip̄pahūṇa*

see § 120.—Of *śru* is found the flexion according to the 5. class only in the 2. sing. imp. in Ś. Mg. So Ś. *śuṇu* (Śak. 78,4; Vikr. 42,12); Mg. *śuṇu* (Mṛcch. 121,23; Venis. 34,19, [GRILL false *śiṇu*], in the 2. plur. too *śuṇudha* Śak. 113,9). But in Ś. at both the places stands the v. 1. *śuṇa*, as in Ratn. 304,9; 309,9; Viddhaś. 63,2 against *śuṇu* 72,5 stands, and since beside it is found *śuṇāhi* too (Mṛcch. 104,16; Śak. 77,6; Mālav. 6,5; 45,19; Vṛṣabh. 42,7), the 1. plur. *śuṇamha* (Vikr. 41,17; Ratn. 302,7; 316,25), or according to the *e*-conjugation *śuṇēmha* (Nāgān. 28,9; 29,7), the 2. plur. is *śuṇadha* (Śak. 55,12), so *śuṇa* will have to be read throughout in Ś. In Mg. too *śuṇu* for *śuṇa* will be a Sanskritism. The 2. plur. in Mg. is *śuṇādha* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; 162,17; Prab. 46,14. 17) or *śuṇedha* (Mṛcch. 154,9), and so at Śak. 133,9 with the v. 1. and in Hc. 4,302 we should read either *śuṇadha* or (cf. Z) *śuṇādha*. In any case, in Ś. Mg. the conjugation according to the model of the 9. class is usual: Ś. *śuṇāmi* (Mālatim. 288,1); Mg. *śuṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 14,22); falsely Ś. *śuṇomi* (Venis. 10,5; Mudrār. 249,4.6), for which with the v. 1. *śuṇāmi* or *śuṇemi* is to be read. Ś. *śuṇādi* (Mālav. 71,3; Mukund. 13,17; Mallikām. 244,2), also *śuṇedi* (Mṛcch. 325,19); Mg. *śuṇādi* (Mṛcch. 162,21). Against the dialect is Ś. *śuṇimo* (Bālar. 101,5), for which *śuṇāmo* is correct. Very frequent is the 3. sing. imp. Ś. *śuṇādu* (Mṛcch. 40,21; 74,5; Śak. 20,12; 21,4; 57,2; 159,10; Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; 83,19; 84,1; Mālav. 78,7; Mudrār. 159,12 etc.), Mg. *śuṇādu* (Mṛcch. 37,3); 3. plur. imp. Ś. *śuṇantu* (Mṛcch. 142,10), Mg. *śuṇantu* (Mṛcch. 151,23). In M. the stem is carried over to the *a*-conjugation: *śuṇai*, *śuṇimo*, *śuṇanti*, *śuṇasu*, *śuṇaha* (G. H. R.), likewise in A. 2. plur. imp. *ṇisunahu* (Kk. 272,37), JM. *śuṇai*, *śuṇanti* (Kk.), *śuṇa* (Dvār. 495,15), *śuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *śuṇaha* (Ovav. § 184; Āv. 33,19); AMg. *śuṇantu* (Nāyādh. 1134), *śuṇamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2), *apaḍisunamāṇa* (Nirayāv. § 25). In JM. AMg., however, the flexion according to the *e*-conjugation prevails: JM. *śuṇei* (Āv. 35,30; 42,41; 43,2; Kk.; Erz.); AMg. *śuṇemi* (Ṭhāṇ. 143), *śuṇei* (Vivāhap. 327; Nandis. 371. 373. 504; Āyār. 1,1,5,2; p. 136,8. 16; Paṇṇav. 428 ff.), *paḍisunēi* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *paḍisunēnti* (Vivāhap. 1227; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Kappas. [so or *ṇi*° to be read also at § 58] etc.). AMg. *paḍisunējjā* (Rāyap. 251), *paḍisunijjā* (Kappas.), *paḍisunē* (Uttar. 31,33) are opt. For the 3. sing. imp. Hc. 3,158 gives *śuṇāu*, *śuṇeu*, *śuṇāu*. AMg. has *śuṇeu* (Sūyag. 363), 2. plur. *śuṇeho* (Sūyag. 243. 373. 397. 423 f.; Uttar. 1). The passive M. JM. *suṇvāi* (§ 536) presupposes a conjugation according to 6. class **suṇvāi* = **śruvāti*.

§ 504. AMg. *pappoi* [text *pappōtti*; commentary *papputti*] = *prāpnoti* (Uttar. 430), JŚ. *pappodi* (Pav. 389,5) in verses are formed according to the 5. class from *āp* with *pra*. Otherwise *āp*, in AMg. with the stem of the 9. class, is inflected according to the *a*-conjugation: *pāuṇai* = **prāpūṇāti*, **prāpūṇati* (Vivāhap. 845; Ovav. § 153; Paṇṇav. 846), *pāuṇanti* (Sūyag. 433. 759. 771; Ovav. § 74. 75. 81. 117); *saṃpāuṇanti* (Vivāhap. 926), opt. *pāuṇējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11. 2,6; Ṭhāṇ. 165. 416), *saṃpāuṇējjāsi* (text °se; Uttar. 345); inf. *pāuṇittae* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11). In M. JM. JŚ., in verses in AMg., Ś. A. the usual flexion is according to the 1. class: *pāvai* = **prāpnoti* (Hc. 4,239). So M. *pāvasi*, *pāvai*, *pāvanti*, *pāva*, *pāvai* (G. H. R.), also according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvēnti* (G.); AMg. *pāvai* (Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.; Paṇṇav. 135); opt. *pāvijjā* (Nandis. 404); JM. *pāvai* (Kk. 272,5), *pāvanti* (Rṣabhap. 41), and according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvei* (Erz. 50,34), *pāvēnti* (Kk. 266,4; Erz. 46,1 [so to be read]); JŚ. *pāvadi* (Pav. 380,11; Kattig. 400,326; 403,370); Ś. *pāvanti* (Viddhaś. 63,2); absol. JŚ. *pāvedi* (Kattig. 399,307; Ratn. 316,5), *pāvehī* (Mālav. 30,11; so to be read); A. *pāvami* (Vikr. 71,8). From the same stem is built the future too

Ś. *pāvaiṣṣam* (Śak. 54,3). Hc. 4,302 read *Mudrār.* 187,2 in AMg. *pāvemi*; the MSS. and editions have *ācemi*, *jācemi*, *paḍicchemi* (Hc. 4, 141. 142 mentions also *vāvei* = *vyāpnoti* and *saṁāvei* = *saṁāpnoti*).

§ 505. *takṣ*, as already in Skt. too, behaves according to the 1. class: AMg. *tacchanti* (Sūyag. 274), *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596).—From *śak* very frequent is *sakkaṇomi* = *śaknomi* (§ 140. 195; Śak. 51,2; Ratn. 305,33; 327,17; Uttarar. 112,8) or *sakkuṇomi* (Mṛcch. 166,13; Vikr. 12,12; 15,3; 46,18; Mudrār. 242,3; 246,1; 252,2 [everywhere to be so read]; Nāgān. 14,8. 11; 27,15 etc.). In other dialects it behaves according to the 4. class: *sakkai* = **śakyati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230; Kī. 4,60). So JM. A. *sakkai* (Erz.; Hc. 4,422,6. 441,2), JM. opt. *sakkeṭṭja* (Erz. 79,1), and according to the *e*-conjugation JM. *sakkei* (Āv. 42,28), *sakkeṇti* (Erz. 65,19), *sakkeha* (Sagara 10,13 [so to be read]). On the opt. *sakkā* see § 465.—*stṛ*, which in Skt. follows the 5. or 9. class is inflected in Pkt. according to the analogy of roots in *r* (§ 477): M. *o'ttharai* = *avastṛṇoti*, *o'ttharia* = *avastṛta*, *vittharai*, *vittharanta*-, *vittharium*, *vittharia*(R.); JM. *vitthariya*=*vistṛta* (Erz.); Ś. *vittharanta*-(Mālatim. 76,4; 258,3); A. *o'ttharai* (Vikr. 67,20). To it belongs also *utthaṅghai* (raises up; throws up; Hc. 4,36.144), past passive participle *utthaṅgia* (R. s.v. *stambh*) = **utstaghnōti* (PISCHEL, BB. 15,122 f.) Cf. § 333.

§ 506. The tottering flexion of the 7. class in Pkt. is completely lost. The nasal is taken from the weak forms to the strong ones and the stem is inflected according to the *a*- or *e*-conjugation: *chindai* = *chinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,124. 216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); *acchindai* (Hc. 4,125); M. *achindai* (G.), *vo'echindanta*-(R.); JM. *chindāmi* and *chindei* (Erz.) abs. *chindittu* (Kk.); AMg. *chindāmi* (Aṇuog. 528; Nirayāv. § 16); *chindasi* (Aṇuog. 528), *chindai* (Sūyag. 332; Vivāhap. 123.1306, (Nāyādh. 1436; Uttar. 789), *acchindai* *vicchindai* (Thāp. 360), *vo'echindasi*, *vo'echindai* (Uttar. 321. 824), opt. *chindeṭṭja* (Vivāhap. 123. 1306), *chinde* (Uttar. 217), *acchindeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,9; 2,9,2; 2,13,13), *vicchindeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,13,13), *chindāhi* (Dasav. 613,27), *chindaha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4), present participle *chindamāṇa* (Aṇuog. 528), absol. *palicchindiyāṇām* (Āyār. 1,3,2,4); Ś. absol. *paricchindia* (Vikr. 47,1). On AMg. *acche* see § 466. 516.—*pisai* for **pimsai* (§ 76) = *pinasṭi* (Hc. 4,185); Ś. *pisedi* (Mṛcch. 3,1. 21).—*bhañjai* = *bhanakti* (Hc. 4,106); M. *bhañjai*, *bhañjanta*-(H. R.); JM. *bhañjiṇa*, *je* (Erz.); AMg. *bhañjai*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 788. 789); Ś. future *bhañjaissai* (Vikr. 22,2), absol. *bhañjia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23). Mg. *bhayyadi* [text *bhajjadi*; ed. Calc. *bhajjedi*] (Mṛcch. 118,12) must be considered as passive and *vibhayya* (text *bibhajja* (Mṛcch. 118,21) as its imperative; against this stands Ś. imp. *bhajjedha* (Mṛcch. 155,4) in the active sense, to which may be compared *jūjāi* (§ 507).—*bhindai* = *bhinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); M. *bhindai*, *bhindanta*-(G. H. R.); JM. *bhindai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhindai* (Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 1327), *bhindeṇti*, *bhindamāṇe* Vivāhap. 1227. 1327), opt. *bhindeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9); Ś. Mg. absol. *bhindia* (Vikr. 16,1; Mṛcch. 112,17). On AMg. *abbhe* see § 466. 516.

§ 507. *bhuḥ* forms *bhuñjai* (Hc. 4,110; Mk. fol. 56), *uvahuñjai* (Hc. 4, 111); M. *bhuñjasu* (H.); JM. *bhuñjai* (Erz.), *bhuñjai* (Āv. 8,4,24), *bhuñjanti* (Erz.; Kk.), *bhuñjae* (Ātmanep.; Erz.), *bhuñjāhi* (Āv. 10,40), *bhuñjasu* (Av. 12,20), *bhuñjaha*, *bhuñjamāṇa*, *bhuñjiya*, *bhuñjjittā* (Erz.); AMg. *bhuñjai* (Uttar. 12; Vivāhap. 163), *bhuñjai* (Sūyag. 209); *bhuñjāmo* (Vivāhap. 624), *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194; Vivāhap. 623), *bhuñjanti* (Dasav. 613,18), *bhuñjeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Vivāhap. 515. 516), *bhuñje* (Uttar. 37; Sūyag. 344), imp. *bhuñja* (Sūyag. 182), *bhuñjasu*, *bhuñjimo* (Uttar. 369.675), *bhuñjaha* (Āyār. 2,1, 10,7), *bhuñjamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101.102 [je°].103[je°]; Kappas.); JŚ. *bhuñjade* (Kattig. 403. 382; 404,390); Ś. *bhuñjasu* (Mṛcch. 70,12), inf. *bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21); A. *bhuñjanti* inf. *bhuñjanahā*, *bhuñjanahī* (Hc. 4,335,441,1).

— From *yuj* the present are *juñjāi*, *jujjāi* (Hc. 4,109), which may be compared with *bhājiedha* § 506 and under *rudh*. M. *paññajām* (Karp. 7,1). M. *jujjāe*, *jujjāi* (H.), *jujjanta-* (R.) are passive forms. AMg. *juñjāi* (Pañnav. 842 ff.; Ovav. § 145. 146), *paññjāi* (Vivāhap. 1312; Nāyādh. § 89), opt. *juñje* (Uttar. 29), *paññje* (Samav. 86), *juñjamāṇa* (Pañnav. 842 ff.), absol. *uwaññjiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1591); absol. M. *niññjiya* (Erz.); Ś. *paññjadha* (Karp. 6,7), imp. passive from the present stem *paññjiadu* (Mṛcch. 9,7), whilst the very frequent Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65,12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71, 10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.) = *yujyate* is, as the future Ś. *ahiññissadi* = *abhiyoksyate* (Uttarar. 69,6). — *rudh* forms *rundhāi* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,133.218.239; Ki. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56). So M. *rundhasu* (H.); AMg. *rundhāi* (Thāp. 360); Ś. *rundhedi* (Mallikām. 126,3; text. °ei); A. absol. *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20) and *rūjjhāi* = **rudhyati* (Hc. 4,218), also with the nasal inserted M. *nirunñjhai* (H. 618), JŚ. absol. *nirunñjhittā* (Pav. 386,70), with which is compared AMg. *vigññicai* = *vikññtyati* (§ 485). M. AMg. *rumbhāi* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,218; Ki. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56; H. R.; Uttar. 902), AMg. *nirumbhāi* (Uttar. 834), passive M. JM. *rubbhāi* (§ 546) belong to a root **rubh*, which is an analogical formation according to the roots in gutturals (§ 266). — *hims* forms in AMg. *himsai* = *hinasti* (Uttar. 927. 935. 940. 945. 950 etc.), *vihiṃsai* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 4. 5. 5. 6. 3), *himsanti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5).

§ 508. The forms of *kṛ*, built according to the 8. class, are still found in AMg. JM. JŚ. only, notwithstanding the carrying over of the weak stem *kuru-* to the *a-* class as *kurva-*: AMg. *kuvvaī* = **kurvati* (Sūyag. 321. 328 [°ai]. 359 [°ai]. 550. 551; Uttar. 43; Dasav. 613,19 [°ai]), *pakuvvaī* (Āyār. 1.2,6,2), *viuvvaī* (Vivāhap. 114; Rāyap. 60 ff. 79. 82; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.), *kuvvanti* = *kurvanti* (Sūyag. 231. 240. 359. 472. 646; Vivāhap. 409), *vikuvvanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215), opt. *kuvvējjā*, °jja (Uttar. 19. 289), usually, however, *kujjā* (§ 464), imp. *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), pres. part. ātmanep. *kuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Pañnav. 104; Nāyādh. 930), *viuvvaṃāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1033 f. 1054), *pakuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; 1,5,1,1); JM. *kuvvaī* (Kk.), *kuvvanti* (Āv. 7,11), *viuvvaī* (Āv. 35,6), *viuvvae* (Āv. 36,27), absol. *viuvviṇa*, past passive particip. *viuvviya* (Erz.); JŚ. *kuvvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340; 402, 357), *kuvvañ* (Pav. 384,58), *kuvvantañ* (Kattig. 400,332), *kuvvanto* (Kattig. 403,378), also ātmanep. *kuvvade* (Kattig. 403,384). The Vedic flexion according to the 5. class has been retained in M. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. Vedic. *kṛnoti* becomes, according to § 502, *kuṇai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65; Ki. 4,54; Mk. 59). So M. *kuṇasi*, *kuṇai*, *kuṇanti*, *kuṇa*, *kuṇasu* *kuṇai*, *kuṇanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kuṇai* (Kk.; Rṣabhap.), *kuṇanti*, *kuṇaha* (Kk.), *kuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.; Sagara 6,2. 11. 12), *kuṇanta-*, *kuṇamāṇa-* (Kk.; Erz.), *kuṇanteṇa* (KI. 15), also completely isolated *kuṇai* in AMg. in the verse (Samav. 85); JŚ. *kuṇadi* (Kattig. 399,310. 319; 402,359. 367; 403,370. 371. 385; 404,388. 389. 391); A. *kuṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79 [text °ha] and *kuṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118). In Ś. Mg. *kuṇa-* is never used (Vr. 12,15; Mk. fol. 72). It is correct, therefore, in the dramas only in the gāthās composed in M., as Ratn. 293,6; Mudrār. 83,3; Dhūrtas. 4,19; Nāgān. 25,4; 41,5; Bālar. 120,6; Viddhaś. 92,8; Karp. 8,9; 10,1; 55,3; 67,5, etc. Prātāp. 218,17; 220,15; 389,14 etc. Rājaśekhara wrongly uses *kuṇa-* in Ś. too, as in Bālar. 69,13; 168,7; 195,13; 200,12; Viddhaś. 36,2; 48,9,11; 80,14; 83,3; 123,14. For *kuṇomi* (Karp. 107,6 ed. Bomb.) Konow reads 115,6 correct *kadiadu*, and so perhaps in Bālar. and Viddhaś. too in the critical editions. *kuṇa-* is to be removed from Ś. It is found, however, elsewhere in later days dramas too, as Hāsy. 32,12; 39,14; Cait. 36,11; 37,5;

39,1. 10; 44,12; 47,7; 80,14; 92,14; Kārṇas. 22,8; Jīvān. 39,15; 41,7; 81,14; 95,2; Mallikām. 69,1; 336,3 etc. perhaps a bit through the contribution of the publishers and authors. Out and out monstrous is *Ś. kummo = kurmaḥ* (Jīvān. 13,6), against this correctly *Ḍh. kulu = kuru* (Mṛch. 31,16).

§ 509. *kr* is conjugated mostly as the roots in *r* of the first class (§477): *karāi* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65. 234. 239; Mk. fol. 59), yet in M. JM. AMg. JŚ. almost, in Ś. Mg. completely exclusively according to the *e*-conjugation. *a*-forms are: PG. opt. *karēyya*, *karēyyāma* (6,40; 7,41); M. *karanta* (R.); JM. *karae = kurute* (Kk. II, 506,5), *karanti* (Rṣabhap. 39. 40); AMg. *karāi* (uncertain; Rāyap. 233), *karanti* (Sūyag. 297; Uttar. 1101; Vivāhap. 62; Jiv. 102; Pannav. 56. 574), *paḥkaranti* (Uttar. 15; Pannav. 575), *viyāgaranti*, *vāgaranti* (Sūyag. 523. 695); JŚ. *karadi* (Kattig. 400,332); opt. AMg. *karē* (Sūyag. 348. 385. 393), *nirākare* (Sūyag. 442), *karējjā* (§ 462), *viyāgarējjā* (Sūyag. 525. 527), *vāgarējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17); frequently in A.: *karimi* (Vikr. 71,9), *karāi* (Hc. 4,370,2), *karāi*, *karadi*, *karanti*, *karahi* (Hc. s. v. *ṽkar*), opt. *kari* (Hc. 4,387,3; Śukasaptati 49,4; Prabandhac. 63,7), imp. *karahi* (Hc. 4,385; Piṅgala 1,149), *karu* (Hc. 4,330,3), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107. 121 [text ^oha]), inf. *karāṇa*, absol. *karevi*, *karēppinu* (Hc. s.v. *ṽkar*). — *e*-forms are very frequent: M. *karemi*, *karesi*, *karei*, *karēnti*, *karehi*, *karesu*, *karēnta* (H. R.); JM. *karei* (Erz.; Kk.; Āv. 9,17; 14,14), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35; Kk. 264,11. 14; Āv. 17,14; Sagara 2,14), *karēnti* (Erz.; Kk.), *karehi*, *karesu*, *karēha* (Kk.), *karēnta*, *karemaṇa* (Erz.); AMg. *karemi* (Thāṇ. 149. 476; Nāyādh. § 94; Uvās.), *karei* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 403. 406. 853; Vivāhap. 915. 917. 931. 945; Nirayāv. 49; Uvās.; Kappas.), *karemo* (Sūyag. 734), *karēnti* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Rāyap. 183; Jiv. 577. 597; Uvās.; Kappas.), imp. *viyāgarēhi* (Sūyag. 962), *karēha* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *karemaṇa* (Uvās.), *viyāgarēmaṇe*, *viyāgarē* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1). Isolated is AMg. *kajjanti* (Uvās. § 197. 198) in the active sense; at the parallel place § 184 stands *karēnti*. JŚ. *karedi* (Pav. 384,59; Kattig. 400,324; 402,369; 403,377. 383); Ś. *karemi* (Lalitav. 561,15; Mṛch. 16,4; 103,17; 151,22; Śak. 165,8 [to be taken from the v.l. over to the text]; Vikr. 82,5; 83,5. 6 etc.), *karesi* (Ratn. 303,29; Mālatīm. 265,2; Prab. 44,2 [so to be read with P. M. Bomb.]), *karedi* (Lalitav. 560,9; Mṛch. 73,11; 147,18; 151,19. 20; Śak. 20,5; 56,16; Vikr. 75,5), *karemo* (Śak. 80,5 [so to be read]), *alaṁkarēnti* (Mālatīm. 273,5 [so to be read; cf. v. 1.]), *karehi* (Mṛch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10), *karesu* (Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20), *karedu* (Mālatīm. 351,7), *karēma* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Prab. 63,11; Ratn. 303,21; Uttarar. 101,8), *karedha* (Mālatīm. 246,5), *karēnta* (Mṛch. 6,13; 40,23; 60,25; 61,24; 105,1; 148,8). — Mg. *kalemi* (Mṛch. 12,15; 31,17. 20; 97,4; 113,23 etc.; Śak. 114,3), *kaleṣi* (Mṛch. 151,25; 160,3), *kalide* (Mṛch. 81,6; 127,6; 135,2; 158,25; Nāgān. 68,5 [so to be read]), *kalehi* (Mṛch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5), *kalēma* (Mṛch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Venis. 36,6; Candak. 71,10), *kaledha* (Mṛch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23), *kalēnta* (voc.; Mṛch. 30,9; 108,17).

§ 510. The forms built according to the 9. class are found in most of the dialects more frequently of only *jñā*, which after *na*, according to § 170, loses its initial *j*: M. *jāñāi* (Karp. 35,8); JM. *jāñāsi* (Erz. 57,8); AMg. *jāñāsi* (Vivāhap. 1271; Rāyap. 267; Uttar. 745), *añujāñāi* (Sūyag. 1.16), *na jāñāi*, *jāñāi* (Sūyag. 161. 520), *parijāñāi* (Vivāhap. 228; Rāyap. 252 [jā]), *jāñāsi*, *viyāñāi* (Uttar. 745. 791); JŚ. *jāñādi* (Pav. 382,25; 348,48), *viyāñādi* (Pav. 388,2); Ś. *jāñāsi* (Mṛch. 57,9; 65,10; 82,12; Śak. 13,5; Mālatīm. 102,3; Mudrār. 37,2); D. *āñāsi* (Mṛch. 101,8.9).

10); *Ś. jāṇādi* (Vikr. 9,4; Mālatīm. 264,5; Mahāv. 34,1; Mudrār. 36,3.4.6; 55,1 etc.); Mg. *Ś. D. āṇādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25; 51,25; 101,11); *Ś. viāṇādi* (Prab. 13,19), *jāṇādu* (Mṛcch. 94,13; Mudrār. 36,7); Mg. *yāṇāsi* (Venis. 34,18), *yāṇādi* (Mṛcch. 114,1), *āṇādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25), *viāṇādi*, *paccabhiāṇādi* (Mṛcch. 38,13; 173,7). Except in *Ś. Mg. jāṇā* mostly behaves according to the *a*-conjugation: *jāṇai* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Kī. 4,47). So: M. *jāṇimi*, *jāṇasi*, *jāṇase*, *janai*, *jāṇimo* and *jāṇāmo*, *jāṇa*, *jāṇasu* (H.), after *na*: *āṇasi*, *āṇai*, *āṇimo* *āṇaha* (H. R.); JM. *jāṇasi* (Dvār. 502,21), *na jāṇasi* (Erz. 52,17), *jāṇai* (Erz. 11,2; Kk. 277,10), *na jāṇai* (Āv. 21,18; 38,8; Erz. 30,3; 37,25); AMg. *jāṇasi* (Uttar. 745), *jāṇai* (Vivāhap. 284. 363. 911. 1194. 1198 etc.; Sūyag. 476. 540; Uttar. 202; Āyār. 1,2,5,4; Paṇṇav. 366. 432. 518 ff. 666; Jiv. 339 ff.), *parijāṇai* (Āyār. p. 132,9 ff.), *apujāṇai* (Vivāhap. 603 ff.), *samaṇu-jāṇai* (Āyār. 1,1,3,6; 1,2,5,2. 3), *jāṇāmo* (Vivāhap. 131. 144. 1180. 1406; Thān. 147; Sūyag. 578), *jāṇaha*, *parijāṇaha* (Vivāhap. 132,234), opt. *jāṇe* (Sūyag. 364), imp. *jāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1) and *jāṇāhi* (Sūyag. 249. 304; Kappas. S. § 52), *viyāṇāhi* (Paṇṇav. 39), *samaṇujāṇāhi* (Sūyag. 247), *apujāṇāhi* (Kappas. § 28), *jāṇaha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *jāṇamāṇa* (Samav. 82); JS. *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 398,302), *viyāṇadi* (Pav. 381,21), *jāṇa* (Kattig. 401,342); *Ś. jāṇāmo* [text false °ṇi°; cf. v. l.] (Mālatīm. 82,9; 94,3; 246,1; 248,1; 255,4; Viddhaś. 101,1), *na āṇadha* (Mālatīm. 245,8), imp. *jāṇa* (Karp. 63,8) and *jāṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 41,24 [so to be read]; 169,20; Vikr. 15,10; 41,5; Mālatīm. 239,1 [so to be read]), *apujāṇāhi* (Śak. 26,12; Vikr. 29,9); Mg. *yāṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 80,21); A. *jāṇāhi* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *jāṇai* (Hc. 4,401, 4. 419,1), *jāṇu* Piṅgala 1,26 [text *jāṇa*], *jāṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,105. 106. 144). In *Ś. Mg.* the flexion according to the *a*-class is restricted to *jāṇāmo*, *jāṇa*, *jāṇāhi*, which should not be considered to have been built from the strong stem of the 9. class, and to *jāṇadha*. Against the dialect is *Ś. jāṇasi* (Lalitav. 560,18), falsely also *jāṇedi* (Nāgān. 67,3), for which we should, with the v. l., read *jāṇādi*, as also for Mg. *yāṇadi* (Hc. 4,292), *paccabhiyāṇedi* (Mṛcch. 132,24) is to be read °ṇādi. On the other hand, correct is the *e*-form in JM. *jāṇei* (Kk. III, 512,4), JS. *viyāṇedi* (Kattig. 399,316; text °ei) and A. *jāṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,5. 14). JS. has *ṇādi* = **jāṇāti* (Pav. 382,25) too.

§ 511. *kṛi* forms *kiṇai* (Vr. 8,30; Hc. 4,52), with prefix *vi* *vikkiṇai* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52; Kī. 4,70; Mk. fol. 54). So: M. *vikkiṇai* (H. 238); JM. *kiṇāmi* (Āv. 31,9), *kiṇai* (Erz. 29,28), absol. *kiṇiya*, future *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 33,15), *vikkiṇāmi*, *vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,24. 26), *vikkiṇanti* (Āv. 31,7), *paḍi-vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,15); AMg. *kiṇai* (Thān. 516), opt. *kiṇe*, particip. pres. *kiṇanta-* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3); *Ś. imp. kiṇadha* (Caṇḍak. 51,10. 11. 12; 53,7), future *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), past passive particip. *kiṇida* (Karp. 32, 9; 73,2), *vikkiṇasi* (Mṛcch. 61,16), *vikkiṇida* (Mṛcch. 50,4; Karp. 74,3; Laṭakam. 13,15; 18,10); Mg. *kiṇadha* and with *i* fut. *kiṇissam* (Mṛcch. 32, 17; 118,14; 125,10); Dh. *vikkiṇia* (Mṛcch. 32,10. 12. 14). With the prefix *vi* *kṛi* is inflected also according to the analogy of the roots in -ī of the 1. class: *vikkei* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52. 240; Kī. 4,71; Mk. fol. 54). So M. v. l. to H. 238. *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) is a denominative from *vikreya*, therefore = **vikreyati*.—*pū* forms *puṇai* (Hc. 4,241), *lū* likewise *luṇai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Kī. 4,73; Mk. fol. 57). Besides both the roots may be inflected according to the analogy of the roots in -u, -ū of the 6. class: AMg. opt. *luṇjja* (Vivāhap. 1186), passive *puvvaī*, *luvvaī* beside *puṇijjaī*, *luṇijjaī* (§ 536). The shortening of *i*, in *kiṇai* is explained from the old accent *krindti* and it corresponds to the shortening of *ū* in *puṇai*=*pundti*, *luṇai*=*lundti*. On M. JM. AMg. A. *jiṇai*, Dh. *jiṇādi*, AMg. *samussijjaī* see § 473, on *muṇai* § 489.

§ 512. The old flexion of the roots ending in consonants occurs in AMg. *aṇhāi*=*aṇāti* (Ovav. § 64. 65). The usual formation, however, is

aṇhāi (Hc. 4,110). The roots are inflected the same according to the analogy of the roots of 7. class with the weak stem formed according to either *a-* or *e-*conjugation (§ 506 f.). The influence thereof was that a section of the roots, such as *granth*, *bandh*, *manth*, already had the nasal and another section as *aṇhāi* = *aśnāti*, *gēṇhāi* = *grhṇāti* was forced to take it according to the phonetic rules of Prākṛit within the stem. So : *gaṇthāi* = *grathnāti* (§ 333; Hc. 4,120; Mg. fol. 54); Ś. *niggaṇthida* (Bālar. 131,14).—*gēṇhāi*=*grhṇāti* (Vr.8,15; Hc.4,209; Kī 4,63); M. *gēṇhāi*, *gēṇhanti*, *gēṇha*, *gēṇhāi*, *gēṇhanta*-(G.H.R.); JM. *gēṇhasi* (Āv. 44,6), *gēṇhāi*, *gīṇhāi*, *gīṇhae* (Kk.); *gēṇhanti* (Āv. 35,3), *gēṇha* (Erz.; Kk.); *gēṇhāhi* (Āv. 31,11) and *gēṇhesu* (Erz.), *gēṇhaha*, *gīṇhaha* (Āv. 33,17; Kk.); AMg. *gēṇhāi* (Vivāhap. 916. 1032. 1659; Uvās.), *gēṇhējjā* (Vivāhap. 212. 214), *gīṇhāi* (Vivāhap. 1035; Paṇṇav. 377ff.; Nāyādh. 449; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.), also *gīṇhei* (Uvās.), *abhigīṇhāi* (Uvās.), *ogīṇhāi* (Vivāhap. 838), *gīṇhaha* (Vivāhap. 623), *gīṇhanti* (Vivāhap. 24; Nirayāv.), *gīṇhāhi* (Nāyādh. 633), *gīṇhaha*, *uvagīṇhaha* (Vivāhap. 332); JŚ. *gīṇhadi* (Pav. 384,59 [text *gīṇnadi*], Kattig. 399,310; 400,335), *gīṇhedi* (Kattig. 400,335); Ś. *gēṇhasi* (Mṛcch. 49,15), *gēṇhadi* (Mṛcch. 45,9; 74,18; Śak. 73,3; 159,13), *gēṇhanti* (Mṛcch. 70,3), *gēṇha* (Mṛcch. 16,3; 38,4; 55,1; 75,2 etc.; Ratn. 305,7), *gēṇhadu* (Mṛcch. 49,8; 74,14), *aṇugeṇhadu* (Śak. 56,11; Mudrār. 19,4), *gēṇhadha* (Mṛcch. 97,24), *aṇugeṇhantu* (Mudrār. 262,5 [so to be read]), absol. *gēṇhia* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2; 107,10; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20), inf. *gēṇhidum* (Mṛcch. 94,12), particip. nec. *gēṇhidavva* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9); Mg. *gēṇhadi* (Mṛcch. 128,19; 145,17), *gēṇha* (Mṛcch. 45,21; 132,13; Mudrār. 264,1; 265,1), *gēṇhadu* (Mṛcch. 22,3. 5), *gēṇhia* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Caṇḍak. 64,8); Dh. *gēṇha* (Mṛcch. 29,16; 30,2); A. *grṇhāi* (Hc. 4,336), *gēṇhāi* (Piṅgala 1,60), absol. *grṇhēppīṇu* (Hc. 4,394. 438,1). In A. *grah* is inflected according to the 6th class too: *grhanti* (Hc. 4,341,2).

§ 513. *bandh* is inflected: M. *bhandhāi* (Hc. 1,187; H. R.; Pracandap. 47,6); *ṇibandhāi* (R.), *bandhanti* (G. R.), *aṇubandhanti* (R.), *bandhasu* (R.), *ābandhanti* (Hc. 1,7), future *bandhīhi*, passive *bandhijjāi* (Hc. 4,247), also according to the *e-*conjugation: *bandhēnti* (R.), inf. *bandheum* (Hc. 1,181); JM. *bandhaha*, *bandhiūṇa*, *bandhiya* (Erz.), *bandhium*, *bandhittu* (Kk.); AMg. *bhandhāi* (Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 104. 136. 137. 331. 391 ff. 635 ff. 1810 ff.; Ovav. § 66; Paṇṇav. 638. 653. 657. 663 etc.), *paḍibandhāi* (Sūyag. 179), *bandhanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 66. 1435; Paṇṇav. 638. 657. 663 etc.), *bandhējjā* (Vivāhap. 420. 421; Uvās. § 200), *bandhaha* (Vivāhap. 234. 1263), inf. *bandhiu* (Nirayāv. § 15); JŚ. *bandhade* (Kattig. 400,327); Ś. *bandhāmi* (Laṭakam. 18,12), *aṇubandhasi* (Śak. 86,14), *aṇubandhanti* (Uttar. 60,7), absol. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Nāgān. 34,15; 35,9), also according to the *e-*conjugation: *bandhesi* (Priyad. 4,16); *obandhedi* = *avabadhnāti* (Mṛcch. 89,5; 152,25); Mg. absol. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 163,16), past passive participle *bandhida* (Mṛcch. 162,17), according to the *e-*conjugation imp. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12).—*manth* forms *manthāi* (Hc. 4,121). To the flexion of Skt. *mathati* corresponds AMg. opt. *mahējjā* (Uvās. § 200), where, however, the v. l. points to *manthējjā*.

§ 514. In Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhaṇ* follows the analogy of the roots of the 9. class, because *bhaṇāmi*, should be construed as **bha-ṇā-mi*. In the 2. 3. sing. indic., 3. sing. imp., 2. plur. indic. imperative the length is retained as in the 1. sing. plur. Examples are extraordinarily numerous: Ś. *bhaṇāsi* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 52,11; 53,54; 57,11; Vikr. 10,5; 22,14; Mālav. 27,13; Mudrār. 71,1. 2. 4; 72,2. 4; 73,2 etc.), *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch.

23,19; 67,14; 74,13; 94,11; Śak. 51,4; 158,2; Vikr. 16,5; 46,5; Mālav. 16, 18; 64,20 etc.), *bhaṇādu* (Mṛcch. 18,25); Mg. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *bhaṇādha* (Mṛcch. 32,18; 96,21; 97,1; Prab. 46,16; Caṇḍak. 64,6; Mudrār. 154,1; 257,6; 258,2 [so to be read throughout, as also in Ś. Uttarar. 123,7]); Dh. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 34,12). The 2. sing. imp. is Ś.D. *bhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 88,19; Śak. 50,9; Vikr. 47,1; Nāgān. 30,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,8) or Ś. *bhaṇāhi* (Vikr. 27,7; Mālav. 39,9; Venīs. 10,12; 100,14; Nāgān. 44,13; Jivān. 10,4); Mg. *bhaṇa* (Śak. 114,5) and *bhaṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 81,13; 15; 165,4). Beside them these dialects have also the *e*-conjugation: D. Ś. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 105,8; Śak. 137,12 [so to be read]); Mg. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 21,8. 20. 22); Dh. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 39,16); Ś. *bhaṇehi* (Mṛcch. 61,13; 79, 3). In the rest of the dialects *bhaṇ* behaves regularly according to the *a*-conjugation: yet *bhaṇāi* in JM. Āv. 22,41. 42 beside the usual *bhaṇāi*.

IMPERFECT.

§ 515. The single imperfect, that has been retained by dialects, more than one, is the imperfect of *as* (to be). However, only the 3. sing. *āsi* or *āsī* = *āsīt*, which is used for all the persons in the sing. and plur., only is found (Vr. 7,25; Hc. 3,164; Kī. 4,11; Sr. fol. 54). So 1. sing. AMg. *ke ahaṃ āsi* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3); Ś. *ahaṃ khu...āsi* (Mṛcch. 54,16)¹; 2. sing. Ś. *tumaṃ...gadā āsi* (Mṛcch. 28,14), *tumaṃ kiṃ mantaantī āsi* (Mālatim. 71,4), *tumaṃ khu...me piśasahī āsi* (Mālatim. 141,11 f.), *kilinto āsi* (Uttarar. 18,12), *kisa tumaṃ, ed. tuam]* *mantaantī āsi* (Karnas. 37,7f.)²; 3. sing. M. *āsi* (G.H.); JM. *āsi*, *āsi* (Kī. 2; Dvār. 495,19; 499,20; 504,19; Erz.); AMg. *āsi* (Sūyag. 896; Uvās. § 197; Ovav. § 170), *āsi* (Uttar. 660; Jiv. 239.452); Ś. very frequently; e. g. *āsi* (Lalitav. 560,14; 568,1; Mṛcch. 41,21; Śak. 43,6; 105, 10; 117,12; 129,13; 162,13; Vikr. 11,2; 27,21; 35,7. 9), *āsi* (Uttarar. 20,12; 78,4; Venīs. 12,1.6); Dh. *āsi* (Mṛcch. 36,18); 1. plur. AMg. *āsi mo*, *āsi mo*³ (Uttar. 402), *āsi amhe* (Uttar. 403); 3. plur. M. *je āsi...mahānāipavahā* (G. 449), *āsi rahā* (R. 14,33), *je °go'ccha āsi...vañjulā* (H. 422); JM. *mahārājāno cattāri mittā āsi* (Erz. 4,36); AMg. *uvasaggā bhīmāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7), *tassa bhajjā duve āsi* (Uttar. 660); Ś. *paṣaṃsantī āsi* (Bālar. 289,2).—Besides we find only AMg. *abbavī* = *abravīt* (Hc. 3,162; Uttar. 279. 281; Sūyag. 259), used also as 3. plur. too: *abambhacāriṇo bālā imaṃ vajanam abbavī* (Uttar. 351).—On the hypothetical preterite *udāhare*, *care*, *pahāne*, *pucche*, *acchīa*, *gō'phīa* etc. see § 466. The preterite posulated by BOLLENSEN⁴ rests on false readings and forms wrongly understood⁵. See also § 517.

1. Notwithstanding Pāli *āsiṃ*, we should not with the v. l. read here *āsiṃ*, as BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. presumes.—2. At H. 805, *āsi* should not be considered, with WEBER, as = *āsiḥ*, but as = *āsiḥ* with the scholiasts.—3. *āsi* of the text should be so corrected. As the similar following *āsi amhe* and the other use of *āsi*, *āsi* point, it is not to be read with LEUMANN, WZKM. 5, 134 *āsiṃ* or *āsiṃ*, but *mo* should, with the scholiast, be considered as a pronoun.—4. Mālavikā. p. 188. 230.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 46.

AORIST.

§ 516. Of the strong aorist only AMg. *acche* = **acchet* from *chid*, *abbhe* = Vedic. *ābhet* from *bhid* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which are used in the sense of the opt. (§ 466), are noticeable, in addition to *abhū* = *abhūt* in the verse in AMg. (Uttar. 116), which has been used there as the 3. plur.: *abhū jīṇā atthi jīṇā aduṇā vi bhavissāi*. Very numerous, on the other hand, in AMg. are the many forms of the *s*-aorist in the *parasmaip.*, frequently derived from the present stem. The very seldom 1. sing. *parasmaip.* shows, as in Pāli¹, doubled *s*: *akarissam c' ahaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1, 1,5); *pucchiss' ahaṃ* (verse; Sūyag. 259). The 2. sing. occurs in

akāsi = *akārṣiḥ* (Samav. 82); *kāsi* (Uttar. 415) and in *vajāsi* = *avādiḥ* (Sūyag. 924), of a form, that is placed together with Pāli forms like *agomāsi*². Both the forms are more frequent as 3. sing. So *akāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8; 2,2,2,4; Sūyag. 74; Kappas. § 146), *akāsi* (Sūyag. 120. 123. 298), behind *mā* also *kāsi* (Hc. 3,162; Sūyag. 234; Uttar. 14), according to Hc. 3,162; Sr. fol. 54 also *kāhi* and according to Deśin. 1,8 *akāsi* in the sense of *pariāptam*. The same forms are used also as 1. sing. *jaṁ ahaṁ pūvvaṁ akāsi* = *yad ahaṁ pūvvaṁ akārṣam* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3); *ahaṁ ejaṁ akāsi* = *ahaṁ etad akārṣam* (Sūyag. 621) and used as 1. plur.: *jahā vajāṁ dhammam ayaṇamāṇā pāvāṁ purā kammam akāsi mohā* (Uttar. 433 f.). This corresponds to the use of the imp. *āsi* (§ 515). As 3. sing.: *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 578; Vivāhap. 165. 1260. 1262. 1268; Ovav.; Uvās.; Kappas.), very frequently in the meaning of the 3. plur. (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 783; Vivāhap. 131. 186. 236. 238. 332. 809. 951; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 68 ff. u.s. w.) etc., also *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 565. 841; Ovav. § 53. 84 ff.). Other examples for the 3. sing. are: *thāsi, thāhi* from *sthā* (Hc. 3,162); *pacāsi* from *aś* with *pati* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *acāri* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2); *kaheṣi* from *kathaya-* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327). From *bhū* the 3. sing. is *bhuvi* = **abhūvit* (Vivāhap. 78. 844 [text here °im]; Nandis. 501. 502 [text *bhuviṁ cabhava-*: *ahesi* from **abhaviṣit, *abhaviṣit, *abhaviṣit* (§ 166; Hc. 3,164), according to Hc. used also as 1. 2. sing., and found in the text as 3. plur.: *samaṇā... tattha viharantā puṭṭhapuvvā ahesi suṇaheṣiṁ* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6). Likewise is explained AMg. *annesi* = **ājñāyisit* (cf. § 487; Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,5, 2,1. 3,4; 1,8,1,14). That the form is not = *anveṣi*, but is the aorist of *jñā*, has already been assumed by JACOBI³. One 1. plur. occurs in *vuccāmu* = *avātsma* from *vas* "to live" (Uttar. 410), formed from an aorist stem **vatsa-*. The 3. plur. ends in *-imsu* = Skt. *iṣuḥ*. So: *pariviciṭṭhiṁsu* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4); *pucchimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; Sūyag. 301 [text °issu]); *ciṇimsu, uvaciṇimsu* (Vivāhap. 62; Thāp. 107. 108 [text °ṇa°]); *bandhiṁsu, udiriṁsu, vedimsu, nijjarimsu* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 62 [text °eṁsu]); *sijjhiṁsu, bujjhiṁsu* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 79); *ājāimsu* from *jan* with *ā* (Kappas. § 17—19; cf. § 487); *pariṇivvāimsu* (Sūyag. 790); *bhāsiṁsu, sevimsu* (Sūyag. 704); *atarimsu* (Sūyag. 424; Uttar. 567); *hiṁsiṁsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,3); *viharimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,5); *luñciṁsu, nihaṇimsu* (Āyār. 1,8, 3,11. 12); *kandiṁsu* from *krand* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4; 1,8,3,10); *viṇaṇimsu* = *vyanaṇiṣuḥ* (Sūyag. 454); *abhaviṁsu* (Sūyag. 157. 551) and *bhaviṁsu* (Vivāhap. 157). Beside the usual *akarimsu* (Thāp. 149); *karimsu* (Vivāhap. 62. 79; Nāyādh. § 118; Sūyag. 790 [text *karesu*]), *uvakarimsu* (Āyār. 1,8, 3,11), is found also *vikuvvimsu* (Vivāhap. 214. 215) from the present stem *kuvva-* (§ 508). Aorists of the causative are *giṇhāviṁsu* (Nāyādh. § 123); *paṭṭhāvāimsu* from *sthā* with *pra* (Kappas. § 128); *sampahāriṁsu* from *dhar* with *saṁ* and *pra* (Sūyag. 585. 620); aor. of a denominative is *rikkāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3) belonging to one **rikṇaya-*. The 3. plur. is used also for other persons. Thus for the 1. sing.: *karimsu vāhaṁ* (Thāp. 476); for the 3. sing. *āhiṁsiṁsu* [text °sa°] *vā hiṁsaṁ vā hiṁsissāṁ vā* (Sūyag. 680); *puṭṭho vi nābhībhaṁsiṁsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); *āsiṁsu* [text °sa°] *bhagavaṁ* (Āyār. 1,8,2, 6); *sevimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2). An old Skt. form is *addakkhu* (Vivāhap. 332), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3; may be sing. too) = *adrākṣuḥ*, frequently used as 3. singular: *adakkhu* (Āyār. 1,2,5,2; Vivāhap. 1306), *addakkhu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,2,1. 6,1; 1,8,1,16. 17)⁴. In Kappas. S. 19 *adakkhu* is a false reading for *adaṭṭhu*, as the v. l. has. Accordingly is formed, from *nakṣ* with *niḥ*, *niṇṇakkhu* (Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 4. 5. 6) used as 3. singular.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 111; E. MÜLLER, Simplified grammar p. 114.—2. E. KUHN

l. c. p. 114; E. MÜLLER, l. c. p. 116.—3. SBE. XXII, p. 44, note 2.—4. In certain places one may be doubtful, whether or not there is an adjective **adrākṣu*, as it certainly appears for *dakkhu*, *adakkhu* = **drākṣu*, **adrākṣu* or **drkṣu*, **adrkṣu* in Sūyag. 151.

§ 517. In AMg. we frequently find a 3. sing. ātmanep. in *-itthā*, *-ittha*. The form is built explicitly from the present stem, and this as well as the unusual dental, which Pāli too has, for the expected cerebral (§ 303), makes it doubtful, as to whether they derive it correctly from the *s*-aorist¹. Examples are *samuppajjitthā* from *pad* with *sam* and *ud* (Vivāhap. 151. 170; Nāyādh. § 81. 87; p. 771; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.); *roitthā* from *ruc* (Hc. 3. 143); *vaḍḍhitthā*, *abhivaḍḍhitthā* from *vr̥dh* (Kappas.); *riitthā* from *rīyate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; 1,8,3,13); *esiitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,4,12); *viharitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12); *bhuñjitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17. 18), *sevitthā*, *sevitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,2,1; 1,8,4,9); *apiitthā*, *apivitthā* [so to be read] from *pā* (to drink) with privative *a* (Āyār. 1,8,4,5. 6); *añujānitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8); *kuvvitthā* from the present stem *kuvvaī* (§ 508) (Āyār. 1,8,4,15); *udāharitthā* (Uttar. 353. 408), *jayitthā*, *parājayitthā* (Vivāhap. 500); *dalayitthā* (Vivāhap. 502). From *bhū* is derived the form *ho'tthā* from the present stem *ho-* = *bhava-* (§ 476) (Vivāhap. 5. 168. 182; Thāp. 79; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ovav. etc.); also with augment in the verse *aho'tthā* (Uttar. 619); with *prāduḥ* on the other hand, from the stem *bhava-*: *pāubbhavitthā* (Vivāhap. 1201). Of the causative the form ends in *-ē'tthā*, *-ē'ttha*: *kāre'tthā* from *kāre-* = *kāraya-* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8); *pahāre'tthā*, mostly *ē'ttha* from *pahāre-* = *pradhāraya-* (Sūyag. 1012; Vivāhap. 153. 831; Vivāgas. 123; Ovav. § 50; Nāyādh. § 81 etc.); but also *jāva'tthā* from *yāpaya-* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4). The same form is used also for persons other than 3. sing. Thus for the 2. plur. in *labhitthā* [so the commentary; text *°bhē°*]: *jaī me na dāhitthā ih'* [so the commentary; text *ah'*] *esañijam kim ajja jannāna labhitthā lābham* (Uttar. 359); for the 3. plur.: *vip̐pasaritthā* (Nāyādh. 348); *bahave hatthi... diso disim vip̐pasaritthā*, *kaśāitthā*, denominative from *kaśā* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11); *pāubbhavitthā* (Nāyādh. § 59; Ovav. § 33 ff.); *bahave... devā antiyam pāubbhavitthā*; more often *ho'tthā* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Thāp. 197; Nāyādh. 628; Samav. 66. 229; Uvās. § 4. 184. 233. 234; Kappas. Th. § 5. 6; Ovav. § 77. — Cf. § 520. On the precativē see § 466.

1. Hypotheses on the origin of the form in JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 450 ff.

PERFECT.

§ 518. Of the perfect, only the 3. plur. parasmaip. has retained *āhu* = *āhuḥ* in AMg. (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; Sūyag. 74 [text *āha*]. 132. 134. 150. 316. 468. 500); *udāhu* (Uttar. 424); also *āhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3) and *udāhū* (Sūyag. 454). More frequent, as in Pāli, is the recent formation *āham̐su* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 37. 166. 202. 241. 356. 445. 456. 463. 465. 778. 842; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 179. 438. 1033. 1402; Thāp. 148. 438 ff.; Pañhāv. 95. 106; Jiv. 12. 13; Kappas. S. § 27). Both the forms are employed for other persons too. So *āham̐su* for the 1. sing.: *tao 'ham̐ evam āham̐su* (Uttar. 623); for the 3. sing.: *evam āham̐su nāyakulanandaṇo mahappā jīṇo varavīranāmadhē jjo kaheṣi ja* (Pañhāv. 303. 327); likewise for the 3. sing. *āhu* (Sūyag. 257. 308; Uttar. 365. 646; Kappas. and *udāhu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 159. 304. 387. 518. 974. 989. 992 ff.; Uttar. 756).

PLUPERECT.

§ 519. With the exception of the cases mentioned under § 515—518, in Pkt. the past tense is expressed either by the present, particularly in narration, or generally by the paraphrasis with the past passive participle, by which the person or thing spoken of, which in the case of transitive verbs

goes over to the instrumental *abalāṇa tāṇa ... vasio aṅgesu ... seo* "sweat clung to the limbs of those women" (G. 210); *kiṃ ṇa bhaṇio si bālāa gāmaṇidhūāi* "have you, o boy, not been told by the daughter of the village-chief?" (H. 370); *siāparimaṭṭheṇa va vūdhō teṇa vi ṇirantaram romaṇco* "he exhibited uninterrupted thrill of hair, as if touched by Sītā" (R. 1,42); JM. *pacchā rannā cintiyaṃ* "later the king thought" (Ā. 32,19); *annayā bhūyadinneṇa vinnāyaṃ* "once Bhūṭadinnā learnt" (Erz. 1, 24); AMg. *sujaṃ me āsaṃteṇabhaḡavaṃ evaṃ akkhāyaṃ* "I, the long-lived one, have heard that the Lord had spoken thus" (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); *urālā ṇaṃ tume devānuppie sumiṇā diṭṭhā* "O beloved of gods, you have seen an excellent dream" (Kappas. § 9); *Ś. tā āṇanteṇa eḍiṇā eṇvaṃ anuciṭṭhidam* "so he has done thus unknowingly" (Mṛcch. 63,24); *sudam kku mae tāḍakaṇṇassa muhādo* "I have heard from the mouth of the father Kaṇva (Śak. 14,12); Mg. *sudam tue yaṃ mae gāidam* "did you hear what I sang?" (Mṛcch. 116, 20); *adha ekkadiasam mae lohidaṃasake khaṇḍaso kappide* "one day I cut the rohita fish into pieces" (Śak. 114,9); A. *tumheḥ amheḥ jam, kiāu diṭṭhaū bahuajanēṇa* "many people have seen what was done by you and by us" (Hc. 4,371); *sabadhu karēppīṇu kadhidu māi* "I have said on oath" (Hc. 4,396,3). Pkt. may form in this manner by insertion of *āsi* (was) the pluperfect from the past passive participle¹. So: M. *jo sisammi viṇṇo majjhaḡuāṇehi gaṇavāi āsi* "he, whom the young men had put over my head, was Gaṇapati" (H. 372); JM. *tayā ja so kumbhaḡyāro...gāmaṃ annaṃ gao āsi* "and at that time the potter had gone to another village" (Sagara 10, 18); *jam te sukkhiyaṃ āsi buddhileṇa addhalakkham* "that half lac, that Buddhila had spoken to thee" (Erz. 10,34); *Ś. aham kku radaṇachattḥim uvavasidā āsi* "I had brought the (prescribed) fast to end on the ratnaṣaṭṭhī (for the vow)" (Mṛcch. 54,16); *Ś. tumam mae saha ... gadā āsi* "you had gone with me (Mṛcch. 28,14); *ajja devī ajjagandhālie pādavandaṇam kādum gadā āsi* "today the queen had gone to adore the feet of Her Majesty Gāndhārī (Venīs. 12,6); *puṇo mandassa vi me tattha paccuppaṇṇam uttaram āsi*, "although dull, I had prepared the answer" (Mālav. 57,16); *tāe kku cittaḡhalaam pabhāde hatthikidam āsi* "I had taken the picture into my hand in the morning" (Mālatim. 78,3); Dh. *tassa jūḍialassa muṭṭhippahāleṇa nāsikā bhaggā āsi* "the nose of the gambler was broken with a stroke of the fist" (Mṛcch. 36,18). In many cases we may take them as adjectival participle.

1. FICK, Sagarā p. 26.

FUTURE

§ 520. By far the most usual in Ś. Mg. exclusively attestable formation of the future of the roots ending in a consonant is that of the stem in *-i*. But Pkt. does not employ merely the crude one, but more frequently the present stem, as well as the stem in *-e*. The 1. sing. has in AMg. JM. often, in other dialects almost isolated, the ending *-mi*, mostly *-m*, the ending of the secondary tense, which in A. with *a* of the stem becomes *u* (351). In the 2. sing. *-issasi*, Mg. *-iṣṣasi*, in the 3. sing. *-issai*, Ś. Dh. *-issadi*, Mg. *-iṣṣadi* the regular, in Ś. Mg. Dh., except rarely in verses, is only the usual ending. In M. JM. AMg., in lieu of it, mostly enters 2. sing. *-ihisi*, 3. *-ihii*, also the contracted *-ihī* and prosodically shortened *-ihī*, a phonetic transition that has disappeared from the roots and stems ending in long vowels and diphthongs. The grammarians mention for the 1. sing. too the ending *-ihāmi*, *-ihimi*: *kittaiḥimi* beside *kittaiṣam* = *kirtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); *soṇchihimi*, *soṇchihāmi* from *śru*, *gaṇchihimi*, *gaṇchihāmi*

beside *gacchissam* from *gam* (Hc. 3,172); *hasihimi* beside *hasissam*, *hasissāmi* (Sr. fol. 52). For the roots and stems ending in long vowels *-himi* too is mentioned: *kāhimi* from *kr*, *dāhimi* from *dā* (Hc. 3,170; Sr. fol. 52), *hohimi* from *bhū* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167.169; Ki. 4,16), *hasehimi* beside *hasehāmi*, *hasēssāmi* from the *e*-stem of *has* (Sr. fol. 52), to which *hasehii* (Bh. 7,33; Hc. 3,157) too belongs. We find in the texts such forms with *-i* upto the present day only in A.: *peṅkhihimi* = *prekṣiye*, *sahihimi* = *sahīye* (Vikr. 55,18.19). According to Hc. 4,275 Ś. has in the 3. sing. *-issidi*: *bhavissidi*, *karissidi*, *gacchissidi*, according to 4,302 in Mg. *-issidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*. In South Indian manuscripts, several times the future forms in *-issidi* are found; they are unknown in the texts. Probably in Hc. by Ś. is again meant by JŚ., in which the examples for the future are hitherto wanting. The 1. plur. mostly ends in *-issāmo*, in verses seldom in *-issāma* too, as M. *karissāma* (H. 897), after long vowels in *-hāmo*, metrically in *-hāmu* too. The grammarians recognise beside the forms like *hasissāmo* also *hasihimo* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,167; Sr. fol. 52), *hasihissā*, *hasihitthā* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,168; Sr. fol. 52), Bh. 7,15 also *hāsihāmo*, Sr. fol. 52, *hasehissā*, *hasehitthā* *hasēssāmo*, *hasēssāmu*, *hasissāmu*, *hasēssāma*, *hasehāma*, *hasihāma*, *hasehimo*, *hasehimu*, *hasihimu*; further *sōcchimo*, *sōcchimu*, *sōcchima*, *sōcchihimo*, *sōcchihimu*, *sōcchihima* *sōcchissāmo*, *mu*, *ma*, *sōcchihāmo*, *sōcchihissā*, *sōcchihittā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172), *gacchimo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172); *hohimo*, *hōssāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7,13.15; Hc. 3,168; Ki. 4,18), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Ki. 4,18). Cf. with it § 521.523.531. The ending *-ihissā* for the 1. plur. is completely obscure¹. The ending *-hitthā*, *-ihitthā* is mentioned for the 2. plural too: *hohitthā* (Hc. 3,166); *sōcchitthā*, *sōcchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172) beside *sōcchiha*, *sōcchihīha*, *gacchitthā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172) beside *gacchiha*, *gacchihīha*, *hasehitthā*, *hasihitthā* (Sr. fol. 52) beside *hasehiha*, *hasihiha*. The one found in the text in AMg. is *dāhitthā* = *dāsyatha* (Uttar. 359). Accordingly this must have belonged to the 2. plur. and taken over to the 1. plur. It still remains undecided if it is connected with the ending *-itthā*, which is assigned to the aorist. The usual ending of the 2. plur. is *-issaha*, Ś. Mg. *-issadha*. The 3. plur. ends in *-issantī*, in JM. AMg. very frequently in *-ihinti*, *-hinti* too Sr. fol. 51 teaches *-ire*: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire*.

1. According to Ki.'s *hohitthāmo* LASSEN, Indst. p. 353 will explain *hohissā*, *hohitthā* as abridgment of *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo*. But since *hohitthā* is also the 2. plural, the explanation is not plausible. One compares the free use of *āsi*, *ahesi*, *āhu*, *udāhu* and the 3. sing. preterite in *-itthā*. For the sake of brevity *i* is always pushed to the ending above.

§ 521. The examples for the future are regulated according to the present stem (§ 473) for the sake of facilitating abridgment. The future of *ji* is JM. *jijissai* (Erz. 22,29), AMg. *parājijissai* (Nirayāv. § 3); from *nī*, M. *nehii* = *nezyati* (G.223), JM. *nīnehii* = *nirpezyati* (Erz. 52,13), *nehinti* (Erz. 29,15), AMg. *uwaṇehii* (Ovav. §107), *viṇehii* (Nāyādh. §87); *uwaṇehinti* (Ovav. § 106), but from the present stem Ś. *ṇuṇaṣsam* (Ratn. 316,15), *avaṇaṣsam* (Śak.102,14;104,13), *uwaṇaṣsam* (Śak.137,3), *ṇaṣsadi* (Mr̥cch.58,3), *āṇaṣsadi* (Mālatīm. 104,1), *ṇaṣsadha* (Karp. 33,8); Mg. *ṇaṣsam* (Mr̥cch. 169,13). On Ś. *daṣsam*, Mg. *daṣsam* from *daya*-(to give) see §474.—In the future of *bhū* all the present stems are to be found, however, the dialects maintain distinction in their employment. M. A. use only *ho-*, which Ś. Mg. do not know. JM. *bhavissāmi* (Dvār. 501,38); Ś. *bhavissam* (Mr̥cch. 9,12; Śak. 51,13; 85,7; Mālav. 52,19; Ratn. 315,16; 318,31; Karp. 8,7; 52,2), *anubhavissam* (Mālatīm. 278,9); Mg. *bhavissam* (Mr̥cch.116,23); Ś. *bhavissasi* (Mr̥cch. 4,6; Ratn. 296,25); Mg. *bhaviṣṣasi* (Śak. 116,4); AMg. JM.

bhavissai (Vivāhap. 844; Jiv. 239, 452; Uttar. 116; Ovav. § 103, 109, 114, [115]; Kappas.; Dvār. 495, 27; 504, 5; Erz. 11, 35; Kk. 268, 33; 271, 13, 15); *Ś. bhavissadi* (Mṛcch. 5, 2; 20, 24; Śak. 10, 3; 18, 3; Vikr. 20, 20; Mālav. 35, 20; 37, 5; Ratn. 291, 2; 294, 9; Mālatim. 78, 9; 89, 8; 125, 2 etc.); Mg. *bhaviṣṣadi* (Prab. 50, 14); AMg. *bhavissāmo* (Āyār. 1, 2, 2, 1; Sūyag. 601); AMg. *bhavissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *bhavihinti* (Āv. 47, 20); *Ś. bhavissanti* (Mālatim. 126, 3). False is *havissadi*, *havissam* (Mālav. 37, 19; 40, 22)¹, since the stem *hava* is used only after the prefix *pra*, as in *Ś. pahavissam* (Uttarar. 32, 4). *Ś. Mg.* use also the stem *huva*:- Mg. *huviṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 29, 24; 32, 19; 40, 1; 118, 17; 124, 12); *Ś. huviṣṣasi* (Veṇis. 58, 18); *Ś. huviṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 22, 14; 24, 4; 64, 18; Vikr. 36, 6; 46, 4, 6; 53, 2, 13; 72, 19; Mālav. 70, 6; Veṇis. 9, 21; Vṛṣabh. 47, 11 etc.); Mg. *huviṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 21, 14, 15; 117, 15; 118, 16, 17; Veṇis. 33, 3); *Ś. huviṣṣanti* (Mṛcch. 39, 4; Caṇḍak. 86, 14). From the stem *ho-* are derived: *hoṣṣāmi* (Bh. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 167, 169; Ki. 4, 16); M. *hoṣṣam* (Vr. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 169; Ki. 4, 17; H. 743); A. *hosai* (Hc. 4, 388; 418, 4), and *hose* (Prabandhac. 56, 6; cf. § 166); *hoṣṣāmo*, *hoṣṣāmu*, *hoṣṣāma* (Bh. 7, 13, 15; Hc. 3, 167, 168; Ki. 4, 18), mostly with *h* from *ś* (§ 263); JM. *hohāmi* (Bh. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 167; Ki. 4, 16; Āv. 26, 36); *hohimi* (Bh. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 167; Ki. 4, 16); *hohissam* (Ki. 4, 17); JM. *hohisi* (Hc. 3, 166, 178; Erz. 62, 31); M. JM. *hohii* (Hc. 3, 166, 178; Ki. 4, 15; G H.R.; Āv. 43, 13; Erz. 37, 1), *hohi* (Erz. 6, 36; Dvār. 495, 15; T. 7, 10; Kk. 265, 41; 270, 43); before double consonants *hohi*: *hohi tti* (Dvār. 495, 24); 1. plur. *hohāmo*, *hohāmu*, *hohāma*, *hohimo*, *hohimu*, *hohima*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7, 13, 15; Hc. 3, 167, 168), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Ki. 4, 18); 2. plur. *hohitthā* (Hc. 3, 166; Ki. 4, 15); 3. plur. M. JM. *hohinti* (Bh. 7, 12; Hc. 3, 166; Ki. 4, 15; H. 675; Sagara 2, 15). In AMg. sometimes the stem *hoṣṣā-* is met: *hoṣṣāmi* (Uttar. 63, 202), *hoṣṣam* (Uttar. 63), *hoṣṣai*, *hoṣṣanti* (Samav. 240 ff.). It is probably merely false, a reading deduced from **bhogyā-* (§ 265). Cf. also § 520. According to Hc. 37, 18 from the precative too a future is derived: *hojjahimi*, *hojjāhimi*, *hojjassāmi*, *hojjahāmi*, *hojjassam*; *hojjahisi*, *hojjāhisi*; *hojjahii*, *hojjāhii*. Sr. fol. 53 reads *hojjehii*, *hojjihii*, *hojjāhii*.

1. Further examples in BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 42. — 2. The forms, that are hitherto incapable of verification, have been quoted here without indication of the dialects.

§ 522. The roots in *ṛ*, *ṝ* according to the 1. and 6. classes form in all the dialects the future, as in Skt.: *Ś. aṇusarissam* (Viddhaś. 115, 6), *visumarissam* = *vismarisyāmi* (Śak. 14, 3), *visumarissasi* (Śak. 89, 7), *visumarissadha* (Śak. 86, 6); *Ś. sumarissasi* (Ratn. 313, 6); *Ś. pariharissam* (Śak. 25, 1), *pariharissadi* (Vikr. 79, 7); Mg. *palihaliṣṣadi* (Prab. 42, 5; 47, 7); *vihaliṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 40, 6); AMg. *viharissai* (Ovav. § 114, [§ 115]), *viharissāmo* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 3; 2, 7, 1, 2; Vivāhap. 979), *viharissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *viharissanti* (Kk. 269, 38); *marissasi* (Mṛcch. 72, 18); Mg. *malihisi* (verse; Mṛcch. 9, 24); M. *aṇumarihii* (R. 14, 55); M. *harihii* (H. 143); AMg. *tarihinti* (Uttar. 253) and *tarissanti* (Uttar. 567; Sūyag. 424), *nijjarissanti* (Thāp. 108). — Of the roots in *-ai gai* forms: AMg. *gāhii* = *gāsyati* (Thāp. 451); M. *uggāhii* (R. 11, 84); against that *Ś. gāissam* (Śak. 2, 8; Viddhaś. 122, 11; 128, 4; Kamsav. 8, 16), Mg. *gāiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 116, 20; 117, 3); from *trai* the fut. is Mg. *palittāiṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 12, 10).

§ 523. Of the roots of the old *ska-* class *ṛ* forms in JM. *acchihisi* (Āv. 11, 11), *yam* JM. *paṇacchissāmo* (Dvār. 503, 4). In the case of *gam* the formation from the stem *gami-* prevails, which is exclusively dominant *Ś. Mg.* The form *gacchissidi*, taught by Hc. 4, 275 for *Ś.* is not attested by the text. So: JM. *gamissāmi* (Erz. 60, 19); *Ś. gamissam* (Mṛcch. 8, 24; 9, 7; 15, 10; 54, 19; Śak. 17, 4; Ratn. 293, 24; 296, 26; 297, 12; 314, 26; Karp.

35,3; 108,4; 109,2; Nāgān. 42,7. 15; 43,10; Jivān. 42,17. 23; 43,17 etc.), *āgamissam* (Karp. 22,7; 107,4); Mg. *gamiṣam* (Mṛch. 20,10. 14; 32,2; 97,1; 98,2; 112,18); Ś. *gamissasi* (Mṛch. 3,17; Śak. 24,15); AMg. *gamihi* (Uvās. § 125; Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27); A. *gamihi* (Hc. 4,330,2); M. *saṁāgamissai* (H. 962); Ś. *gamissadi* (Mṛch. 94,2; Śak. 56,14; Mālatīm. 103,7), *āgamissadi* (Uttarar. 123,7; Karp. 105,3); Dh. *gamissadi* (Mṛch. 36, 23); AMg. Ś. *gamissāmo* (Ovav. § 78; Karp. 36,6); AMg. *uvāgamissanti* (Āyār. 2,3,1,2 ff.). From the stem *gaccha-* are built : *gacchissāmi* (JM. Āv. 21,10), *gacchissam*, *gacchihāmi*, *gacchihimi*; *gacchihisi* (Hc. 3,172); AMg. *gacchihii* (Hc. 3,172; Sr. fol. 52; Ovav. § 100.101; Uvās. § 90); *āgacchissai* (Uvās. § 188); according to Sr. also *gacchehi*; *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā*, *gacchihīha* (AMg. Āyār. 2,3,3,5), *gacchihitthā*; *gacchihinti* (Hc. 3,172). Beside them is found a future AMg. *gaccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Kl. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53; Thāp. 156. 285), according to Hc. also *gacchimi*, that according to the grammarians is inflected: *gacchisi*, *gacchii*, *gacchimo*, *gacchiha*, *gacchinti*, according to Sr. also *gacchei*. The hypothesis that *gaccham* may have been formed on the analogy of *daccham*, *mōccham*, *viccham*, *rocccham*, *vēcccham*, *vocccham* (§ 525.526. 529) is convenient, but wholly improbable. We should assume a root *gacch*, deduced from *gacchāi*, and derive *gaccham* from **gacchsyāmi*, **gaksyāmi*. Cf. *sōccham* § 531.

§ 524. Of the reduplicated roots of the first conjugation *pā* forms JM. *pāhmi* = *pāsyāmi* (Āv. 42,27); AMg. *pāham* (Uttar. 593 [text *pāhīn*]), *pāhisi* (Kappas. S. § 18), *pāhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6); M. *pāhinti* (R. 3,21; text false °*he*). The future of *sthā* is M. *thāhi* (Pracandap. 47,4), Ś. *ciṭṭhissam* (Śak. 30,9; Vikr. 15,5; Nāgān. 69,14; Karp. 22,2); Mg. *ciṭṭhiṣam* (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *anuciṭṭhiṣam* (Mṛch. 40,11; cf. v. l. and § 303); Ś. *ciṭṭhissadi* (Vikr. 43,8); AMg. Ś. *ciṭṭhissāmo* (Nāyādh. 908. 939; Viddhaś. 61,8).—Ś. *uṭṭhissāmo* (Mṛch. 20,22) goes back to *uṭṭhai*, AMg. *uṭṭhehinti* (Vivāhap. 1280) to *uṭṭhei* (§ 483).

§ 525. The future from *drś* in M. JM. AMg. is *daccham* = *drakṣyāmi* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 52). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case too. One says: M. *dacchāmi* (R. 11,77), *dacchimi* (R. 11,85); M. *dacchihisi* (H. 819; R. 11,93 [to be read so with C; false S. GOLD-SCHMIDT p. 286 note 1]); AMg. *dacchisi* (Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35, where correct is the text); JM. *dacchihī* (Erz. 24,12); M. *dacchihī* (R. 14,55), *dacchāma* (R. 3,50), *dacchiha* (R. 3,23 [so to be read]). Beside them one says also AMg. *pāsihi* from *pāsaī* = *pāsyati* (Ovav. [§ 115]). To Ś. Mg. Dh. both the verbs are unknown : they use *ikṣ* with *pra*, that is known also to the rest of the dialects: M. *pēcchissam* (H. 743), *pēcchihisi* (H. 566); JM. *pēcchissāmo* (Dvār. 505,28); Ś. *pekkhissam* (Mṛch. 4,11; 77,12; 93,16; Śak. 90,15; 125,15; Vikr. 11,2; 13,19; Prab. 37,13; 38,1 etc.), *pekkhissadi* (Ratn. 300,1; Uttarar. 66,7); Mg. *pekkhiṣam* (Mṛch. 40,10), *pekkhiṣadi* (Mṛch. 123,22); Dh. *pekkhissam* (Mṛch. 35,15. 17); A. *pekkhihimi* (Vikr. 55,18).—As in the present (§ 484), in the fut. too *labh* may take a nasal in the root: Ś. *lambhissam* = *lapsye* (Cait. 83,2); Ś. *uvālabhissam* = *upālāpsye* (Priyad. 19,15); but also Ś. *lahissam* (Mṛch. 70,12); Ś. *uvālahissam* (Śak. 61,2; 130,4); AMg. *labhissāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5); JM. *lahissāmo* (Erz. 13,30). From *sah* we find in AMg. the fut. *sakkehāmo* = Epic *śakṣyāmaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14).—From the contracted stems *khā-* and *dhā-* from *khāda-* and *dhāva-* (§ 165) the fut. *khāhi* and *dhāhi* are formed (Bh. 8,27; Hc. 4,228). So Mg. *khāhi* (Mṛch. 11,11) in the verse, against *khāiṣam* (Mṛch. 124,10) in prose.

§ 526. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch*, corresponding to the present *pucchāi* = *prechati*, forms the fut. Ś. *pucchissam* (Mṛch. 4,22;

81,1. 2. 10; Śak. 19,3; 50,4; Mālatīm. 103,10; Veṇis. 59,1; Karp. 3,4); Mg. *puṣciṣṣam* (Prab. 50,46; 53,12); AMg. *puccissāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Ovav. § 38).—*sphuṭ* forms according to the present *phuṭṭai* (§ 488, note 1), A. *phuṭṭisu* (Hc. 4,422,12); M. *phuṭṭihisi*, *phuṭṭihii* (H. 768,281 [so to be read]). *muc* forms *mōccham*=*mokṣyāmi* (Hc. 3,172; Ki. 4,19; Sr.fol. 53). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case. So M. *mōcchihii* (R. 4,49) and *mōcchihi* (R.3,30; 11,126). JM. says also *muṭcihii* (Dvār.504,11), Ś. *muṭcissadi* (Vikr.72,20), as from *sic* Ś. *siṅcissam* (Śak.15,4). On *mṛ* see §522.—From *viś* Ki. 4,19 teaches *viccham*, for which, as already LASSEN (Inst. p. 351) has noted, *vēccham* would be expected, which the rest of the grammarians derive from *vid*. We find in the texts the forms of the *i*-stem only, as AMg. *apūpavisissāmi*, *pavisissāmi* (Āyār.2,1,4,5), *pavisissāmo* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); JM. *pavisihii* (Erz. 29,16); Mg. *paviṣṣam*, *uvaviṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 36,1; 124,8).

§ 527. The roots of the 4. class mostly use the present stem: M. *kilammihisi* (G. 954), *kilammihii* (H. 196) from *kilammai* = *klāmyati* (§ 136); AMg. *siṅviṣṣāmi* from *siṅyati* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); M. *kupṭissam* (H. 898); Ś. *kupṭissadi* (Mṛcch. 94,7. 8; Uttarar. 66,9); but also Ś. *kuviṣṣam* (Uttarar. 32,3; Viddhaś. 71,3); Ś. *naccissam* (Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,5), *naccissadi* (Cait. 57,12) from *nṛt*; AMg. *sajjihii*, *rajjihii*, *gijjihii*, *mujjihii*, *ajjhovavajjihii* from *saj*, *raj*, *gṛdh*, *muh*, *pad* (Ovav. § 111); AMg. *bujjihii* from *budh* (Ovav. § 116), *sijjihii* from *sidh* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 116), *sijjihihinti* (Ovav. § 128), *sijhissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16); JM. *sijjihii* (Erz. 28,16; 34,20; Dvār. 508,8); M. Ś. *vivajjissam* from *pad* with *vi* (H.865; Mṛcch.25,15); AMg. *paḍivajjissāmi* (Uvās. §12.210), Ś. *paḍivajjissam* (Mālatīm. 117,5), Ś. *paḍivajjissadi* (Śak. 70,12; Nāgān. 22,7), AMg. *paḍivajjissāmo* (Ovav. § 38); M. *pavajjihisi* (H. 661); AMg. *uvavajjihii* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 100. 101), *uvavajjissaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *samup-pajjihii* (Ovav. § 115), *upvajjissanti* (Thāp. 80. 133); Ś. *sampajjissadi* (Vikr. 43,12); JM. *vaccihisi* (Erz. 77,33), M. *vaccihii* (H. 918) from *vaccāi* (§ 202), but JM. *pavvaissāmi* (Āv. 32,27), AMg. *pavvañhi* (Ovav. § 115) from *vraj*; M. *maññihisi* (G. 954; H. 653), JM. *mannissai* (Erz. 12,35), Ś. *maññissadi* (Uttarar. 95,2 [so to be read]); JM. *viṇassihisi* (Erz. 29,16), *viṇāsihi* (Dvār. 495,17); M. *laggissam*, *laggihisi* (H. 375. 21), *laggihii* (G. 70), Mg. *anulaggissam* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *rūsesu* from the *e*-stem of *ruṣ* (Hc. 4,414; 4), like JM. *mannehī* (Āv. 12,12) from the *e*-stem of *man*. Deviating from the present (§ 489) *śram* forms the future in M. *viṣammihii* (H.576 [so to be read]).—Corresponding to the present *jāi*, AMg. *āyānti*, *pacceyānti* (§487) the future of *jan* are AMg. *paṇāhisi* (Vivāhap. 946; Kappas. § 9; Nāyādh. § 26), *paṇāhii* (Ovav. § 104; Kappas. § 79; Nāyādh. § 51), *pacceyāhii* (Vivāhap. 1090; Thāp. 523; Ovav. § 102), *āyāssanti* (Kappas. § 17). On *śak* see § 531.

§ 528. The verbs of the 10. conjugation and the similarly built causatives and denominatives form the future as in Skt. with regular elision of *y*: *kittaiṣṣam*, *kittaiḥimi* = *kīrtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); AMg. *dalaissai* (Vivāhap. 1288), *dalaissanti* (Ovav. § 108); Ś. *kuṭṭaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 18,5), *apūḷaiṣṣam* = *anukūlayisyāmi* (Mālatīm. 267,8), *cūraiṣṣam* (Karp. 21,2), *vāraiṣṣadi*, *cintaissadi*, *ñattaiṣṣadi*=*nivartayisyati* (Śak. 55,2; 87,1; 91,6), *puloaiṣṣadi* (Vṛṣabh.22,9), *viṇodaiṣṣāmo* (Śak. 78,10), *visajjāissadha* (Śak. 86. 5), *saddāvaiṣṣam* = **śabdāpayisyāmi* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *moḍāvaiṣṣasi* = **mocāpayisyasi* (Mṛcch. 60,13); Mg. *gaṇaiṣṣam* (Śak. 154,6), *maḍamaḍaiṣṣam*, *tāḍaiṣṣam*, *liḍaiṣṣam*, *dūḷaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 21,22; 80,5; 136,21; 176,6), *vāvāḍaiṣṣadi*=*vyāpādayisyati* (Veṇis. 36,5). At Mṛcch. 128,14 Mg. *moḍaiṣṣāmi* with the ending *-mi* as against *moḍaiṣṣam* at Mṛcch. 113,1, is made certain prosodically.

On the contrary *Ś. nikkāmaññāmi* at Mṛch. 52,9 is to be corrected as *°aññāmi*. In M. AMg. JM. we find the future also from the contracted form in -e: M. *mārehi* (H. 567); JM. *vattehami* = *vatayisyāmi* (Āv. 47, 26); *viñāsehami* = *vināsayisyāmi* (Dvār. 495,31); *nāsehi* (T. 5,20); *melavehisi* = *melayisyasi* (Āv. 30,8); *jañehi* (Erz. 12,28); *nivārehi* (Erz. 8,21); *kahehinti* (Āv. 26,36); AMg. *sehāvehi* = **saikṣāpayisyati*, *sikkhāvehi* = *śikṣāpayisyati* (Ovav. § 107), *cejēssāmo* = *cetayisyāmaḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2, 2,10), *sakkārehinti*, *sañmāñehinti*, *paḍivisañjehinti* (Ovav. § 108), *uwañimantehinti* (Ovav. § 110), *saddavehinti* (Vivāhap. 1276), *ñōllavehinti* (Vivāhap. 1280). Not seldom are the future of the denominatives formed without a suffix (§ 491), to which are attached the causative (§ 533): *Ś. kadhissam* (Mṛch. 80,25), M. *kahissam* (H. 157), beside the usual *Ś. kadhaññam* (Mṛch. 19,2; Śak. 51,12; 105,7), Mg. *kadhaññam*, *kadhaññāsi* (Mṛch. 139,23; 165, 15); AMg. **kāraññam* = *kārapayisyāmi* = *kārayisyāmi* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); *Ś. khaññissam* = *khañḍayisyāmi* (Karp. 18,7); M. *puloissam* = *pralokayisyāmi* (H. 743), A. *paloissam* (Mṛch. 104,21); *Ś. vaḍḍhaññam* = **vardhāpayisyāmi* (Śak. 37,10), *viññavissam* = *viññāpayisyāmi*, *sussūññam* = *śusrūṣayisyāmi* (Mṛch. 58,11; 88,11); Mg. *māññāsi* = *mārayisyasi* (Mṛch. 125,7); *Ś. takkissadi* = *tarkayisyati* (Vikr. 79,9; v. l. *cintissadi*), *mantissadi* (Ratn. 299, 9) beside *mantaññadi* (Mṛch. 54,1).

§ 529. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ending in -ā, *khyā* forms AMg. *paccaññikkhissāmi* = **pratyācikkhyisyāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,9,2), *yā* AMg. *nijjāññissāmi* according to § 487 (Ovav. § 40 [so to be read with Q for *nijjāññissāmi* of the text]), JM. *jāñhi* (Erz. 29,12; 35,5), *vā* AMg. *pariñivāññhi* (Vivāhap. 175; Nāyādh. 390 [so to be read]), *pariñivāññanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), *snā* *Ś. nñāññam* (Mṛch. 27,14) according to § 487.—From *i* the fut. is AMg. *ēssāmi* (Thān. 142), *ēssanti* (Sūyag. 45. 56. 71); with the prefix *ā* M. *ehisi* (H. 385), M. AMg. *ehii* (H. 137. 784 [so to be read]. 855. 918; R. 10,79; Āyār. 2,4,1,2 [so to be read]; Uvās. § 187), JM. *ehi* (Erz. 24,11), *ehinti* (Erz. 29,13), A. *esi* (Hc. 4, 414, 4). From this is found also a wholly isolated optative M. *ehijja* (H. 17) standing there.—*rud* forms *roccam* = **rotsyāmi* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53), in Ki. 4,19 *ruccam*, but M. *roissam* (H. 503), *Ś. rodissam* (Mṛch. 95,23; Nāgān. 3,1), also *rudissāmo* (Mallikām. 154,23).—From *svap* the fut. is *Ś. suvissam* (Mṛch. 50,4; Priyad. 34,3), Mg. *suviññam* (Mṛch. 43,12; Prab. 60,15).—*vid* has the fut. *vēccam* = **vetsyāmi* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53), but *Ś. vedissadi* (Prab. 37,15), AMg. *vedissanti* (Thān. 108).—*vac* forms *voccam* (§ 104; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). So M. AMg. *voccam* (Vajjālaga 324,10; Pañhāv. 331; Ovav. 184 [text *bo*]); Nandis. 92 [text *bo*]; Jiyak. 1.60) and *voccāmi* (Vivāhap. 59; Pañhāv. 330; Uttar. 737. 897); but AMg. also *vakkhāmo* = *vakyāmaḥ* (Dasav. 627,23), *pavakkhāmi* (Sūyag. 278. 284). In Ki. 4,21 *vacchihimi*, *vacchimi*, *vacchi* are edited. Cf. 4,20. The forms *roccam*, *vēccam*, *voccam* and all similarly built ones are not used in *Ś. Mg.*, as Mk. fol. 70 expressly mentions and the texts attest. For their flexion the rules for *gaccham* (§ 523) hold good.—From *duh* the fut. is *duhihi* (Hc. 4,245).

§ 530. From *dā* the future is AMg. JM. *dāhami* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uttar. 743; Erz. 59,23. 34)¹ and *dāham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Ki. 4,19; Erz. 10,24), according to Hc. also *dāhimi*; AMg. *dāhisi* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 2,2, 3,18; 2,5,1,7; 2,6,1,5); JM. *dāhi* (Āv. 43,22; Erz.), AMg. *dāhāmo* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), *dāhāmu* (Sūyag. 178; Uttar. 355. 358), *dāhittha* (Uttar. 359); JM. *dāhinti* (Erz. 80,22). In *Ś. Mg.* the fut. *Ś. daññam* (Mṛch. 80,20), Mg. *daññam* = **dayisyāmi* (Mṛch. 31,6.8.15; 32,9.24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19 etc; § 474); are formed from the stem *daya-*, corresponding to the present *dedi* = **dayati*.

We should read *daissam* for *Ś. dāissam* (Karp. 112,5; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Priyad. 23,4) and *daissantī* for *deissantī* (Kāleyak. 2,13). — *dhā* has attested the old reduplicated stem also in the future (cf. § 500) in combination with *śrad*: AMg. *saddahissai* (Nāyādh. 1114–1116). Otherwise in combination with prefixes, in the future in AMg. the flexion points to °*dha*°, °*ha*° (§ 500): AMg. *pehissāmi*, metrically for *pi*°, as the ed. Calc. has (Āyār. 1,8,1,1), but Ś. according to the 4. conjugation: *pihāissam* (Viddhaś. 70,8); AMg. *saṁdhissāmi*, *parihissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); also in Ś. *saṁdhihi* (Bālar. 22,18), certainly against the dialect, in which **saṁdhāissasi* is to be expected. — From *hā* AMg. has the fut. *vipphajhissāmo* (Sūyag. 633.635), from *bhī* Ś. has *bhāissam*, *bhāissadi* (Śak. 140,11; 135,14).

1. At Āyār. 1,7,7,2 JACOBI twice reads *dāsāmi*, 2,5,1,11. 13 *dāsāmo* beside *dāhāmo*. At the first place the ed. Calc. reads *dalaissāmi*, as also the v. l. has, at the second *dāssāmo*, at the third *dāsāmo*.

§ 531. Of the verbs of the 5. conjugation *ci* forms the fut. Ś. *avaciṇissam* (Ratn. 295,25; Vṛṣabh. 58,20; Cait. 73,10), AMg. *ciṇissanti*, *uvaciṇissanti* (Thāp. 107.108; Vivāhap. 62). According to Hc. 4,243 *ciṇihii* would be passive; according to the form it is parasmaip. — *śru* forms according to the grammarians *so'ccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171. 172; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53) with the flexion according to *gaccham* (§ 523). This *so'ccham* does not belong to *śru*, but to Vedic *śruṣ*, and, therefore, stands regularly for **śroksyāmi*. The fut. from *śru* are Ś. *suṇissam* (Mṛcch. 60,7,9; Śak. 20,7; Vikr. 24,5; 31,1. 9; Mālav. 83,3 etc.), *suṇissāmo* (Mallikām. 129,3; 132,9), Mg. *suṇissam* (Mṛcch. 21,21), JM. *suṇissai* (Kk. 265,4), in AMg. also from the *e*-stem: *suṇēssāmi* (Thāp. 143), *suṇēssāmo* (Ovav. § 38). — From *āp* AMg. forms the fut. *pāuṇissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1), *pāuṇihii* (Uvās. § 62; Ovav. § 100. 116)¹ corresponding to the present *pāuṇai* (§ 504). The rest of the dialects derive it from the present stem *pāva*:- A. *pāvīsu* (Hc. 4,396,4); Ś. *pāvissasi* (Kāleyak. 7,6); M. *pāvihisi* (H. 462. 510), and so also against the dialect in Ś. (Vikr. 42,10); Mg. *pāvihisi* (Mudrār. 177,6; [so to be read for *vahesi*; cf. v. l. and ZDMG. 39,125]); M. *pāvihii* (H. 918). — *śak* forms the future according to the 4. conjugation (§ 505); M. *sakkihisi* (Viddhaś. 64,1 [so to be read]); Ś. *sakkissāmo* (Cait. 75,15; text *sakissamha*); JM. *sakkissaha* (Kk. 265,11); also with the *e*-stem: JM. *sakkehii* (Āv. 45,8), *sakkehi* (Dvār. 501,39).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s. v. *pāuṇ*; wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 108 on *er*.

§ 532. The future of *chid*, *bhid*, *bhuj* according to the grammarians is formed: *chēccham*, *bhēccham*, *bhōccham* corresponding to Skt. *chestsyāmi*, *bhetsyāmi*, *bhoksyāmi* (Hc. 3,171; Śr. fol. 53). The flexion is as that of *gaccham* (§ 523). From *chid* are found: AMg. *acchindihinti* *viechindihinti*, *vo'cchindihinti* (Vivāhap. 1277), from *bhid*: AMg. *bhidissantī* (Āyār. 2,1,6,9), for which one could expect *bhindissantī*, as for *bhidanti*, rather *bhindanti* from *bhuj*: AMg. *bhō'kkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *bhō'kkhasi* (Kappas. S. 18), *bhō'kkhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6). JM. has *bhuñjihii* (Erz. 6,36), likewise *bhuñjissai* (T. 5,18). According to Hc. 4,248 *saṁrundihii* would be fut. of the passive; according to the form it belongs to the parasmaipada.

§ 533. In all the dialects the fut. of *kr* is formed as in Skt.: AMg. JM. *karissāmi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; Thāp. 149. 476; Dasav. 627,24; Nandis. 354; Uttar. 1; Erz. 46,7); M. JM. Ś. *karissam* (H. 743.882; Erz. 11,31; Mudrār. 103,6; Nāgān. 43,7); Mg. *kaliṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 96,13); A. *karisu* (Hc. 4,396,4); M. *karihisi* (H. 844); Ś. *karissasi* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 58,2); A. *karihisi* (Vikr. 55,19); AMg. *karihii* (Vivāhap. 175); JM. *karissai* (Āv. 32,19; Erz. 5,22); AMg. *karissai* (Dasav. 627,24); Ś. *karissadi* (Prab. 39,9; 42,2;

Uttar. 197,11); Mg. *kalīssadi* (Prab. 51,1; 58,15 [so to be read; see v. l.]); AMg. JM. *karissāmo* (Kappas. § 91. 128; Ovav. § 38; Erz. 3,11); M. *karissāma* (H. 897); AMg. Ś. *karissanti* (Vivāhap. 62; Ovav. [§ 105]; Nāgān. 43,11). Corresponding to the use of the *e*-stem in the present (§ 509), the same is used in fut. too, in Ś. Mg., however, always in the uncontracted form: AMg. *karēssam* (Vivāhap. 1255), but Ś. *karaissam* (Mṛcch. 60,11; 120,8; Śak. 59,10; 60,15; 76,2; 142,2), Mg. *kalaiissam* (Mṛcch. 96,20; 124,11. 14; 125,5. 8; 127,6; 134,8; 165,1; Caṇḍak. 42,10), *kalaiissasi* (Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. AMg. *karehii* (H. 724; Kk. 265,3 [so to be read]; Ovav. § 116 [the commentator has *kāhii*]), but Ś. *karaissadi* (Prab. 42,8), Mg. *kalaiissadi* (Mṛcch. 140,6); JM. *karēssāmo* (Kk. 274,26) and *karehāmo* (Erz. 25,25); AMg. JM. *karehinti* (Ovav. § 105. 128; Āv. 43,18), AMg. *karēssanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but Ś. *karaissanti* (Śak. 142,4). In AMg. the fut. is formed from the stem *kuva-* (§ 508) too: *viuv-vissāmi* (Vivāhap. 1397 f.), *vikuvissanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215). M. JM. AMg. have, besides, frequently the future *kāham* = **kargyāmi*, that is inflected as *gaccham* (§ 523; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 52). So: M. JM. *kāham* (H. 187; Erz. 80,18); JM. *kāhāmi* (Erz. 5,23; 83,8); according to Hc. and Sr. also *kāhimi*; M. AMg. *kāhisi* (H. 80. 90. 683; Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35); M. AMg. JM. *kāhii* (Hc. 3,166; H. 410. 683; R. 5,4; Nirayāv. § 27; Āv. 32,7); JM. AMg. *kāhi* (Erz. 8,21; 71,8; Dvār. 495,18 [*kāhi tti*]); Dasav. 617,28); JM. *kāhāmo* (Erz. 15,13; 80,18; Sagara 3,15), *kāhiha* (Āv. 33,27), AMg. JM. *kāhinti* (Ovav. § 105; Uttar. 253; Āv. 43,36). A. *kisu* (Hc. 4,389) presupposes one **kriyāmi*.

§ 534. From *jñā*, corresponding to Skt., AMg. forms *nāhisi* = *jñāsyasi* (Sūyag. 106); *nāhii* (Thān. 451), *nāhii* (Dasav. 617,28), *nāhi* (Dasav. 617,32. 34) = *jñāsyati*. In all the dialects the formation from the present stem *jāna-* is usable. So: M. Ś. *jānissam* (H. 749; Mṛcch. 3,2; Ratn. 307, 26); M. *jānihisi* (H. 528. 643), likewise A. (Vikr. 58,11); AMg. *jānihii* (Ovav. § 115); Ś. *jānissadi* (Mālav. 87,9; Ratn. 299,5. 7; Viddhaś. 114,5; Laṭakam. 6,6), *abbhañujānissadi* (Mālav. 40,7), *ahijānissadi* (Śak. 102,15); AMg. Ś. *jānissāmo* (Sūyag. 962; Vikr. 23,18; 28,12); Mg. *yāniissamha*, false for *yāniissāmo* (Lalitav. 565,9). — From *kṛi* the fut. is Ś. *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), Mg. *kiṇissam* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); JM. *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 15); from *grah* Ś. *geṇhissam* (Mṛcch. 74,19; 95,22; Ratn. 316, 22; Mudrār. 103,9), *geṇhissadi* (Mṛcch. 54,5; 74,24; Kāleyak. 7,6), *aṇu-giṇhissadi* (Pārvatīp. 30,18); AMg. *giṇhissāmo* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2). JM. *ghēccchāmo* (Āv. 23,6) belongs, as *ghēppai* (§ 548), to a root **ghṛp*, present **ghivai* (§ 212), is therefore = **ghṛpsyāmaḥ*. — *bandh* forms AMg. *bandhissai* (Vivāhap. 1810 ff.), *bandhissanti* (Thān. 108); Ś. *aṇubandhissam* (Viddhaś. 14,13). According to Hc. 4,247 *bandhii* would be the future of the passive: according to the form it is in *parasmaipada*. — *bhañ* regularly forms AMg. *bhañihāmi* (Jīyak. C. 11); M. Ś. *bhañissam* (H. 12,604; Mṛcch. 21,24; 24,20; Viddhaś. 72,2; Mallikām. 83,4 [text *pha*]); Mālatim. 265,1; 276,7); Ś. *bhañissasi* (Mṛcch. 58,8); M. *bhañihii* (H. 858,918); Ś. *bhañissadi* (Ratn. 304,1); JM. *bhañissaha* (Kk. 274,19); Ś. *bhañissadha* (Mālatim. 246, 7); M. *bhañihinti* (G. 965). From the *e*-stem is built Mg. *bhañaiissam* (Mṛcch. 32,20).

PASSIVE.

§ 535. In Pkt. the passive is formed in a three-fold manner. Either 1) the Skt. form with *ya* is used after undergoing the alterations as required by the phonetic laws of Pkt.; after vowels, *-ya* then becomes *-jja* in M. JM. JŚ. AMg. A. and *-yya* in P., in Ś. Mg. it drops; after consonants it is assimilated with the consonant; or *-iya*, which in M. JM. JŚ.

AMg. A. becomes *-ija*, in Ś. Mg. *-ia*, in P. *-iyya*, 2) it enters into the root, or more frequently 3) into the present stem. Thence from *dā* one says M. JM. AMg. A. *dijjāi*, JŚ. *dijjadi*, P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi*; from *gam* M. JM. AMg. *gammāi*, *gamijjāi*, P. **gamiyyate*, Ś. *gamiadi*, *gacchiadi*, Mg. **gasciadi*. Forms in Ś. *-ijja*, Mg. *-iyya* (mostly printed *-ijja*) are very often found in the texts; they are, however exceptional perhaps in verses, for Ś. Mg. false¹. In D. *kahijjadi* (§ 103,15) for *kadhiadi* and *sāsiijjāi* (§ 103,16) for *sāsiadi* (155,6) are not to be objected to (§ 26). The "uncharacteristic" passive in R. as *ārambhante* (8,82; particip.), *rumbhaī*, *rumbhanta* (s. v. *rudh*), *osumbhanta*, *nisumbhanta* (s. v. *sudh*) are false readings for *ārabhante*, *rubbhaī*, *rubbhanta*, *osubbhanta*, *nisubbhanta*, as the similar ones are often found in the manuscripts. Likewise the false reading *uvabhujjanto* (IS. 15,429) for *uvabhujjanto* is false; *o'echundāi* (R. 10,55) for which the manuscript C has *apphundāi* is not clear. The optative *vējja*, *lahējja*, *acchejja* for *vijjējja*, *lahijjējja*, *acchijjējja* (Hc. 3,160) are presumably purely metrical shortenings, as the fut. pass. AMg. *samucchihiṇti* for *samucchiijhiṇti* from *chid* (§ 549). Vr. 7,8; Hc. 3,160; Kī. 4,12; Mk. fol. 51 teach *-ia* and *-ijja* without distinguishing between the dialects; Mk. fol. 71 mentions in Ś. only *-ia* and forbids the forms like *dubbhaī*, *libbhaī*, *gammāi* for Ś., to whom the texts correspond, taught by Vr. 7,9; 8,57—59; Hc. 4,242—249; Mk. fol. 62. The derivation of the "irregular passive", as *sippaī*, *juppaī*, *ādhappaī*, *dubbhaī*, *rubbhaī* etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which JACOB² has given with the approbation of JOHANSSON³, is wholly wrong. See § 266. 286. To the passive belong an indicative, an optative and an imperative; moreover, aor., fut., inf., pres. participle and preterite are formed from the passive. The endings as a rule are those of the *parasmaip.*; however, M. JM. JŚ. AMg. frequently, and P. according to the grammarians always have the endings of the *ātmanep.*, especially in the participle.

1. BOLLESEN on Malav. p. 223. The following paragraphs give examples of false forms.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT on R. 8,82 note 4 p. 256.—3. KZ. 28,249 ff.—4. KZ. 32,446 ff., where further literature.

§ 536. As in the future (§ 521), the examples for the passive are regulated according to the present stem § 473 ff. The roots in *-u*, *-ā*, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to the 6. class of Skt. (§ 473) and build their passive accordingly: M. *ṇiṇhuvijjanti*. (H. 657), Ś. *ṇiṇhuvīadi* (Ratn. 303, 9) from *hnu*; *ruvvaī*, *ruvijjāi*, (Hc. 2,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the sense of the middle (H. 10) from *ru*; M. *thuvvasi stūyase* (G. 298), *thuvvaī* = *stūyate* (Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54; G. 253); JŚ. *thuvvade* (Kattig. 401,351), AMg. *thuvvanti* (text *thuva*) = *stūyante* (Vivāhap. 1232), JM. *thuvvanta-* (Erz. 24,2), *saṁthuvvanta-* (Āv. 7,26); beside *thunijjāi* (Hc. 4,242) from *stu*; *dhuuvaī*, *dhuvijjāi*, M. *vihuvaī*, *vihuvvanta-*, *odhuvaṇti* (R.), AMg. *uddhuvaṇāṇiṇi* (Ovav.; Kappas.) from *dhū*, *puvvaī*, *puvijjāi*, A. *puvijje* (Piṅgala 2,107) from *pū*, *luvvaī*, *luvijjāi* from *lū*, *huvvaī*, *huvvijjāi* from *hu* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Kī. 4,74; Mk. fol. 58; Sr. fol. 54); from *śru*. M. JM. *suuvaī*, *suuvanti*, *suuvamāṇa* (G. H. R.; Āv. 37,44; Erz.; Kk.), M. *suuvanta-* (Karp. 51,3); AMg. *suuvae* (Sūyag. 154), *suuvaī* (Sūyag. 277; text °*cca*), *suuvanti* (Uttar. 280; text °*cca*); beside *suṇijjāi* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54), *suṇijjāe*, *suṇiāi*, *suṇiāe* (Sr. fol. 54); Ś. *suṇiadi* (Mṛcch. 29,2; 64,6; 97,7; Śak. 50,12; 139,6; Ratn. 315,21; Prab. 14,9; Karp. 3,3; 24,3; 45,3; Vṛṣabh. 47,14; 51,7 etc.), *suṇiyanti* (sic; Lalitav. 555,2), *suṇianti* (Śak. 58,1; Uttarar. 127,6; Prab. 8,8), *suṇiādu* (Vikr. 48,9); Mg. *suṇiadi* (Mṛcch. 45,1; 163,22; 169,18; Mudrār. 191,5; Venis. 35,18; 36,3); A. *suṇijje* (Piṅgala 2,107). JM. has also *summaī* (Erz. 11,16), as one **sumaī* beside **suvāi* is presupposed in accordance with § 261.

According to the grammarians (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Ki. 4,73; Mk. fol. 58) *ji* too, according to Hc. 4,243 *ci* too have the same formation of the passive: *civvāi*, *ciñijjāi*, fut. *civvīhi*, *jivvāi*, *jiñijjāi*, according to Hc. also *cimmaī* fut. *cimmīhi*, which is to be explained likewise as JM. *summaū*. It is not correct to presume analogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ū with JACOBI, whose hypothesis is erroneous¹, and JOHANSSON². *civvāi* is a regular passive from *civ* (Dhātupāṭha 21,15 *civṛ ādānasamvaranayoh*), *jivvāi*, apparently from *jiv* (Dhātupāṭha 15,85 *jivī prīṇanārthaḥ*), that is equated as *jiṇv*. The case will be decided only when the meaning be settled with certainty. AMg. has *cijjanti*, *uvacijjanti*, *avacijjanti* (Paṇṇav. 628. 629), Ś. *viśādu* (Vikr. 30,15). According to Hc. 3,160 the passive from *bhū* is *hoīāi*, *hoijjāi*. In Ś. it is *bhaviādi* in *anubhaviādi* (Ratn. 317,5), *anubhaviādi* (Nāgān. 4,5), and *anubhaviādi* (Kāleyak. 9,22), *abhibhaviādi* (Mālatim. 130,5), particip. *abhibhūamāṇa* (Śak. 16,10), in Mg. *bhaviādi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *haviādi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8), both in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). On *pahuppai* see 286.—From *nī* the passive is M. *ñijjāi* (G.H.R.), JM. *niñijjanta-* (Āv. 24,4), Ś. *ñiādi* (Śak. 78,8), *āñiādi* (Vikr. 31,5; Karp. 26,8), *āñiādu* (Karp. 26,7), *ahiñiādu* (Śak. 3,5), *anunīamāṇā* (Mṛcch. 23,23. 25); Mg. *ñiādi* (Mṛcch. 100,22).

1. KZ. 28,255.—2. KZ. 32,449. Falsely also P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 71; GN. 1874, p. 513; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494.

§ 537. The roots in -r form the passive mostly from the present stem: M. *dharijjaī* (R.), fut. *dharijjihī* (H. 778; so to be read); Mg. *dhaliadi* (Prab. 50,10); M. *anūsarijjaī* (G. 627); M. *niṇvārijjāe* (H. 204); M. A., *samarijjāi* = *smariyate* (R. 13,16; Hc. 4,426), JM. *sumarijjaū* (Erz. 15,3), Ś. *sumariādi* (Mṛcch. 128,1). The roots in -r form the passive as in Skt. or according to the analogy of the roots in -r: Ś. *kiranta-* from *kṛ* (Bālar. 199,10) against the dialect, in which *kirānta-* was to be expected.: *jirāi* (also = *jiryati*) and *jarijjaī* (Hc. 4,250), AMg. *nijjarijjaī* (Uttar. 885; so correctly in the commentary); M. JM. *tirāi* (Hc. 4,250; G. H. R.; Erz.), *tirae* (H.; Erz.; Dvār. 498,21) and M. *tarijjaī* (Hc. 4,250; G.), AMg. *viyarijjaī* (Uttar. 354). Conversely *hr* follows the roots in -r: M. AMg. *hīrasi* (G. 726; Uttar. 711); M. JM. *hīrāi* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Ki. 4,79. 80; Mk. fol. 62; H. R.; Āv. 35,13), M. *hīranti* (G.), *hīranta-* (H.), AMg. *avahīranti* (Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 398 ff.), *avahīramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 404); but Ś. *avaharīamī* (Uttarar. 97,1; text °ri°), *avaharīasi* (Nāgān. 95,14), *avahariādi* (Dhūrtas. 13,5), *avahariādu* (Mṛcch. 25,6), *uddhariādi* (Mālatim. 246,5); Mg. *āhaliādu* (Prab. 63,4). Cf. Ki. 4,79.80. Thence false in Ś. *hīrasi* (Bālar. 174,9). From *ṣr* are found M. *pūrijjanta-* (H. 116), *ahiūrijjanti* = *abhipūryante* (G. 872); JM. *āūrijjamāṇa* (Erz. 24,5) and M. *pūrai*, *āūramāṇa*, *paripūranta-* (R.). On *vāhippai* beside *vāharijjaī* see § 286, on *kr* § 547.

§ 538. From the ai- roots the passive are: M. JM. *gijjanta-* (H. 644; Kk. 264,2); JM. *gijjanti* (Erz. 40,19); AMg. *parigijjamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 117); P. *giyyate* (Hc. 4,315); Ś. *ñijjhādi* (Mālav. 60,6); from the verbs of the old -ska- class: M. *acchijjaī* (H. 83); Ś. *icchādi* (Mudrār. 57,4), Mg. *iśādi* (Śak. 118,6). Like *rammaī*, *ramijjaī* (Vr. 8,58), P. *ramiyyate* (Hc. 4,315) formed from *ram* are formed from *gam* M. JM. *gammaī* = *gamyate* (Vr. 8,58; Hc. 4,249; Ki. 4,13; Sr. fol. 54; H. R.; Erz.), AMg. *gammanti* (Ovav. 56, p. 63,13), *samaṇugammanta-* (Ovav. [§ 37]) and *°gammamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 103. 105); M. *gammaū* (H. 715), fut. *gammihī* (Hc. 4,249; H. 609), partly with an active meaning; M. *gamijjanti* (G. 846; so to be read); Ś. *gamiādu* (Mālatim. 285,5; printed °mi°), *gacchiādi* (Śak. 25,2; Vikr. 22, 10. 15), *avagacchiādi* (Mudrār. 58,4), *āacchiādi* (Nāgān. 19,11). For *anugacchijjanti* in Mṛcch. 25,10 we have in Ś. correctly *anugacchānti*; M.

sañjamijjanti (G. 289). — From *dhau* (to wash), corresponding to the flexion according to the 6. conjugation (§ 482), are formed the passive M. particip. *dhuvvanta-* (H. R.) and *dhuvvamāṇa*.

§ 539. From *pā* (to drink) the passive forms are M. *pijjaī* (H.), *pijjae* (Karp. 24,12), *pijjanti* (G.), *pijjanta-* (Karp. 10,8), *Ś. piviādi* (Mṛcch. 71,7; Vikr. 9,19), as we should read at Mṛcch. 87,13 too for *pīādi* and at Vikr. 48,15 with the v. l. for *pīādi*, imp. *Ś. piviādu* (Mṛcch. 77,11). Against the dialect is *Ś. pijjanti* Śak. 29,5, for which we should read *pivanti*, in all cases with the remaining recensions *pīanti* (Kashmir recension *pīante*). False is Mg. *pijjae* (Prab. 28,15) too, as Bb. M. P. too have; *piviādi* would be correct. — *sthā* forms *Ś. aṇuciṭṭhādi* (Mṛcch. 4,13), imp. *aṇuciṭṭhādu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Ratn. 290,28; Prab. 3,5; Nāgān. 2,17). Kl. 4,14 teaches *thiāī*, *thijjaī*.

§ 540. Besides the usual formations *khañijjaī* (Hc. 4,244), JM. participle *khannamāṇa* (Erz. 39,7), from *khan* is mentioned as passive *khammaī* too (Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56). So M. *ukkhammanti*, *ukkhammanta-*, *ukkhammīva* (R.). The form is not to be separated from *jammaī* from *jan* (Hc. 4,136) and *hammaī* from *han* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56) beside *hañijjaī*. So M. *āhammiuṇ*, *ñihammaī*, *ñihammanti*, *paḥammanta-* (R.); AMg. *hammaī* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 289), *hammanti* (Uttar. 668. 1008; Pañhāv. 289 [commentary correctly]; Sūyag. 294. 431), *hammantu* (Pañhāv. 129), *paḍihammējjā* (Thāp. 188), *viñihammanti* (Uttar. 156); AMg. JM. *hammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 278. 297. 393. 647. 863; Pañhāv. 202; Vivāga. 63; Nirayāv. 67; Erz.); AMg. *vihammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 350), *suhammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270). It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of *gammāī* from *gam* with JACOBI¹ and JOHANSSON². *jammaī* points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from *janman*, Pkt. *jamma-*, *hanman*, Pkt. *hamma-*, **khanman*, Pkt. *khamma-*³. Cf. § 550. 557. On *khuppaī* see § 286.

1. KZ. 28,254.—2. KZ. 32,449.—3. Mk. fol. 57 teaches *khammaī* like *hammaī* (§ 550) as active.

§ 541. From *drś*, corresponding to Skt. *drśyate*, is regularly formed M. JM. *disaī* (Hc. 3,161; Sr. fol. 56; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); M. *disae* (Karp. 54,10), *aīsanta-* (H. R.); M. AMg. *disanti* (Karp. 4,10; Dasav. 635,12); AMg. *dissai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3), *adissamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; Sūyag. 646); *Ś. disādi* (Mṛcch. 50,24; 138,23; 139,8; Vikr. 7,3; 10,4; 39,6; 40,6; Ratn. 295,10; Nāgān. 52,8 etc.), *disadha* (Karp. 3,8), *disanti* (Śak. 99,12; Viddhaś. 71,9; 119,13; Mālatīm. 201,2), *disadu* (Karp. 54,4), Mg. *disādi* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 138,24; 139,10. 11; 147,4. 15; 168,18), *disanti* (Mṛcch. 14,11). — *labh* forms M. *labbhāī* = *labhyate* (Hc. 4,249; H. R.; Mṛcch. 153,17), as we should read in JM. too for *lajjhaī* (Erz. 60,16), that is wrongly read; AMg. fut. *lubbhihi* in the active sense (Dasav. 624,14); *Ś. labbhadi* (Śak. 23,14); beside it *lahijjaī* (Hc. 4,249), as in A. (Piṅgala 1,117), and in Ś. Mg. from the nasalised present stem (§ 484. 525); *Ś. lambhīadi* (Mālatīm. 217,3), *lambhīāmo* (Mālatīm. 240,4), *uvālbambhīadi* (text °*bhijjaī*, Mallikām. 218,8); Mg. *ālambhīadi* (Mudrār. 194,2; to be so read; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. sañvat 1926 p. 162,8). — *vah* has the passivum M. AMg. JM. *vubbhāī* (Hc. 4,245; Ki. 4,79 [text *va°*]; Mk. fol. 62; G. H.; Erz.), M. *ñivubbhāī* (R.). So also we should at H. 275 read *vubbhāī* for *ujjhaī* (cf. WEBER on it) and Dasav. 635,8 *vubbhāī* for misread *vujjhaī*. Cf. § 266. Hc. 4,245 teaches *vahijjaī* too. According to Mk. fol. 72 in *Ś. vahīadi* alone is used.

§ 542. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch* forms the passivum M. JM. AMg. *pucchijjaī* : M. *pucchijjanti* (particip. ; H.); JM. *pucchijjāmi* (Erz.); AMg. *pucchijjanti* (Paṇṇav. 388); *Ś. pucchīasi* (Viddhaś. 118,8), *pucchīadi*

(Mṛcch. 57,18; 72,25).—*kṛt* has in AMg. *kiecāi* (Uttar. 177).—*muc* forms in M. JM. AMg. *muccāi* = *mucyate*; M. *muccāi*, *muccanti* (G.), *muccanta-* (R.); JM. *muccāmi*, *muccae* (Erz.); AMg. *muccāi* (Vivāhap. 37), *muccae* (Uttar. 243), *muccanti* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *muccējjā* (l. sing.; Uttar. 624), *muccējja* (3. sing.; Sūyag. 104; Uttar. 247), *panuccāi*, *vimuccāi* (Āyār. 1,3, 3,5; 2,16,12); JS. *vimuccadi* (Pav. 384,60); but *Ś. muñciadu* (Mudrār. 247,7; [so to be read for *muñciyadu*, *muñcadu* of the editions]) in the face of the fut. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]).—From *lup* is found M. *luppanta-* (G. 384), AMg. *luppai*, *luppanti* (Sūyag. 104), from *sic* JM. *siccanto* (Dvār. 504,10), AMg. *abhisiccamāni*, *parisiccamāna* (Kappas.), *samsiccamāna* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); *Ś. siccanti* (Mudrār. 182,1); so to be read with the Calc. editions J), *siccamānā* (Mālatīm. 121,2). On *sippai* see § 286, on *mṛ* § 477. *chippai*, *chivijai*, which Hc. 4,257 derives from *spṛs*, belong to *kṣip* (§ 319).

§ 543. For the verbs of the 4. conjugation the characteristic examples are: M. *paḍibujijjai* = *pratibudhyate* (G. 1172); A. *rūsiijai* = *rusyate* (Hc. 4,418,4). The verbs of the 10. conjugation, the causatives and the similarly formed denominatives mostly build the passive, as in Skt., through the insertion of the passive element within either the root or the stem, excluding *-ya*, *-aya*, Pkt. *-a*, *-e*: *kāṛtai*, *kārijjai*, *karāvīai*, *karāvijjai*, *hāsīai*, *hāsijjai*, *hasāvīai*, *hasāvijjai* (Vr. 7,28. 29; Hc. 3,152. 153; Sr. fol. 55. 56). M. *cheijjanti* (G. 1198), *Ś. chedānti* (Mṛcch. 71,4) = *chedyante*; M. *tosijjai* = *tosyate* (H. 508), *samatthijjai* = *samarthyate* (H. 730), *kavalijjai* = *kavalikriyate* (G. 172), *pahāmijjanta-* = *prabhrāmyamāna* (R. 7,69); JM. *mārijjai* = *māryate* (Erz. 5,34), *mārijjai*, *mārijjāmi* (Erz. 5,26; 32,26); AMg. *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandīs. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), *piḍḍai* = *piḍyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); *Ś. pabodhiāmi* = *prabodhye* (Śak. 29,9), *vāvādiadi* = *vyāpādyate* (Mṛcch. 41,7; Uttarar. 97,1; Mudrār. 250,2; Vepīs. 35,20), *sampadhāriadu* = *sampradhāryatām* (Vikr. 22,19), *viṇṇaviadi* = *viññāpyate* (Vikr. 30,21), *jivāviadi* = *jivyate* (Mṛcch. 176,7), *avadāriadu* = *avatāryatām* (Karp. 26,9), *sukkhaviānti* = *soṣyante* (characteristically **suṣkāpyante*; Mṛcch. 71, 4); A. *thaviṇe* = *sthāpyate* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Exceptions are found in the case of the denominatives in M.: *kajjalaijjai* (R. 5,50); *valaijjai* (G. 1023), *kaṇḍaijjanta-* (H. 67), *maṇḍalaijjanta-* (S. 1034). From *kathaya-* the regular passive are: M. *kahijjai* (Hc. 4,249), *kahijjanti*, *kahijjai*, *kahijjanta-* (H.); AMg. *parikahijjai* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,4,1,3); D. *kahijjadi* (Mṛcch. 103,15); Mg. *kadhiyidu* (sic; Lalitav. 566,9); A. *kahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,117), *kahiṇe* (Piṅgala 2,93.101). Beside Hc. 4,249 teaches also *katthai*, that is found in AMg. (Āyār. 1,2,6,5) and phonetically must have been **kacchāi* (§ 280). Perhaps it belongs to *katth*. AMg. *pakatthai* (Sūyag. 234) is = **prakatthate*. On *ādhappai*, *ādhaviāi*, *viḍhappai*, *viḍhavijjai*, *viḍhappiadi* see § 286.

§ 544. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation *yā* has the passivum A. *jāijjai* (Hc. 4,419,3); in AMg. is found *pattiādi* (§ 487). On the roots in *-u*, *-ū* see § 356. *rud* has *Ś. rodīadi* (§ 495), *svap* in M. *suppau* = *supyatām* (H.), in *Ś. sviadi* (Karnās. 18,20). *vac* forms *vuccai* (Hc. 3,161; § 337); AMg. *vuccai* (Uttar. 3; Vivāhap. 34. 35.102. 928; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.), *vuccai* (Uttar. 2). *pavuccai* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3. 5,1,1. 1,6,1; 1,2,2,1. 6,2. 4; 1,4, 1,2; 1,5,3,3; Vivāhap. 202. 374 f. 409. 444; Rāyāp. 144 ff.), *pavuccai* (Sūyag. 351); *vuccanti* (Sūyag. 978. 979. 994 ff.; Dasav. 629,22). *vuccamāna* (Sūyag. 393; Vivāhap. 149); *Ś. vuccāmi* (Karp. 32,9), *vuccasi* (Śak. 12,8), *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 77,12; 79,2; 87,12; 138,2. 3; Viddhaś. 128,1 [text *uccadi*]; Bālar. 96,12 [text *uccadi*]), *vuccanti* (Mṛcch. 29,7); Mg. *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 36, 11).—Form *duh*, beside *duhijjai* is taught *dubbhai*, from *lih*, besides *lihi-jjai*, also *libbhāi* (Hc. 4,245; Ki. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; so also at Vr. 8,59 we

should read *libbhai*; cf. v. 1.). On this see § 266. JM. has *dijjhaū* (Āv. 43, 11), fut. *dijjhihiū* (Āv. 43, 20), probably a false reading for *dubbhaū*, *dubbihiū*. Cf. *lajjhai*, *vujjhai* § 541. On *sisaī*, D. *sāsijjai* from *sās* see § 499, on *hammaī*, *hañijjai* from *han* § 540.

§ 545. From *dā*, corresponding to Skt. *diyate*, the passive is M. JM. A. *dijjai* (H. R.; Erz.; Hc. 4,438,1; Piṅgala 1,121), M. also *dijjae* (H.; Karp. 76,7; 89,9), A. also *dije* (Piṅgala 2,102, 105), *dijjaū* (Piṅgala 2,106) in the active sense, 3. plur. *dijjahī* (Hc. 4,428; Piṅgala 2,59[so to be read]), JŚ. *dijjadi* (Kattig. 401,345); Ś. *diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6), false *dijjadi* (Mṛcch. 49,7; Karp. 61,9), *dijjantu* (Karp. 113,8), *dijjandu* (Viddhaś. 124,14), beside the correct *diadu* (Karp. 103,7); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); P. *tiyyate* (Hc. 4,315).—To *dhā* belong AMg. *āhijjai*=*ādhiyate* (Sūyag. 603.674 ff.), *āhijjanti* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Jiv. 12; Kappas.), explained by the commentators with *ākhyāyate*, *ākhyāyante*. From *hā* the passive forms are Ś. *parihāsi* (Śak. 51,5), *parihādi* (Mālatīm. 212,4), *parihāmāṇa* (Karp. 76,1). On *huvvai*, *huñijjai* from *hu* see § 536. Of the roots of the 5. conjugation the following form the passive: *ci*: *ciñijjai*, *civvai*, AMg. *ciñjanti*, Ś. *viñiādu* (§ 536), *dhu*: *dhuñijjai*, *dhu-vvai* (§ 536), *śru*: *suñijjai*, *su-vvai*, JM. *summaū*, Ś. *suñiādi*, Mg. *suñiādi* (§ 536), *āp*: Ś. *pāviādi* (Viddhaś. 43,2), A. *pāviai* (Hc. 4,366), Śak.: Ś. *sakkiādi* (Viddhaś. 87,2; Cait. 84,5; 85,13; 258,16), Mg. *śakkiādi* (Mṛcch. 116,6).

§ 546. The roots of the 7. conjugation form the passive mostly as in Skt., more seldom from the present stem: M. *chijjai*, *chijjanti*, *vo'chijjai* (R.); JM. A. *chijjai* (Erz.; Hc. 4,357,1; 434,1); Ś. *chijjanti* (Mṛcch. 41,2), fut. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16).—M. JM. *bhajjai*, *bhajjanti*, *bhajjanta-* (G. R.; Erz.), M. fut. *bhajjihisi* (H. 202); Mg. *bhayyadi*, imp. *vibhayya* (Mṛcch. 118, 12, 21; see § 506).—M. *bhijjai*, *bhijjanti*, *bhijjanta-* (G. H. R.); AMg. *bhijjai* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2), *bhijjaū* (Vivāhap. 1230), *bhijjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *ubbhijjadu* (Karp. 83,1), *ubbhijjanti* (Viddhaś. 72,3; text °ndi).—M. *bhuñjanta-*, *uvahuñjanta-* (G.); JM. *bhuñjai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhuñjai* (Uttar. 354); but also *bhuñijjai* (H. 4,249); JM. *paribhuñijjai* (Dvār. 500,36); Ś. *bhuñiādi* (Śak. 29,6).—M. *jujjanta-* (R.), and in the meanings "it is proper", "it accords with" = Skt. *yujyate* always M. *jujjai* (H. 924), *ujjae* (H. 12), JŚ. *jujjade* (Kattig. 403,380), Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65, 12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71,10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.), in the usual meaning, on the contrary: Ś. *ñiunñiāmi*, *ñiunñiāsi* (Karp. 18,3,2), *ñiunñiādi* (Mālatīm. 22,5 [so to be read; see p. 372]); *paññiādi* (Karp. 19,8), *paññiādu* (Mṛcch. 9,7). On *juppai* see § 286. For *rudh* Hc. 4,245 teaches *rundhijjai* and *rubbhajai*, in conjunction with the prefixes *anu*, *upa*, *saṃ* 4,248: *anupa-*, *upa-*, *saṃ-* °*rujjhai*, °*rundhijjai*. In the text are found M. *parirujjai* (G. 434); Ś. *uvarujjhadi* (Vikr. 82,15 v. 1.; cf. 131,10 ed. Bombay). M. *rubbhajai*, *rubbhanta-*, *rubbhamāṇa* (R.), JM. *rubbhajai* (Āv. 41,9) are passive from *rubh* (§ 507).

§ 547. *ky* forms the passive in M. JM. usually *kiraī* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 54), therefore, as *hy*, according to the analogy of the roots in -*ṛ* (§ 537). So M. *kiraī*, *kirae*, *kiranti*, *kiraū*, *kiranta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kiraī* (Erz.; Āv. 9,23; 13,26; Dvār. 497,7), *kiraū* (Kk. 269,37; so to be read); JŚ. *kiradi* (Kattig. 399,320; 401,350). Sometimes AMg. has the same form (Vivāhap. 135.796; Ovav. § 116. 127. 128), *kiramāṇa* (Dasav. 629,5), *kiranta-* (verse; Āyār. 1,8,4,8); it is mentioned as *kirate* for P. by Hc. 4,316 and by Rājasekhara (pro ex. Bālar. 176,16 [kiradi]; 224,17 [kiraū]; 228,8 [kirai]; Karp. ed. Bomb. 22,4 [kiradi]) and used by later writers like Bilhana, Karpas. 53,16 (*kiradi*) in Ś. too, what perhaps is simply a contribution of the edition, as Karp. 22,4 Konow (p. 19,7) correctly has *kariādi*. Hc. 4,250 mentions also *karijjai*, and so A. has *karīje* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101. 102. 105) and

karijasu (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144; 2,119). Hc. 1,97 further has *kijjai* = *kriyate* in *duhākijjai*, *dohākijjai*, and according to Hc. 4,274 *kijjadi* and *kijjade* will be used in Ś. So stands *kijjadu* in Ś. (Lalitav. 562,24), elsewhere, however, in none of the texts. *kijjai* is found in M. at R.13,16, and it is the usual form in A. : *kijjau* (Hc. 4,338; 445,3) in the sense of the fut. active (§ 550), *kijjau* (Piṅgala 1,81^a) in the active sense, *kijjahi* (so to be read; text °hī) = *kriyate* (Piṅgala 2,59). On A. *kijjasu*, *karijasu* see § 461. 466. In AMg. the only prevalent form in prose is *kajjai* = **karyate* (Āyār. 1,2,1,4; 1,2,2,3. 5,1; Sūyag. 656. 704. 838 ff.; Ṭhāṇ. 291; Vivāhap. 52. 99.136.137.182.346.444.1406; Paṇṇav. 636 ff.), *kajjanti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Vivāhap. 47. 50. 52. 1302; Ovav. § 123. 125), *kajjamāṇa* (Sūyag. 368; Vivāhap. 840), *duhā*, *tiḥā* (Vivāhap. 141). In Ś. are used exclusively *kariadi* (Mṛcch. 18,11; 69,10; Śak. 19,6), *alamkariadi* (Śak. 19,5), *karianti* (Śak. 77,4; Ratn. 293,21), *kariadu* (Śak. 54,1; 168,15; Karp. 22,9; 26,3; 63,6; 68,2; 113,8; Viddhaś. 99,5), in Mg. *kaliadi* (Mudrār. 154,4; 178,7), *kaliadu* (Mṛcch. 39,21; 160,6).

§ 548. *jñā* forms, according to Hc. 4,252, *ṇajjai*, *ṇāijjai*, *jāñijjai*, *ṇavvai*, according to Kī. 4,81 *jāñiai*, *āñiai*, *ṇajjai*, *ṇavvai*, *ṇajjai*, *ṇavvai*. Of them *ṇajjai* = *jñāyate* is the current form in M. (G. H. R.), JM. (Erz.), AMg. (Uvās.; Nirāyāv. [in JM. AMg. *ṇajjai*]). Ś. has *jāñiadi* (Ratn. 300,8; 318,12; Vṛśabh. 45,10; 47,10; Karp. 28,2; Viddhaś. 119,4), *jāñiadu* (Nāgān. 84,5), behind *ṇa* (not) *āñiadi* (§ 170; Mṛcch. 74,9; 88,25; Mālatim. 285,5; Nāgān. 38,3 [so to be read]), A. *jāñiai* (Hc. 4,330,4) corresponding to it. In lieu of *ṇavvai* Triv. 2,4,84 and Sr. fol. 56 have *ṇappai*, that stands in place of *ādḥappai*, *viḍḥappai*, i.e. = *jñāpyate*. Accordingly one **ṇavvai*, of which the regular passive is *ṇavvai*¹, is to be deduced from the causatives such as Ś. *āṇavedi*, *viṇṇavedi*. — *krī* forms Ś. *vikkiṇiadi* (Karp. 14,5), *vikkiṇi-anti* (Mudrār. 108,9; [so to be read]); *pū* has *puvvai*, *puñijjai*, *ā. puñijje*; *lū* has *luvvai*, *luñijjai* (§536), *granth* has Ś. *ganthiānti* (Mṛcch. 71,3 [text *gatti*]). From *grah* the passive forms are *geñhijjai* (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82) and *gahijjai* (Sr. fol. 56), S. *aṇuggahādu* (Vikr. 21,10). M. JM. AMg. A. use for it *ghēppai* = Pāli *ghēppati*, which the Indian grammarians (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 56) and the European scholars drag to *grabh*, however, belongs to the parallel root **ghrp* (§ 212). So M. *ghēppai*, *ghēppae*, *ghēppanti*, *ghēppanta-* (G. H. R.; Ānandavardhana in Dhvanyāloka 62,4; Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 178,3); JM. *ghēppai* (Kk. 273,37), *ghēppanti* (Erz. 67,12; Āv. 36,42); AMg. *ghēppējjā* (Pañhāv. 400); A. *ghēppai* (Hc. 4,341,1), *ghēppanti* (Hc. 4,335). Falsely in Ś. (Mallikām. 101,6; 144,8). In the verse stands *geñjhai* = *grhyate* in AMg. Dasav. N. 655,5. 6. Kī. 4, 82 teaches also *ghēppijjai*. — *bandh* forms *bajjhai* = *badhyate* (Hc. 4,247); AMg. *bajjhai* (Uttar. 245); JŚ. *bajjhadi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjai* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjai*. — From *bhañ*, which in the present behaves according to the 9. conjugation (§ 514), the passive is M. *bhañnai* = *bhanyate* (Hc. 4,249 [so to be read]; Kī. 4,13; H.R.), *bhañnai* (G. R.; Śak. 101,16), *bhañṇamāṇa* (H.), *bhañṇanta-* (R.), and *bhañijjai* (Hc. 4,249), *bhañijjai* (H.); A. *bhañijje* (Piṅgala 2,101), perhaps also *bhañijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,109; cf. § 461); JM. *bhañnai* (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *bhañiadi* (Mṛcch. 151,12; Prab. 39,3). False is Ś. *bhañijjandi* (Prab. 42,5; P. °jjanti, M. °jjamāṇā) for *bhañiānti*, as Bb. 93,4 reads (only wrongly °ñi).

1. Wholly wrong is S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494; JACOBI, KZ. 28,255, JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,449 f.

§ 549. From the passive is found in AMg. an aorist: *muccimsu* (Sūyag. 790), and in almost all the dialects a future, which too is wholly

likewise formed, like the fut. Parasmaip. from the present stem of the parasmaip. So: 1. M. *kalijjihisi* from *kal* (H. 225. 313), *khajjihii* from *khād* (H. 138), *ḍajjihisi* (H. 105), *ḍajjihii* (Hc. 4,246) from *dah*, *ḍisihii* (H. 619; R. 3,33 [so to be read]), *dharijihii* (H. 778); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,25); *khammihii* from *khan* (Hc. 4,244).—6. AMg. *muccihii* (Ovav. § 116; Nāyādh. 390 [text °hīnti]; Vivāhap. 175), *muccissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but also *paṃōkkhasi* = *pramoksyase* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,3,3,4); Ś. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]); AMg. *uvalippihii* (Ovav. § 112).—4. JM. *khōṭṭijihii* (Āv. 32,2) from *khuffai* (Hc. 4,116).—10. Causatives and denominatives: AMg. *mārijjissāmi* (Uvās. § 256); JM. *chiddijihii* (Āv. 33,2) from *chidraya-*, *vāvājjissai* (Erz. 43,22).—2. *hammihii* from *han* (Hc. 4,244; cf. § 540. 550. 557); AMg. *paḍihammihii* (Nāyādh. § 30); *dubbhikhi* (Hc. 4,245), JM. *dujjihii* (Āv. 43,20; cf.; however § 544).—5. *civvihii*, *cimmihii* from *ci* (Hc. 4,242. 243; cf. § 536); M. *jhiijihisi* from *kṣi* (H. 152. 628); M. *samappihii* (H. 734. 806; R. 5,4).—7. M. *bhajjihisi* from *bhañj* (H. 202); AMg. *vōcchijjihinti* from *chid* with *vyud* (Sūyag. 1011), *samucchihinti*, metrically for *samucchijjihinti* (Sūyag. 869), Ś. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16); Ś. *ahiujjissadi* from *yuj* with *abhi* (Uttarar. 69,6); *saṃrujjihii* (Hc. 4,248).—8. AMg. *kajjissai* (Vivāhap. 492); JM. *kirihii* (Āv. 16,9).—9. *bajjihii* (Hc. 4,247), Ś. *bajjhissāmo* (Mṛcch. 109,19; see § 488, note 4) from *bandh*; JM. *ghēṭṭihii* from **ghṛp* (Āv. 7,5).

§ 550. The passive is sometimes used in the sense of parasmaipadam. WEBER has rightly compared such forms with the deponentia of Latin¹. So: M. *gammihisi* (H. 609)², uncertain *gammasu* (H. 819) in the sense of the causative: M. *gasijjihii* (H. 804); M. *ḍisihisi* (R. 15,86), where, however, C has *dakṣihisi*, i. e. *dacchihisi* (§ 525); M. *pijjaī* (Hc. 4,10; H. 678)³; M. *bhañjihisi* (H. 906)⁴; *hammaī* = *hanti* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 57; Sr. fol. 56; cf. § 540), particip. pres. ātmanep. AMg. *vihammāṇa* (Uttar. 787); fut. AMg. *hammihanti* (Thān. 512); AMg. *labbhii* (Dasav. 624,14); A. *dijjaū*, *kijjaū* (§ 545. 547; cf. § 461. 466). The future too is used prevalently in the active sense, in which the metre might have often associated. Very interesting is that the present passive in Mg. A. is sometimes used in the sense of the fut. parasmaip., therefore, "I am made" is used in lieu of "I shall make". For Mg. Mk. fol. 75 teaches in the Parasmaip. *bhavissadi* and *bhuvādi*. So Mg. *bhaviādi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *huvādi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8) "he will be", *vāvāḍiāsi* "thou wilt kill" (Mṛcch. 167,25), *pivāḍiāsi* (so to be read; Venis. 34,6) "that thou wilt be thirsty"; A. *kijjaū* (Hc. 4,338. 445,3) "I shall make".

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 64, where, however, all the examples are false, likewise, excluding *samappihii* and *ḍisihisi*, the examples in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,492 and on R. 15,86 p. 325 note 10.—2. WEBER on Hāla 609.

CAUSATIVUM.

§ 551. As in Skt. the causative is formed by insertion of -e- = Skt. -aya- into the strengthened root: *kārei* = *kārayati*, *pāḍhei* = *pāṭhayati*, *uvasāmei* = *upaśāmyati*, *hāsei* = *hāsayati* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Ki. 4,44; Sr. fol. 55). Cf. § 490. The roots in -ā add -ve- = Skt. -paya-: M. *nivāḍeṇṭi* = *nivāpayanti* (G. 524); Ś. *nivāḍedi* (Mālatim. 217,5), fut. *nivāḍaṇṭam* (Mālatim. 266,1), past passive participle *nivāḍida* (Mṛcch. 16,9); AMg. *āghāvei* = *ākhyāpayati* (Thān. 569); Mg. *pattiāvaṇṭam* (Mṛcch. 139,12) from *yā* with *prati* (§ 281. 487); PG. *anuvattāveṇi* = *anuvasthāpayati* (7,45); AMg. *thāveṇi* = *sthāpayati* (Nirayāv. § 4; Kappas. § 116); AMg. *thāveṇi* (Erz. 43,32); Ś. *samavattāveṇi* = *samavasthāpayāmi* (Vikr. 27,6); *pajjavattā-*

vehi = *paravasthāpaya* (Vikr. 7,17), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 24,2), *paḍiṭṭhāvehi* (Ratn. 295,26); Mg. *stāvehi*, *stāvia* (absol.), *stāvaṭṭsaṃ* (Mṛcch. 97, 5; 122,11; 132,20; 139,2), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol. Mṛcch. 21,12); A. *paṭṭhāviai* (passive; Hc. 4,422,7); AMg. *nhāveha* = *snāpayata* (Vivāhap. 1261). *jñā* forms the caus. from the present stem: JM. *jāṇāvehi* (Hc. 3,149; Erz.), *jāṇāvijam*, *jāṇāvium* (Kk.); M. *jāṇāveum* (H.). With prefixes it is formed with shortening of the root-vowel, as in Skt. too: AMg. JM. *āṇavei* (Nirvāṇ.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *āṇavemāṇa* (Sūyag. 734), *paṇṇavemāṇa* (Ovav. § 78); Ś. *āṇavehi* (Mṛcch. 94,9), *āṇavedi* (Lalitav. 563,21. 29; 564,23; 568, 11; Mṛcch. 4,19; 7,3; 16,2 and very frequently), *āṇavedu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,8; Nāgān. 2,16 etc.), but *āṇavidavvaṃ* (Mṛcch. 58,13) beside *vinṇāḍavvā* (58,12), hence with GODABOLE 167,8 to be read *āṇa°*; *vinṇavemi* (Mṛcch. 78,10), *vinṇavedi* (Mṛcch. 74,6; 96,5; Śak. 138,10; Vikr. 12,13 etc.), *vinṇavemo* (so to be read according to § 455; Śak. 27,7), *vinṇavehi* (Mṛcch. 27,14; 74,21; Vikr. 16,20; Mālatīm. 218,1), *vinṇovissaṃ*, *vinṇāḍavvā* (Mṛcch. 58,11. 12), *vinṇavidam* (so to be read; Vikr. 48,8), *vinṇaviḍi* (Vikr. 30,21); Mg. *āṇavedi* (Śak. 114,1), *vinṇavia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 138, 25; 139,1). As *jñā*, also the other roots ending in -ā shorten the vowel in M. JM. AMg. So particularly often *sthā*: M. JM. AMg. *ṭhavei* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; cf. Hc. 1,67); M. *ṭhaviijanti* (G. 995), *utṭhavesi* (H. 390), *saṃṭhavehi* (G. 997); AMg. *uwaṭṭhaveha* (Nāyādh. § 130); A. *ṭhavehu* (Piṅgala 1,87. 125. 145).—M. *ṇimmavesi* = *nirmāpayasi* (G. 297); AMg. *āghavemāṇa* = *ākhyāpayamāṇa* (Ovav. § 78), *āghaviya* = *ākhyāpita* (Panhāv. 376. 431. 469), *āghaviijanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandis. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), inf. *āghavittae* (Nāyādh. § 143). As in Skt., certain roots in -i, -ī too have the same formation: Ś. passive *jaḍviasi* = *jāpyase* (Śak. 31,11); AMg. *ūsaveha* (Vivāhap. 957), *ussaveha* (Kappas. § 100) = *ucchrāpayata*; Ś. *bhāāvesi* from *bhī* (§ 501; Mṛcch. 91,19). From the present stem is built *kiṇāvehi* (Thāp. 516), *kiṇāvae* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), *kiṇāvemāṇa* (Sūyag. 609) from *kri*; Ś. *vicināvedī* (so to be read; Mudrār. 54,1) from *ci*; AMg. *alliyāvehi* (Nāyādh. 434) from *li*.

§ 552. The element -*ve*- = Skt. -*paya*- is employed in Pkt. for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than -ā, -i, -ī, and in diphthongs and consonants. As a rule it is added to the present stem in -a, which is mostly lengthened, wherein the analogy according to the ā-roots might have taken a hand. This formation is seldom more than the causative in -e- = -aya-. So: *hasāvehi* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55), *hasāvia* (Hc. 3,152), also M. *hāsāvia* (Hc. 3,153 = H. 123); AMg. *payāvemāṇa* from *pac* (Sūyag. 609); M. *ramāvēnti*, *sahāvēnti* (H. 325. 327); Ā. *kappāvehi* from *kṛp* (Mṛcch. 105,3); Ś. *ghaḍāvehi* (Mṛcch. 95,21), M. *vihaḍāvia* (G. 8) from *ghaṭ*; Ś. *jivāvehi* (Uttarar. 63,14), *jiāvesu* (Viddhaś. 84,4), *jivāvedu* (Mṛcch. 326,3), *jivāviadi* (Mṛcch. 176,6), *jivāvia* (absol.; Mālatīm. 215,1), *jivāvidā* (Mṛcch. 173,4; 177,16); Mg. *jivāvidā* (Mṛcch. 171,14); AMg. *dalāvehi* (Vivāgas. 168); AMg. *saṃārambhāvehi* (Āyār. 1,1,2,3; 1,1,3,5), *saṃārambhāvējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6; 1,1,3,8); Ś. *ṇivattāvehi* (Mṛcch. 77,15); Mg. *palivattāvehi* (Mṛcch. 81,17.19); Ś. *vaḍḍhāvehi* (Karnas. 21,8); Ś. *dhovāvehi* (Mṛcch. 45,9); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvia* from *gam* with *abhi* and *upa* (Āv. 30,9); AMg. *piyāvae* from *pā* (to drink; Dasav. 638,26).—AMg. *nicchubhāvehi* (Nāyādh. 823,824. 1313) from *nicchubhaṭ* from *ksubh* with *ni* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇṇav. 827. 832. 834); Ś. *paḍicchāviadi* (Mṛcch. 69,12) from *iṣ* with *prati*; Ś. *pucchāvehi* from *pracch* (Viddhaś. 42, 4); JM. *melavehisi* (Āv. 30,8); Ś. *moāvehi*, *moāvehi* (Śak. 27,11; 24,2), M. *moāvia* (Mṛcch. 41,17) from *muc*; Mg. *lihāvehi* (Mṛcch. 133,1) from *likh*.—*uvasamāvehi* (Hc. 3,149) from *śam*; *tosavia* from *tuṣ*, *sosavia* from *śuṣ* (Hc. 3,150); Ś. *lohāvehi* (Śak. 61,3).—AMg. *vaḍḍhāvehi* (Vivāgas. 170) from

veḍhei (§ 304. 490). — *M. ruḍvei*, *ruḍvia*, *roḍvia* (H.), *Ś. rodāvida* (Mṛcch. 21,1) from *rud.* — From *dā* (to give) is built in JM. a double form *dāvāvei* in the meaning "to cause to give" (Erz.). — *Ś. suṇāvidā* (Mālav. 31,8). — AMg. *chindāvae* (Dasav. 638,30). — *karāvei*, *karāvia*, *kārāvei* (Vr. 7,27; Hc. 3, 149. 152. 153; Ki. 4,44); AMg. *kāravemi* (Uvās. § 13. 14. 15), *kāravaha* (Kappas. § 57. 100); JM. *kārāvei* (Erz. 30,7), *kārāviya* (Erz.). — JM. *gēṇhāvemi* (Āv. 34,19).

§ 553. For *-e*, *-ve-* are found dialectically, particularly in A., not seldom *-a-*, *-va-*, it may be that here we have the formation according to the model of the denominativa or a flexion, which might have arisen from forms originally contracted and regularly shortened before doubled consonants (§ 491). So: *hasāvai* (Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55); *ghaḍāvai* (Hc. 4, 340), *ugghāḍai* (Hc. 4,33) beside *Ś. ghaḍāvehi* (Mṛcch. 95,21); *vippagālāi* = *vipragālayati* (Hc. 4,31); *uddālāi* = *uddālayati* (Hc. 4,125); *pāḍai* = *pālayati* (Hc. 3,153) beside *M. pāḍei* (R. 4,50), *Mg. pāḍemi* (Mṛcch. 162,22); *bhamāvai* (Hc. 3,151) from *bhram*; A. *uttārahi* (Vikr. 69,2) beside *Ś. odāredi* (Uttarar. 165,3), *padāredi* (so to be read; Prab. 15,10); JM. A. *mārai* (Hc. 3,153; Erz. 5,32; Hc. 4,330,3) beside *M. māresi*, *mārehisi* (H.), *mārei* (Mudrār. 34,10), *Ś. māredha* (Mṛcch. 161,16; 165,25), *Mg. mālemi* (Mṛcch. 12,5; 123,3), *mālehi* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 124,2. 17; 165,24), *māledu* (Mṛcch. 125,8), *māledha* (Mṛcch. 165,23; 166,1; 168,8; 171,18); for *Mg. mālantam* (Mṛcch. 123,22) is to be read *mālēntam*; A. *mīrei* (Hc. 4,337); *hāravai* (Hc. 4,31); A. *vāhahi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a) beside *Ā. vāhehi* (Mṛcch. 100,18), *Mg. vāhesi* (Mṛcch. 122,15); *melavai* (Hc. 4,28) from *mil* (§ 486) beside JM. *melavehisi* (§ 528); *nāsavai*, *nāsai* (Hc. 4,31) from *naś*; AMg. *vedanti* (Paṇṇav. 786 ff.), *veyanti* (Jiv. 281 ff.) = *vedayanti*; *nimmavai* = *nirmāpayati* (Hc. 4,19) beside *M. nimmaresi* (G. 297); *ādhavai*, *viḍhavai* from *dhā* (§ 286. 500); *M. thavai* (G. 980), *saṁthavanti* (H. 39); *paṭṭhavai*, *paṭṭhāvai* (Hc. 4,37); A. *paṭṭhavahu*, *saṁthavahu* (Piṅgala 1,10. 85) beside *thāvei*, *thavei* (§ 551); *karāvai* (Hc. 3,149); *viṇṇavai* (Hc. 4,38) beside *Ś. viṇṇavedi* (§ 551); *palāvai* from *lū* with *pra* (Hc. 4,31).

§ 554. From *drś* Hc. 4,32 teaches the causative *dāvai*, *daṁsai*, *dakkhāvai*, *darisai*. Of them *dāvai* is found (also in Sr. fol. 57) in *M. dāvantena* (H.); more often forms with *-e-*: *M. dāvemi* (Ratn. 322,5; *taṁ te dāvemi* according to Dhanika on Daśarūpa 42,6 for *taṁ taṁ dāṁsemi* of the editions), *dāvei*, *dāvēnti*, *dāvae*, *dāveha*, *dāvēnti*, *dāvia* (H. R.), *dāvijjau* (Ratn. 321, 32), *dāvīai* (Karp. 56,7); JM. *dāviya* (Erz.), *dāvia*, *dāvijjasu* (Rṣabhap. 10. 49); *Ś. dāvīda* (Mudrār. 44,1). The word is = Marāṭhī *dāvṇem*¹. The derivation from *dā*² is false. *dāvei*, *dāvai* stand for *darṣayati*, *darṣati* from *drpa* *saṁdīpane* (Dhātupāṭha 34,14) according to § 62. To the same root belong Skt. *darpaṇa* (mirror) and *M. addā*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya* (mirror; § 196, where we should read = **ādāpaka* = **ādarṣapaka*³). *daṁsai* occurs in AMg. *daṁsanti* = *darśayanti* (Sūyag. 222), *M. daṁsantiṁ* = *darśayantiṁ* (G. 1055; without v. l.); more frequently with *-e-*; *M. daṁsintiṁ* (G. 1054); JM. *daṁsei*, *daṁseha* (Erz.; Kk.); *Ś. daṁsemi* (Mṛcch. 74,16; Mālatim. 38,9), *daṁsesi* (Mṛcch. 90,21; Śak. 167,10), *daṁsehi* (Ratn. 321, 20), *daṁsedum* (Mudrār. 81,4); before doubled consonants (§ 490): *daṁsaanti*, *daṁsaamha* (Prab. 42,7; Uttarar. 77,3; 113,2); fut. *daṁsaṁssam* (Śak. 63,9; Ratn. 311,4), *daṁsaṁssasi* (Śak. 90,10), *daṁsaṁssadi* (Mālatim. 74,3; 78,7); *Mg. daṁsaante* (Śak. 114,11). — *darisai* (also Hc. 3,149) occurs in JM. as *darisei* (Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 74 it occurs in the form *darisedi* in Āvanti. In the Mṛcch., that sports in Āvanti, at 70,5 the Sr. fol. 57 *dakkhāvai* is a causative form *dakkhai* and = Marāṭhī *dākhaviṇem*, Gujarāṭi *dākhavavum*³; A. *dākkhāvahi* (Vikr. 66,16) is a causative from *dākkhai*

The South Indian manuscripts of the dramas write *dakkhai*, whilst the Nāgarī MSS., partly the South Indian too, write *dēkkhai*⁴, which Hc. 4, 181 teaches and what is frequent in A. (Hc. s. v. *dēkkhai*, Piṅgala 1,87a), on the other hand, it is false, for Ś. which requires *pekkhadi*⁵. *dakkhai* and *dēkkhai*, which the inscriptions of Aśoka too have, *dakkhai*, what is attested by Singhalese in *dakinawa*, *dēkkhai*, that all the modern Indian languages, including Gypsy, have⁶, both go back to one **dykṣoti*, that occurs in *amūdykṣa*, *īdykṣa*, *etādykṣa*, *kidykṣa*, *tādykṣa*, *sadykṣa*⁷. The derivation from the future⁸ is miscarried to *e*, which goes back to *i*; it is possible to explain⁹ the forms differently, likewise to assume an analogy according to *pekkhai* for *dēkkhai*¹⁰. On AMg. *dehai* see § 66.—From *bhram* the causative are also *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* according to Hc. 3,151; 4,30, for which the synonymous form *tamāḍai* (Hc. 4,30) stands, beside *bhāmei* *bhamāvai*, *bhamāvei*. Gujarātī has the same causative formation¹¹. Hc. 4,161 teaches *bhammaḍai*, *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* also as a substitute for the simplex *bhram*.—On the fut. of the caus. see especially § 528 too, on the passive § 543.

1. GARREZ, JA. 1872, 20, 204.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 26, 741; 28, 424; on H. 315.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4, 32.—4. FISCHER, GGA. 1873, 46 f.; Vikramorvaṣīya p. 616 f.; Die Recensionen der Çākuntalā p. 11 f.—5. FISCHER, De Kālidāse Çākuntalī recensionibus p. 32 f.; KB. 7, 453 ff.; 8, 144 ff.—6. FISCHER, KB. 7, 458; 8, 146; JOHANSSON KZ. 32, 463; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 161; POTT, Zigeuner 2, 304; MIKLOSICH, Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas 7, 43.—7. WEBER, KB. 7, 764 who, however, wrongly sees therein at Bhag. 1, 414, 3; IStr. 3, 150; H. 1 p. 260; KB. 7, 486; IS. 14, 69 ff. "an old reduplication of a hitherto wanting desiderative formation".—8. CHILDERS in MUIR, OST. 2, 23 note 40; KB. 7, 450 f.; Dictionary s. v. *passati*; FISCHER, KB. 7, 459; 8, 147.—9. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, 509 ff.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 463 f.; Shāhbāzgarhi 2, 24.—10. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 162; cf., however, 3, 45 f.—11. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3, 81; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 318 f.

DESIDERATIVE.

§ 555. The desiderative is formed as in Skt.: AMg. *digicchanta* = *jighatsat* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10); *jugucchai*, *juucchai* (Hc. 2,21; 4,4) = *jugupsate*; M. *juucchai*, *juucchasu* (R.); AMg. *dugucchai*, *dugumchai*, *duucchai*, *duumchai* (Hc. 4,4; cf. § 74. 215), *dugumchamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 472. 525), *dugamchamāṇa*, *dugamchanijja* (Uttar. 199.410), *adugucchiya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2); Ś. *jugucchedi*, *jugucchanti* (Mālatim. 90,5; 243,5), *juucchida* (Anarghar. 149, 10; Bālar. 202,13), *adijuucchida* (Mallikām. 218,7. 12), *jugucchāṇi* (Vidhaś. 121,10; so to be read); Mg. *adiyuuścīda* (Mallikām. 143,4. 15; so to be read); *ciicchai* (Hc. 2,21; 4,240) = *cikitsati*; AMg. *tigicchai* (Uttar. 601), *tigicchiya* (Uttar. 458), *vitigicchiya* (Thāṇ. 194), *vitigicchāmi* (Thāṇ. 245), *vitigimchai* (Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150); Ś. *cikicchidavva* (Śak. 123,14). Cf. § 74. 215.—Mg. *pivāśīa* (Venīs. 34,6; cf. § 550); Ś. *bubhukkhida* = *bubhukṣita* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5); *licchai* = *lipsate* (Hc. 2,21); AMg. JM. *sussūsa* (Dasav. 637,30. 32; Erz. 31,13) = *śūśrūṣate*; AMg. *sussūsamāṇa* (Dasav. 636,6. 10; Ovav.); Ś. *sussūsaṁsam* (Mṛcch. 88,11), *sussūsaḍḍum* (Mālav. 29,12), *sussūsidavva* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śūśūśīda* (Mṛcch. 37,11).

INTENSIVE.

§ 556. The intensive is formed as in classical Skt. strengthened vowel in the reduplication show: *cakkammai* for **cākammai* = **cākramyate* (Hc. 4,161).—AMg. *khokhubbhamāṇa* (Paṇḥāv. 169.210; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *kṣubh*.—AMg. *jāgarai* = *jāgati*, *jāgaramāṇi* (Vivāhap. 116), *jāgaranti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1), *jāgaramāṇassa* (Vivāhap. 170), *paḍijāgarējjā* (Dasav. 636,6),

paḍijāgaramāṇi (Uvās.; Kappas.); M. *jagganti* (Dūt. 5,12), *jaggesu* (H. 335), *paḍiaggia* = **pratijagrita* (G.); Ś. *jaggedha* (Mṛcch. 112,3); A. *jaggeva* (Hc. 4,438,3); causative AMg. *jaggāva* (Āyār. 1,8,2,5); M. *jaggāvia* (R. 10,56); AMg. *bhibbhisamāṇa* for **bhebbhisamāṇa*, **bhēbbhisamāṇa* from *bhisai* = *bhāsai* (§ 482; Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481 [*bhijjha*°]. 493 [*mijjhjha*°]. 541 [*mijjhhisamāṇi*]), *bhibbhisamāṇa* (Jiv. 105; cf. v. 1. on Nāyādh. § 122); AMg. *lāloppai* (Sūyag. 414), *lālappamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,6,1). In the reduplication M. *caṅkamanta-* (H.), *caṅkamvā* (R.), *caṅkamia* (Karp. 47, 6), JM. *caṅkamiyavva* (Āv. 23, 12) = *caṅkramyate*; *dhumḍhullai* (Hc. 4,161. 189), *dhamaḍhalla* (Hc. 4,161), *dhamaḍhola* (Hc. 4,189) have a nasal vowel. For *ṣuṇṣuṇṇanto* (Kāvya prakāśa 271,5 = H. 985) we should, according to the best manuscripts or the text and the commentary read with Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 116,7 *dhumḍhullanto*. This reading is proved also by the quotation of the shoppe in other unpublished rhetoricians.

DENOMINATIVE.

557. The denominatives are formed, as in Skt., either by 1) addition of the verbal endings directly to the stem of the noun, 2) or to the stem in *-a* = Skt. *-ya*, before which the final vowel of the noun is lengthened or 3) to the stem of the causative Pkt. *-e-*, *-ve-*, *-va-*. The first type of denominative is more frequent in Pkt. than in Skt.: AMg. *appaṇāmi* = **arpaṇāmi* (Nirayāv. § 23; Nāyādh. 1313; text °*ppa*°), JM. *appaṇai* (Āv. 44,3) from *arpaṇa*; AMg. *paccaṇṇāmi* = **pratyarpaṇāmi* from *pratyarpaṇa* (Nirayāv. § 20), *paccaṇṇai* (Vivāgas. 222; Rāyap. 231; Kappas. § 29; Ovav. § 42. 44. 46 [so to be here read throughout]), *paccaṇṇāmo* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccaṇṇanti* (Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Uvās. § 207; Kappas. § 58. 101; Nāyādh. § 33. 100. p. 610; Nirayāv. § 4. 24), *paccaṇṇiṇṇai* (Paṇṇav. 844; Ovav. § 150), *paccaṇṇiṇṇi* (Ovav. § 40. 41. 43. 45; Nirayāv. § 22; Kappas. § 26), *paccaṇṇiṇṇa* (Vivāgas. 222; Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Kappas. § 57. 100; Nirayāv. § 20. 21. 24; Uvās. § 206), *paccaṇṇiṇṇijai* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccaṇṇiṇṇitā* (Nāyādh. 607. 610. 614); *khamma* = **khammati*, *jamma* = **janmati*, **hamma* = *hanmati* (§ 540); M. *dukkhāmi* (R. 11,127) from *dukkha*, as *suhāmi* (H. 617) from *sukha*²; *dhavala* (Hc. 4,24); *nimmāṇai* (Hc. 4,19; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 54) from *nirmāṇa*; A. *paḍibimbi* (Hc. 4,439,3); A. *paṇāṇahu* = *praṇāṇayata* (Piṅgala 1,105); *paḥuppa* = **prabhutvati* (§ 286); M. *maṇḍanti* (G. 67); *missai* (Hc. 4,28) from *miśra*; *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) from *vikreya*; A. *sukkahi* (Hc. 4,427,1) from *śuśka*. More examples see under § 491 and cf. § 553.

1. LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.* seeks in *paccaṇṇi* the present stem of *praty-arp*. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573, note 2 *igai* is the derivative syllable, by which probably the same is meant as in LEUMANN. That a noun *paccaṇṇina* is not found is naturally no ground against the aforesaid explanation.—2. These and similar forms may be considered as contracted from *dukkhaṇṇi*, *suhāṇṇi* (§ 558).

558. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, the usual formation of the denominative is that with *-a-* = Skt. *-ya-*. The syllables *-āa-* in M. JM. AMg. are not seldom contracted: M. *atthāai*, *atthāanti* = **astāyate*, **astāyante* from *asta* (G. R.); from the frequent *atthamā* (G. R.) = *astamita* have been deduced *atthamā* (R.) and a substantive *atthamaṇa* (H. R.); AMg. *amarājai* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); M. *alasāai*, *alasāanti* (H.); M. *umhāi*, *umhāanta*, *umhāmāṇa* (G.) from *ūsmāya*; Ś. *kuravaḍādi* = *kurabakāyate* (Mṛcch. 73,10); *garuḍai*, *garuḍai* (to become a teacher; to behave like a teacher; Hc. 3,138); Mg. *cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); M. *taṇuāi*, *taṇuāai*, *taṇuāae* = **tanukāyati* (to become thin; H.); M. *dhūmāi* (H.); AMg. *mamāyamāṇa*, *amamāyamāṇa* from *mama* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,5,3); *lohiāi*, *lohiāai* (Hc. 3,138); M. *saṃjhāai*

(G. 632), *Ś. saṁjādi* (Mṛch. 73,12) = *saṁjāyate*; *Ś. sīdalādi* = *śītalāyati* (Mālatim. 121,2); *M. suhādi* (H.), *Ś. suhādi* (Śak. 49,8) = *sukhāyati*. Worthy of being particularly mentioned are the numerous denominativa that express onomatopoeically, a sound a strong physical or mental movement, etc. They are found mostly also in the modern Indian dialects, many in Skt. too, here partly only in the basic form, to which they are traced back¹. The examples *damadamāi*, *damadamāi* (Hc. 3,138) "does *damadama*", used for the sound of a drum, = Marāṭhī *damadamneṁ*², indicate the type. More seldom they are formed as the causativa. So: *Ś. kaḍakaḍānta-* (Mālatim. 129,4). — *Ś. kurukurāsi* (so to be read; cf. v. 1.; Hās. 25,7), *kurukurādi* (Mṛch. 71,16; Ratn. 302,8), *kurukurānta-* (Karp. 14,3; 70,1); *kurukuri* (ardently desired; Deśin. 2,42), according to which *kurukura* in Hc., *Unādigana-sūtra* 17); AMg. *kiḍikiḍiyābhūya* (Vivāgas. 201.242 [text here °*ḍibhū*]). — AMg. *kuukūvamāna* (Vivāgas. 201); JM. *khalakkhalei* (Erz.); AMg. *gumagumāyanta-* (Kappas. § 37), also *gumagumanta-* (Ovav. § 4), *gumagumāyā* (Ovav. § 5); *Ś. ghumaghumādi* (Jivān. 43,3)³; AMg. *gulugulēnta-* (for the trumpet of the elephant; Ovav. § 42), *gulagulēnta-* (Uvās. § 102); AMg. JM. *gulgulāyā* (Panhāv. 161 [°*la*]); Vivāhap. 253; Ovav. § 54 p. 59,7; Erz.); JM. *ghurughuranti* (for the grunting of the wild boar; Erz. 43,10); Mg. *ghulaghulāmāna* (Mṛch. 117,23), from which Skt. *ghurughura* in Hc. l. c. and others; *ṣiṛiṭillai* with dissimilation (Hc. 4,161); *M. tharathare* (H. 187 [so to be read with v. 1.] 858), *tharathareṇti* (H. 165 [so to be read with R]); JM. *tharatharanti* (Āv. 12,25; text °*ha*°); *Ś. tharathare* (Mṛch. 141,17; so to be read with GODABOLE 388,4), *tharatharānta-* (Mālatim. 124,1) = Skt. *tharatharāyate*, Marāṭhī *tharatharneṁ*, Urdū *tharatharānā*⁴, Gujarātī *tharatharvum* "to tremble"; AMg. *dhagadhaganta-* (Nāyādh. 340), explained as *jāḍvāyamāna*, *dhagadhagāyā* (Kappas. § 46); *Ś. dhagadhagāmāna* (Jivān. 89,2); JM. AMg. *dhamadhamēnta-* (Erz.; Uvās.), *Ś. dhamadhamādi* (Nāgān. 18,3); JM. *phuraphuranta-* (Erz. 85,5); *Ś. phuraphurādi* (Mṛch. 17,15); AMg. *maghamagheṇta-* (Ovav. § 2; Nāyādh. § 21 [°*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 28. 111; Jiv. 543; Samav. 210), *maghamaghanta-* (Kappas. [also °*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 60. 190; Jiv. 499; Vivāhap. 941); *M. mahamahā* (Hc. 4,78; H.), JM. *mahamahiya* (Pāyāl. 197) = Marāṭhī *maghamaghneṁ*, Gujarātī *maghamaghvum*⁵; AMg. *masamasāyijai* (Vivāhap. 270.383); AMg. JM. *misimisanta-*, *misimiseṇta-*, *misimisinta-* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 44; Āv. 40,6), usually *misimisimāna* or °*sēmāna* (Vivāgas. 121. 144; Nāyādh. 324. 456. 612. 651. 1172; Vivāhap. 236. 237. 251. 254. 505. 1217 etc.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.) is explained as *deḍipyamāna* and taken into Skt. as *miṣamiṣāyate*; *Ś. silasilādi* (Jivān. 43,3); *M. simisimanta-* (H. 561), *Ś. simisimānta-* (Bālar. 264, 2); *M. surasuranta-* (H. 74) = Marāṭhī *surasurneṁ*⁶; JM. *sulusulēnta-* (Erz. 24,29). — *M. dhukkādhukkā* (H. 584) = Marāṭhī *dhukadhukneṁ*⁷; AMg. *harāharāyā* (Panhāv. 161) have a strengthened vowel. Cf. also *Ś. susuādi* (Mṛch. 44,3) "does *su-su*" and *Ś. sāsāsi*, Mg. *kākāsi* (Mṛch. 80, 14. 15) derived from *sā* and *kā* respectively.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,89 ff.; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1898, 465 ff., who has collected together the Pkt. examples, particularly from H.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,138.—3. JACOBI on Kappas. § 36 p. 105; cf. ZACHARIAE, l.c. p. 466 note 2.—4. STENZLER on Mṛch. 141, 17 p. 309.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,78; cf. JACOBI on Kappas. § 32 p. 104.—6. WEBER on H. 74.—7. WEBER on H. 584.

§ 559. Built according to the pattern of the causativa the denominativa are: AMg. *uccārei* (caus.) *vā pāsavaṇei vā khelei vā siṅghānei vā vantei vā pittei vā* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *uvakkhadei* = **upaskṛtayati* (Nāyādh. 425. 448), °*ḍinti* (Nāyādh. 856), °*ḍeḍja*, °*ḍie* (Āyār. 2,2,2,2), °*ḍeu* (Uvās. § 68),

°deha (Nāyādh. 483), more frequently *uvakkhaḍḍavei* (Vivāgas. 124. 133. 195. 204. 205. 231. 233; Nāyādh. 430. 632. 734. 736. 1423. 1496), °dāvinti, dāvēnti (Kappas. § 104; Nāyādh. § 114), °dāvēttā (Nāyādh. § 114; p. 425. 448. 482; Vivāhap. 228); AMg. *phānei* = *snānayati (Jiv. 610), *phāvēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265); *teavaī* = *tejayayati from *tea-* = *tejah* (Hc. 4,152); JM. *dukkhāvei* (Āv. 42,14. 18), caus. from *dukkhāmi* (§ 557); *duhāvai* = *dvidhāpayati (splits; Hc. 4,124); JM. *dhīrāvia* (Sagara 8,14); AMg. *piṇaddhei* (Nāyādh. 775 [text °ddhai]. 779); Ś. *piṇaddhāvīda* (Śak. 74,1); M. *biṇṇei* (text vi°; H. 685) = *dvigunayati*; M. *bhasanemi* (so to be read; H. 312) from *bhasman* (ashes); AMg. *mailinti* (Paṇhāv. 111), *mailiṇa* (Vivāhap. 387), M. *mailei*, *maileṇti*, *maḷanta*, *maḷijjā* from *maḷa* (black)¹; M. *lahuei* = *laghayati* (G. 1148); M. *saccavai* = *satyāpayati* (Hc. 4,181; Ki. 14 in DELIUS, Radices p. 11; the edition has at 4,66 false *sacchara*), *saccavī* (Pāṇyā. 78; G.H.R.; Śak. 120,7); Ś. *saddāvēmi* = *śabdāpayami* (Mṛcch. 50,24), *saddāvesi* (Śak. 138,2); AMg. *saddāvei* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv. etc.); Ś. *saddāvedi* (Mṛcch. 54,8; 141,16), *saddāvehi* (Mṛcch. 54,5), *saddāvaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *saddāvīdi* (Mṛcch. 150,17); JM. AMg. *saddāvēttā*, °vittā, *saddāvīṇa* (Erz.; Kappas. etc.), causative from *saddei* = *śabdāyati*; AMg. *sikkhāvei* (Nāyādh. 1421 f.), Ś. *sikkhāvehi* (Ratn. 293,17) from *sikkhā*; Ś. *siddāvedi* (Uttarar. 121,7) from *śītala*; Ś. *sukkhāvēnti* (Mṛcch. 71,4), Mg. *śuṣkāvaīṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 133,15) from *śuṣka*; M. *suhāvesi*, °vei, °vēnti (G. H.), Ś. *suhāvedi* (Mallikām. 201,17) from *sukha*.

1. Cf. ZACHARIAE, GN. 1896, 265 ff., who traces *maḷa* back to **myḍila*'. See also § 595 note 5.

VERBAL NOUNS.

a) PARTICIPLES.

§ 560. The present participle of the parasmaipada is formed from the present stem with the ending -*anta*, extended from the strong ending -*ant*, which is inflected according to the *a*-declension (§ 397. 473—514). Dialectically, especially in AMg., we find numerous forms which show the flexion of Skt. (§ 396), in an isolated manner formed also according to the pattern of the nouns having a single stem, (§ 398). In all classes the feminine ends in -*anti*: AMg. *asanti* = *asatyām* (Ovav. § 183), JM. *santi* (Erz. 8,22), but in the meaning "chaste" M. *sai* (H.) = *saī*, "not chaste" *asai* (H.) = *asati*; AMg. *ējjanti* = **eyanti* (cf. § 561; Dasav. 635,10), *vinimujjanti* = *vinimujjantīm* (Jiv. 542), *aṇuhoṇti* = *anubhavanti* (Paṇnav. 137); M. *apāvantī* = *apāpnuvatī* (H. 483); Ś. *huvanīti*, *pekkhamīti*, *gacchamīti* (Lalitav. 555,5; 560,11; 561,14), *paśamsanti* = *paśamsantyaḥ* (Bālar. 289,2), *uddivanti*, *bhaṇanti*, *paḍhaṇti* (Mṛcch. 2,22; 41,20; 44,2) etc. According to Vr. 7,11; Hc. 3,182 the feminine may be formed also from the weak stem of the verbs of the first conjugation: *hasai* = **hasati* = *hasanti*; *vevai* = **vepāti* = *vepamānā*.—Particip. fut. parasmaip. are: AMg. *āgamiṣṣam* (nom. neuter and accus. masc.; Āyār. 1,3,3,3), *bhaviṣṣam* = *bhaviṣyot* (Kappas. § 17), that may be derived also from *bhaviṣya*, as in JM. *bhaviṣṣakakavāṇi* (Erz. 12,25) and Ś. *bhaviṣṣakuffaṇi* (Viddhaś. 51,11; Karp. 13,2). The participle in the parasmaipada has the same ending for the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), the intensive (§ 556) and the denominatives.

§ 561. The participle present ātmanepada, without distinction of conjugation, is built from the present stem (§ 473-514) mostly in -*māṇa* = Skt. *māna* (Vr. 7,10; Hc. 3,181). It is particularly frequent in AMg. in which the particip. pres. parasmaipada has, on the other hand, entirely receded back¹. It often stands in AMg. beside the finite verb in the parasmaipada. So e.g. *aḍamāṇe aḍai* (Vivāhap. 191); *phusaṇe phusaī* (Vivāhap.

354.355); *paccakkhāi paccakkhamāne* (Vivāhap. 607); *haṇamāne haṇāi, saddahāi asaddahamāne, saṁvēḷlamāne saṁvēḷlei* (Vivāhap. 849 f. 1215. 1325); *pehaī, pehamāne* (Paṇṇav. 435); *vigīṇcamāne vigīṇcaī* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3); *pāsamāne pāsai, suṇamāne suṇei, mucchamāne mucchāi* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2.3), *āikkhamānā āikkhaha* (Ovav. § 59). As in Pāli in AMg. JM. too, from *as* (to be) is formed an ātmanepada present participle *samāṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.; Thāṇ. 525.526; Vivāgas. 13.116.239; Paṇḥāv. 67; Vivāhap. 263.271.1275.1388; Paṇṇav. 436; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Sagara 4,9; Āv. 29,16; 35,25 etc.).—*emāṇa*=*pravisaṇ* (Deśin. 1,144) is=*ayamāna*, AMg. *ējjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 81.215.261; Vivāgas. 229; Nāyādh. 487.491.514.575.758.760 etc.; Vivāhap. 1207)=*eyamāna*; cf. *ējjantiṃ* § 560.—To the precative belongs *hojjamāṇa* (§ 466).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,432.

§ 562. The ātmanepada participle has the same ending in the future: AMg. *esamāṇā* (Thāṇ. 178), in the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), intensive (§ 556), the denominatives (§ 557-559). In the passive partly the ending of the parasmaipada is used, particularly in S. Mg., partly that of the ātmanepada, especially in AMg. (§ 535-548).—In place of *-māṇa*, sometimes in AMg. is found *-mīṇa*: *āgamamīṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 1,7,4,1; 1,7,6,2; 1,7,7,1); *samaṇujāṇamīṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3); *ādhāyāmīṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4.5); *anādhāyāmīṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2); *apariggahamīṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,3,1); *amamāyāmīṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,3,2); *āsāemīṇa*=*āsvādayamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,2); *anāsāyāmīṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,4); *nikāmamīṇa* (Sūyag. 405); *bhisamīṇa* (Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481.493 [commentary °mā°; cf. 541 *bhisamāṇi*]), *bhibbhisamīṇa* (§ 556). The form that is found also in the inscriptions of Aśoka¹ is almost restricted to Āyār., and in many cases has the v.l. *-māṇa*. Cf. § 110.—Very seldom is the ending *-āṇa*=Skt. *-āna*: AMg. *buṇṇāyāṇā*=*bruvanto*, *bruvantaś ca* (Sūyag. 334). *vihammāṇa* stands for *vihammamāṇa*=*vighnaṇ* (Uttar. 787), in case one does not like to equate it as = **vihammāṇa* (cf. § 540.550), *vakkamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 46-50) for *vakkamamāṇa*, as e. g. at Kappas. § 74. 76.77 stands; the v.l., however, has there also under § 74. 76 *vakkamāṇa*. For *-āṇa* M. has *-īṇa* in *melīṇa* (H. 702) from *melāi* from *mīl* (§ 486). Cf. Skt. *āsīna*, as also Pkt. has.

1. BÜHLER, ZDMG. 46, 72, whose explanation, however, is incorrect. See § 110.

§ 563. The feminine has the ending *-māṇā* according to Vr. 7,11, but according to Hc. 3,182 *-māṇī*. In AMg. the ending throughout is *-māṇī*: *samāṇī, saṁlavamāṇī, āhāremāṇī, abhisiccāmāṇī, uddhuvvāmāṇīhiṇi* (Kappas.); *bhuṇṇāmāṇī, āsāemāṇī, uvadamsemāṇī*, (Uvās.); *paccapubbavamāṇī, parihāyāmāṇī, uddhuvvāmāṇīhiṇi* (Ovav.); *visaṭṭāmāṇīhiṇi* (Thāṇ. 312); *royāmāṇī* (Vivāgas. 84; Vivāhap. 807); *suṇāmāṇī* (Vivāhap. 116), *dehamāṇī* (Vivāhap. 794.795); *viṇimmuṇāmāṇī* (Vivāhap. 822); *ējjamāṇīo* (Nirayāv. 59); *duruhamāṇī* (Dasav. 620,33); *jāgaramāṇīe* (Vivāhap. 116); *paḍijāgarāmāṇī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamāṇīe, dijjamāṇīhiṇi* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārijjamāṇī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamāṇīe, dijjamāṇīhiṇi* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārijjamāṇī, thukkārijjamāṇī* (Nāyādh. 1175). Likewise in JM.: *samāṇī* (Kk. 260,29; Erz. 36,14; false °ṇā 53,5); *karemmāṇīo, pehamāṇīo* (Āv. 11,14; 17,10); *paḍicchamāṇī, jhāyāmāṇī, paloemāṇī, kuṇāmāṇī, khannamāṇīe, nivaḍamāṇī, ruṇāmāṇī* (Erz. 8,14; 11,19; 17,8; 23,13; 39,7; 43,19), *karemmāṇī* (Dvār. 503,30). From M. WEBER has in H.: *pasūmamāṇāe* (123), *bhaṇṇamāṇā* (145), *jaṇṇamāṇā* (198), *majjāmāṇāe* (246), *veamāṇāe* (312), but *jaṇṇamāṇīe* (389). The recension R has only at 198 °ṇā, otherwise throughout °ṇīe, also at 145, where it reads *bhaṇṇamāṇīe*, the recension of Bhuvanapāla (IS.16,1 ff.), throughout has °ṇī, °ṇīe, as also mostly S and T. ī is not merely a characteristic for R¹ and Bhuvanapāla, that is to say both Jaina recensions. On the basis of the usual agreement of M. with JM. AMg. for M. ī, not ā,

will be correct. In other texts in M. the examples are wanting. In Ś. the femin. always ends in -ā: *ṇivattamāṇā*, *vattamāṇā*, °*ṇāe* (Vikr. 5,11; 35,11,12); *apaḍivajjamāṇā* (Vikr. 52,14); *ahibhūamāṇā*, *āuliamāṇā*, *ahinandīamāṇā* (Śak. 16,10; 17,12; 79,10); *bādhāmāṇā* (Vikr. 28,1); *aṇunīamāṇā* (Mṛch. 23,23. 25); *siccamāṇā* (Mālatīm. 121,2).—P: has *cintayamāṇī* (Hc. 4,310).

1. WEBER, Hāla² p. xxix; cf. on H. 123.

§ 564. The past passive participle, as in Skt., is formed with the suffixes -ta and -na. Deviating from Skt. -ta in certain cases is added directly to the roots, in which in Skt. it comes after the i-stem: *ohaṭṭha* (ridiculed; Deśin. 1,153) = **apahasta* = *apahasita* (§ 155); *khuṭṭa* (torn; Deśin. 2,74; cf. § 568); *laṭṭha* (attracted towards another; lively; friendly; Deśin. 7,26) = **laṣṭa* = *laṣita*. In AMg. the word is *lādha* according to § 66.304 (Āyār. 2,3,1, 8; Sūyag. 401; Uttar. 76.453.454), explained by the commentators as *sādhu*, *sādhvanuṣṭhāne tatpara*, *sadanuṣṭhānatayā pradhāna*, etc. Cf. also Skt. *rādhā* M. *vuttha* (Pāyāl. 225; R. 11,88. 90), *uvuttha* (G. 538), *paṭṭha* (H. R.); JM. *pavuttha* (Āv. 23,7; 25,7), *paṭṭha* (Erz.); M. *paḍiuttha* (R. 4,50), for which, according to C we should read *pariuttha* (Deśin. 6,13) or *parivuttha* (G. 540) from *vas* (to live) = **vasta* with secondary transition of a to u (§ 104. 303). Beside them is found the regular M. *usia* = *uṣita* (G. 484. 933) and from the present stem M. *vasia* (Pāyāl. 225; G. H.), *uvvasia*, *pavasia* (H.), Ś. *uvavasida* (Mṛch. 54,16).—M. *ṇiattha* = **nivasta* (Karp. 46,12) from *vas* (to dress), AMg. *paṇiyattha* = **pranivasta* (Ovav. § 38). JM. *niyatthiya* (Erz. 59,31) is *nivastrita*. Cf. § 337.—JM. *tuṭṭa* = *truṭita* (Erz. 71,28), A. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,356).—AMg. *aṇālatta* = **aṇālāpta* (Uvās. § 58); JM. *samlatta* (Erz.).—A. *tinta* = *timita* (Hc. 4,431,1).—M. *guttha* = **guphta* = *guṭhita* (H. 63; Karp. 69,8; 73,10)¹. *grah* adds, as in the infinitive (§ 574) and the absol. (§ 586), the ending to the -i and not to the -ī stem (Hc. 1,101); M. *gahia* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,6) JM. *gahiya* (Erz.; Āv. 17,11; 18,4; Dvār. 500,20; 501,2; Kk.); AMg. *gahiya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.); JŚ. Ś. *gahida* (Pav. 389,1; Mṛch. 3,23; 15,5; 50,2; 53,10; Śak. 33,14; 40,4; 96,9; Vikr. 19,16; 31,13; 80,15. 20); Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 16,14. 17. 21; 133,7; 157,5) and *gihida* (Mṛch. 112,10). The texts of the dramas very often have *gahida* and *gihida*, the forms, that are correct in verses only, as Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 17,1; 170,15).

1. Differently WEBER on H. 63.

§ 565. Very frequently in all the dialects the past passive participle is formed from the present stem. Examples in order of sequence of the present stem are: *tavia* (Hc. 2,105) beside Ś. *samtappida* (Mṛch. 7,18; 8,16) according to the class 4 and the common *tatta* = *taṭta*; AMg. *tasiya* beside *tattha* = *trasta* (Vivāhap. 1291); Ś. *janida* = *jāta* (Lalitav. 561,3; Mṛch. 28,8); M. *asahia* = *asodha* (G.); AMg. *jaṭṭha* = *iṣṭa* (offered; Uttar. 753); A. *jiṇia* (§ 473); Ś. *aṇubhāvīda* (Karp. 33,6) = *anubhūta*; M. *vāharia* = *vyāhṛta* (Śak. 88,1); M. *osaria* = *avasṛta* (G. H. R.), *samosaria* (G. H.); AMg. JM. *samosariya* = *samavasṛta* (H.; Vivāgas. 151; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 235); Mg. *niṣṭalidaṣṣa* = *niṣṭasya* (Lalitav. 566,15); Ś. *sumarida*, Mg. *sumalida* = *smṛta*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JM. *vissariya*, JŚ. *visarida*, Ś. *visumarida* = *vismṛta* (§ 478); Mg. *gāida* (Mṛch. 117,4); Ś. *niṣṭhāida* (Mṛch. 93,15; Vikr. 52,11); JM. *acchiya* from *ṛ* (Āv. 26,28; Erz. 33,30); M. *icchia* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *icchiya* (Uttar. 702; Vivāhap. 161.946; Ovav. § 54; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 39,6; Kk. 274,26; Erz.); Ś. *icchida* (Vikr. 20,19), AMg. JM. *paḍicchiya* (Ovav. § 54; Vivāhap. 161.946; Āv. 39,6); Ś. *paḍicchida* (Mṛch. 77,25; 161,5; Śak. 79,9; Mālatīm. 140,9; 250,5), both of them belong to *iṣ*, not to *īps* (§ 328); *jigghia* = *ghṛāta* (Deśin. 3,46); Ś.

anucitthida (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15; Mālav. 45,14;70,3; Mud. r. 266,3); M. *pucchia* (H.), JM. *pucchija* (Erz.; Sagar.2,8), *Ś. pucchida* (Mṛcch. 28,21; Mālav. 6,10), beside AMg. *puṭṭha* (Uttar. 31. 113); *Ś. nīṇhuvida* (Śak. 137,6); M. *pacchia*, *paṇaccia* from *nṛt* (H.); AMg. *paḍiyāikkhiya* (Kappas.; Ovav. § 86) beside *paccakkhā*=*pratyākhyāta* (Ovav. § 87); AMg. *buiya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; 1,8,2,1; Uttar. 509)=**bruvita*, *ahābuiya*=**yathābruvita* (Sūyag. 531) from the present stem *bruva-* (§494); *duhia*=*dugdha* (Deśin. 1,7); A. *haṇia*=*hata* (Piṅgala 1,85. 146^a) beside *hatta* (§ 194); *Ś. ācakkhida* (§ 499); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. ādhatta* (Pāiṇal. 240; Hc. 2,138; G. H.; R. s. v. *rabh*; Thāp. 511; Vivāhap. 34,433; Paṇṇav. 540; Rāyap. 78; Erz.; Dvār. 496,13; 498,14. 37; Sagara 4,5; 7,11; T. 6,20; 7,3. 15; Āv. 12,24; 44,2; Mallikāma. 223,12; 252,13); M. *samādhatta* (H.); M. JM. *Ś. viḍhatta* (Hc. 4,258; G.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch.2,23; Anarghar. 275,7;290,2), A. *viḍhattāu* (Hc. 4,422,4) from the stem *dadh-* from *dhā*=**dhatta* for *hita*, in case one does not like to drag it to the causative (§ 286). Cf. § 223. **dhatta* perhaps in AMg. sticks to *nidhatta* (v. l. *nihatta*; Thāp. 496, explained by the commentator with *nikācīta* [sic], *nīscīta*; *jaḍha* (relinquished; Hc. 4,258), AMg. *vijadha* (Uttar. 1045. 1047. 1052. 1055. 1058. 1066. 1071. 1074. 1077. 1095; Jiv. 236 f.), *vippajadha* (Āyār. 1,6,6,6; Nirayāv. § 16; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. 435. 442. 1167. 1444; Vivāhap. 454; Anuog. 50. 596 [text here **ddha*]) from a root *jah* for **jādha*, with a short vowel according to § 67, deduced from the present *jahāi* (§ 500); AMg. also *vippajahiya* (Nāyādh. 1448); AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596); JM. *vitthariya*=*vistrīta* (Erz.); *Ś. vicinīda*=*vicīta* (Mālatīm. 297,5); A. *pāvia* (Hc. 4,387,1); A. *bhañjia* (Piṅgala 1,120^a); AMg. JM. *viuvviya* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 30,18) and *veuvviya* (Āyār. p.127,14; Dvār.507,28) from *viuvvai* (§508); cf. *vikurvita*; M. *jānia* (Hc. 4,7), *jānida* (Mṛcch. 27,21;28. 17. 24;29,14;82,15;148,23;166,9; Mudrār. 184,4; Viddhaś. 29,2), *aṇabhijānida* (Mṛcch. 153,2), *paccabhiñnida* (Uttarar.61,7; 62,7); Mg. *yānida* (Lalitav. 566,8); A. *jāniu* (Hc. 4,377; 423,1; Vikr. 55,1 [so to be read]). M. has *nāa* (R.), JM. *nāya* (Erz.; Kk.), *Ś.* in compounds usual *nāda*=Skt. *jñāta*, as *abbhaṇuṇṇāda* (Śak. 84,11; Vikr. 12,14; 29,13; 39,20; 46,3; 84,2; Mudrār. 46,8), *vinṇāda* (Mṛcch. 37,21; Śak. 73,5; 168,15; Vikr. 29,21;80,4; Mālav. 46,16;47,3), *avinṇāda* (Mālav. 34,7), *paḍiṇṇāda* (Mālav. 13,9;85,2); *Ś. kiṇida*, *vikkiṇida* from *kṛi* (§511).—On *nia*=*nīta* and *composita* see § 81, on *khāa*, *dhāa* § 165, on *āa* § 167, on *chūḍha* and *composita* § 166, on *uvviḍha* § 126, on **vutta*, **vūḍha* and *composita* § 337, on the participle AMg. Mg. in *-ḍa* § 219, on *ūsadha*, *nisadha*, *visadha*, *samosadha* § 67; on causative, desiderative, intensive, denominative § 551-559. The feminine ends in *-ā*, only in A. sometimes also in *-ī*, as *ruddhī*=*ruddhā*, *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭā* (Hc. 4,422,14; 431,1).

§ 566. The suffix *-na* is used not only in the same cases as in Skt., but has undergone a very great extension¹: *khanna* (cavity; Deśin. 2,66), beside AMg. JM. *khatta* (Deśin. 2,66; Vivāgas. 102; Erz.)², AMg. *ukkhatta* (Vivāgas. 214). M. *ukkhāa* (H.), *ukkhāa* (G. R.), *samukkhāa* (H.); cf. Vr. 1,10; Hc. 1,67; JM. *khaya* (Erz.) and *khaniya* (Erz.), *ukkhaya* (Erz.); *Ś. ukkhanīda* (Uttarar. 100,7; so to be read).—M. *Ś. cukka* from **cukna* (Pāiṇal. 191; H. R.; Viddhaś. 63,1) from *cukkaī* (Hc. 4,177), *Ś. cukkadi* (Viddhaś. 93,2), which is common in the new Indian languages³ and stands as *cukk* in Dhātupāṭha too⁴.—M. *chikka* (touched; Pāiṇal. 85; Hc. 2, 138; H. 481 [so to be read with R])=**chikna* from **chik*, a guttural side-form from **chip*, *chivai*⁵.—M. JM. AMg. *ḍakka* (bitten; Hc. 2,2; H. s. v. *daś*; Erz.; Paṇḥāv.65.537; Thāp.431)=**daḥṇa*, also in the sense of “sized

with teeth" Deśin. 4,6). — *diṇṇa*, JM. AMg. also *dinna*, from **didna* with the old reduplication vowel *i*⁶, very frequent in all the dialects (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,46; 2,43; Pāiyāl. 184); M. (G.H.R.); JM. (KI. 11. 15; Āv. 17,20; 27,13; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. (Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovay. etc.); JS. (Kattig. 402.363.364.366); Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 37,8;44,3;51,23; Śak. 59,7;159,12; Vikr. 48,2; Ratn.291,1); Mg. (Mṛcch.113,20;117,7;126,7; Śak.113,8); A. (Vikr. 67,19; Hc. s. v. *dā*). Hc. 1,46 teaches also *datta*, that stands at PG. 7,48 as *dotā* = *dattā*, but elsewhere found only in proper nouns, as *dattajasa* (PG. 6,21), *devadatto* (Hc. 1,46), Ś. *somadatto* (Vikr. 7,2)⁷. — M. *budda*, *ābudda*, *ñibudda* (H. 37; so to be read), *viñibudda* (G. 490) from *brud*, *vruđ*, with the denominatives *buddāi*, *āuddāi*, *ñiuddāi* (Hc.4,101; cf. Vr. 8,68). — Ś. *bhulla* for **bhulna* (Karp. 113,1) from which *bhullai*, occurring in the new Indian languages⁸ (Hc.4,177). — M. *ummilla* (G. H. R.), *ñimilla* (G. R.), *oñimilla* (R.) = **milna* from *mil*. — *mukka* from **mukna* from *muc*, very frequent in the main dialects (Hc. 2,2); M. *mukka*, *ava*⁹, *ā*⁹, *ummukka*, *pa*⁹, *paḍi*⁹, *paṛi*⁹ (G. H. R.); JM. *mukka* (Āv. 23,21; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Kk.), *āmukka* (Āv. 38,12), *pa*⁹, *paṛi*⁹ (Erz.), *vi*⁹ (Erz.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. *mukka* (Uttar. 706. 708; Uvās.; Kappas.), *ummukka* (Paṇṇav. 136; Uttar. 1037), *viñimukka* (Uttar. 755), *viṣṣamukka* (Vivāhap. 186. 263. 455. 1351 [a⁹]; Uttar. 1; Paṇṇav. 134. 483), *vimukka* (Paṇṇav. 134. 136. 137. 848); Ś. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 71,9; 109,19; Vikr. 43,15; 47,2; Prab. 45,11; Bālar. 24,9; 195,9;202,16; 204,19 etc.), *ṭamukka* (Bālar. 246,13; Uttarar. 84,2), *vimukka* (Bālar. 170,14;203,14;210,2; Pras. 35,2; Venṣ. 62,7;63,11.12;65,8;66,9); Mg. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 29,19. 20; 31,23. 25; 32,5; 136,16;168,4; Prab. 50,14; 56,10); Dh. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 31,24;32,1); A. *mukkāhā* (Hc. 4,370,1). Hc. 2,12 mentions also *mutta*, that falsely occurs in Ś. *paṃmutta* (Uttar.20,12). *muktā* (pearl) always becomes *muttā* and *mauktika* always *mōttia*⁹; cf. Ś. *mukka-mōttia* (Bālar. 195,9). — *ragga* (Hc. 2,10) = **ragga* = Skt. *rakta*; thereform *ragga* (dress coloured in saffron; Pāiyāl. 261; Deśin.7,3); found in the text is only *ratta*: M. JM. Ś. (H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,3; 73,12; Śak. 134,13; Mālav. 28,17; 45,11); M. *latta* (Mṛcch. 129,1; Nāgān. 67,6). — M. *rikka* = **rikṇa* from *ric* (Pāiyāl. 218; Deśin. 7,6) = "a little" (H.), *āriikka* (H.), *paṛiikka*, *pavirikka* = *pravirikka* (G. H. R.); M. JM. *virikka* (G.; Āv. 47,21; Erz.), according to Deśin. 6,71 also in the meanings "wide", "exclusive"; *aṇarikka*, *avarikka* (deprived of favourable opportunity; Deśin.1,20); beside it M. *ritta* = *rikta* (Pāiyāl. 218; H.), *āritta* (R. 14,51; v. l. *°rikka*). — M. *runṇa* (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,209; G. H. R.), *oruṇṇa*, *paṇuṇṇa* (R.), but Ś. *rudida* (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Uttarar. 20,12; Caṇḍak. 95,10; Vṛṣabh. 50,5; Dhūrtas. 11,12). — M. JM. AMg. Ś. *lukka* (torn; separated by violence; with extracted hairs; extracted; concealed) = **lukna*, from *luñc*¹⁰ (Hc. 2,2; H. R.; Erz.; Kappas.; Viddhaś. 27,4); *ullukka* (Deśin. 1,92); M. Ś. *ñilukka* (H. R.; Viddhaś. 51,7), JM. *nilukka* (Āv. 23,14) with the denominatives *lukkai*, *ullukkai*, *nilukkai* (Hc. 4,55. 116), JM. *nilukkantehim*, *nilukkanto*, (Āv. 23,17. 19). — M. *lhikka* (concealed; abolished; Hc. 4,258; G.) beside **likka* = **likna* (§ 210), form which the denominatives *lhikkai*, *likkai* (Hc. 4,55). — M. *sikka* = **sikna* from *sic* (Karpas. 14,4) beside the usual *sitta* = *sikta*. — *sakka* = **svaṣṭṭṇa*¹¹ "in *osakka* (gone away; Pāiyāl. 178; Deśin. 1,149) beside M. *paṛisakkia* (H. 608). — AMg. *soḷla* = *sūd*+*na* = *sūḍita*, *soḷlaya* (§ 244). — On *juṇṇa* and *composita* see § 58, on *numaṇṇa* § 118, on *uvēlla* § 107, on *hūṇa* and *composita* § 120. The femin. ends in *-ā*, in A. only sometimes in *-ī*, as *diṇṇī* (Hc. 4,401,3).

1. On further extension of the suffix *-na* in Pkt. rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 8, note 2; JOHANSSON, *Shāhībāzgarhi* 1,185. Elsewhere, as already remarked by

JOHANSSON, all the etymologies of S. GOLDSCHMIDT, that come here into consideration, are false, likewise those of P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, 520 ff. Cf. also FISCHEL, BB. 6, 85 f.—2. Falsely equated as = *khātra* by JACOBI, ERZ. s. v; see § 90. — 3. FISCHEL on Hc. 4, 177. — 4. WEBER on Hāla 465. — 5. Not correct—WEBER, on Hāla 481. — 6. FISCHEL, BB. 15, 126. — 7. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 46. — 8. FISCHEL on Hc. 4, 177. — 9. STENZLER on Mṛch. 29, 20; FISCHEL on Hc. 2, 2. Cf. § 61^a. — 10. False WEBER on Hāla 49. — 11. WEBER on Hāla 608.

§ 567. *i* with *palā* is conjugated, as in Skt., according to the 1. class: M. *palāha* (R. 15, 8; so to be read with C), *palānta-* (G. H.), *palāiava* (R. 14, 12; so to be read with the v.l.), *vivalāi*, *vivalānti*, *vivalānta-*, *vivalāamāna* (G. H. R.); JM. *palāyāi* (Āv. 19, 22; Erz.), *palāyamāna* (Āv. 18, 1; Erz.), *palāyasu* (Erz. 9, 37), *palāium* (Āv. 19, 16); Ś. *palāidukāma* (Mallikām. 225, 11); Mg. *palāsi* (Mṛch. 9, 23; 11, 7; 132, 3), imp. *palā mha* (Caṇḍak. 73, 2), particip. pres. *palānti* (Mṛch. 16, 22), absolutive *paalāia*, fut. *palāiṣṣam* (Mṛch. 120, 13; 171, 15). Contraction too is found according to the analogy of the roots in *-ai* and in *-ā* (§ 479. 487): Mg. *palāmi* (Mṛch. 22, 10), *palāsi* (Mṛch. 11, 21); Dh. *palāsi* (Mṛch. 30, 7); M. *vivalāi* (G. 934). Accordingly beside the usual M. *palāia* (H. R.), Ś. *palāida* (Vikr. 46, 5), Mg. *palāida* (Mṛch. 12, 19) = Skt. *palāyita* is formed, from a contracted stem *palā*, also a present past passive participle M. *palāa* = **palāta*, *vivalāa* = **vipalāta* (R.), JM. *palāya* (Āv. 23, 15; 32, 5; Erz.), to which belongs also *palāa* (thief; Deśin. 6, 8). Cf. § 129. 243. In JM. the participle has also the suffix *-na*: *palāna* (Erz.), for *ā* of which there appears *i* in Dh. in *paṇalīnu* = *praṇalāyita* (Mṛch. 29, 15; 30, 1), as in the pres. participle in *-mīna*, *-īna* (§ 562).

§ 568. Deviating from Skt., in Pkt. the past passive participle from a number of roots, is formed with *-ta*, which in Skt. have only *-na*: M. *khudā* (Hc. 1, 53; G. H. R.), Ś. *khudā* (Mṛch. 162, 7; Anarghar. 157, 9; Uttarak. 11, 10 [so to be read]) = **kṣudita* = Skt. *kṣuṇṇa*¹; M. *ukkhudā* (H. R.); also *khuffa* (broken into pieces; Deśin. 2, 74), beside JM. *khunna*, M. *khunna* (Pāiṇal. 222; H. 445). To other roots belong *khunna* (wrapped round; Deśin. 2, 75) and Ā. *khudā* (run away; Mṛch. 100, 12)². — *chaia* (covered; Hc. 2, 17; Triv. 1, 4, 22) = **chadita*, equated by grammarians as = *sthaḡita*³, beside the usual *chanṇa* = Skt. *channa*. — *viddā* (Hc. 1, 107), JM. *viddāya* (Āv. 17, 32) = **vidrāta* = Skt. *vidrāṇa*. — AMg. *amilāja* (Kappas. § 102) = **amlāta* = Skt. *amlāna*. — M. *lua* (Hc. 4, 258; Deśin. 7, 23; R.) = **lāta* = Skt. *lūna*.

1. FISCHEL, BB. 15, 125 f.—2. STENZLER on Mṛch. 100, 12 p. 288.—3. FISCHEL, BB. 15, 125.

§ 569. A parasmaipada past participle is found in AMg. *puṭṭhavaṇ* = *spṛṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 8), but in the passive sense. Elsewhere only in later day writers and uncritical editions: Ś. *kidavanto* [sic], *sudavandena* [sic], *bhuttavanteṇa*, *uttavanto* (Jivān. 40, 26; 42, 15; 53, 11; 87, 3); *bhapidavanto*, *gaḍidavanto*, *calidavanto* (Cait. 38, 13; 128, 5; 130, 18); *peḷkkhidavanto* [text *peḷsi*], *āadavanto*, *adivāhidavando* [sic], *aṇubhūdavando* [sic] (Mallikām. 155, 18; 209, 1; 222, 12); *sampādāvando* [sic], *pesidavanto* (Adbhutad. 58, 10; 119, 25); Mg. *gaḍidavanto* [sic], *gilianante* (Cait. 150, 5. 6); femin. Ś. *paḍicchidavadi* (Viddhaś. 43, 6); *ṇidavadi* (Mallikām. 259, 3).

§ 570. The particip. necessitatis in *-tava* is not seldom built from the present stem: *haseavva*, *hasiavva* = *hasitavya* (Hc. 3, 157; Ki. 4, 39); AMg. JM. *hojāvva* = *bhavitavya* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *hodavva*, JŚ. Ś. also *bhavidavva*, Mg. also *huvidavva* (§ 475. 476); JM. *acchiyavva* (Dvār. 500, 9; 501, 8); Ś. *avagacchidavva* (Mṛch. 66, 3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *avagacchidavva* (Mṛch. 66, 3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *aṇuciṭṭhidavva* (Mudrār. 50, 4); AMg. *pucchiyavva* = *praṣṭavya* (Sūyag. 986. 989. 992), *pucchejavva* (Kappas.), Ś. *pucchidavva* (Śak. 50, 5; Hāsy. 27, 13); AMg.

vigiñciyavva from *vikrt* (§ 485; Dasav. N. 646,3); *M. rūsiavva* (H.); *AMg. pāsiyavva* from *paś* (Paṇṇav. 667; Kappas.); *Ś. saṁtappidavva* (Mṛcch. 94,3), *ṇaccidavva* (Priyad. 19,11. 12; 26,6; 27,5; Karp. 4,1); *AMg. paritāveṇṇavva* = *paritāpayitavya*, *uddaveṇṇavva* = *uddrāvayitavya* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1), *dameṇṇavva* = *damayitavya* (Uttar. 19); *Ś. sumarāidavva* (Priyad. 14,7); *Ś. āsidavva* (Priyad. 14,3); *JM. soṇṇavva* = *svaptavya* (Āv. 39,16), *Ś. suvidavva* = *suidavva* (Mṛcch. 90,20; Śak. 29,7); *Ś. dādavva* (Cait. 84,6. 13; Jivān. 43,12. 15; Priyad. 10,23), *suṇidavva* (Mudrār. 227,6) beside *sodavva* (Śak. 121,10), *M. soavva* (R. 2,10), *JM. soṇṇavva* (Āv. 33,19) from *śru*; *AMg. bhindiyavva* (Paṇhāv. 363. 537); *AMg. bhuñjiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), beside *bhoṭṭavva* (Hc. 4,212; Ki. 4,78); *AMg. jāñiyavva* (Paṇṇav. 666; Kappas.), *parijāñiyavva* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); *Ś. jāñidavva* (Priyad. 24,16); *Mg. yāñidavva* (Lalitav. 565,7); *JŚ. ṇādavva* (Kattig. 401,352; text °jā°); *JŚ. muṇedavva* (Pav. 380,8; text °jā°); *Ś. geṇṇhidavva* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9), whilst *ghēṭṭavva* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210), *AMg. parighēṭṭavva* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,5,5,5,4; Sūyag. 647 f. 699. 783. 789), *oghēṭṭavva* (Kappas.) belong to *ghṛp (§ 212). According to Hc. 4,211 *vac* forms the particip. nec. *voṭṭavva*, and so it stands in Ś. in Vikr. 23,15. But since in Ś. the infinitive is never *voṭṭum*, but always *vattum* (§ 574) we should read, with the ed. Bomb. 40,9 and the Drāviḍian recension 630,14 ed. PISCHEL = 39,4 ed. PAṆDIT, *vattavva*, as stands also at Mṛcch. 153,15 and JM. *AMg.* have (Erz.; Sūyag. 994. 996; Vivāhap. 139. 204; Kappas.; Ovav.). *voṭṭavva* is to be assigned to M. — From *rud* is built *roṭṭavva* according to Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212. *M. roiaavva* is found in the text (H.). From *kr* are built the forms *M. kāavva* (Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; H. R.), *AMg. JM. kāyavva* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Dasav. 630,11; Erz.), *JŚ. Ś. kādavva* (Pav. 386,11 [text °jā°]; Lalitav. 554,6; Mṛcch. 166,4; 327,1; Vikr. 48,13; Prab. 11,7; Priyad. 11,10). *Mg. kādavva* (Mṛcch. 161,7) = *kartavya* (§ 62). From *muc* Hc. 4,212 teaches *mōṭṭavva* = *mokṭavya*. — In A. the endings are -iēvvaū, -ēvvaū -evā; kariēvvaū = *kartavyam*; mariēvvaū = *martavyam*; saheēvvaū = *soḍhavyam*; soevā = *svaptavyam*; jaggeevā = *jāgartavyam* (Hc. 4,438; cf. Ki. 5,52). -ēvva is to be considered as the basic form, to which goes back -evā, from which the extended formation is -ēvvaū, with the suffix -ka, nom. acc. neut. -kam. -ēvva is = Skt. -eyya, with transition of *ya* into *va* certainly visible elsewhere in A too (§ 254). The participial meaning occurs in Vedic *stuṣēyya*, perhaps also *śapathēyyā*; cf. *didṭkṣeya*. According to Ki. 5,55 -evvaūm is used also in the sense of the infinitive.

571. -aṇiya appears in M. JM. *AMg.* as -aṇijja, in Ś. *Mg.* as -aṇia, corresponding to the formation of the passive (§ 535; cf. 91); *AMg. pūṇiya-ṇijja* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *Ś. D. pūṇia* (Mṛcch. 28,7; 101,13); *AMg. vanda-ṇijja* (Uvās.; Kappas.), *Ś. vandaṇia* (Mṛcch. 66,17); *M. AMg. JM. karaṇijja* (H.; Āyār. 2,3,3,16; 2,4,2,5; Erz.), *Ś. karaṇia* (Vikr. 36,8; Nāgān. 4,15), false *karaṇijja* (Śak. 2,5; Vikr. 43,6), where the v. l. has the correct *karaṇia* *JM. sārakkhaṇijja* (Āv. 28,16. 17) = *saṁrakṣaṇiya*, *Ś. rakkhaṇia* (Śak. 74,8); *AMg. darisaṇijja* (Āyār. 2,4,2,2; Ovav.), *daṁsaṇijja* (Uvās.; Ovav.), *Ś. daṁsaṇia* (Śak. 132,6; Nāgān. 52,11). Yet stands in *AMg.* in Āyār. 2,4,2,2 *darisaṇijjam*, immediately beside *darisaṇie* (sic; ed. Calc. correct °sa°) and in § 4 *darisaṇiyam*, Sūyag. 565 *darisaṇiya* [sic], *JM. daṁsaṇio* (Erz. 60,17), *M. dūsaṇio* (H. 363). On the other hand in Ś. *Mg.* very often the forms in -ijja, as *Mg. palihalaṇijja* (Prab. 29,8), but ed. Bomb. 74,2; ed. P. p. 32 and ed. M. p. 37 rightly *palihalaṇia*, as in Ś. *pariharaṇia* (Śak. 52,15). In Mālav. the manuscripts waver (BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 223). Deviations from the rule, therefore, are simply the errors of manuscripts, as in the case of the passive, and are to be corrected. From the present stem

are built AMg. *vip̄pajahan̄ija* (Nāyādh. § 138) and Ś. *pucchan̄ia* (Mṛcch. 142,6).

§ 572. *-ya* is employed essentially as in Skt.: *kajja*, Mg. *kayya* = *kārya* in all the dialects very frequently; JM. *dullaṅgha* = *durlaṅghya* (Sagara 3,16); *dujjha* = *dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); JS. *neja*, JM. *neja* = *jñeya* (Pav. 381, 20; Erz.); AMg. *pejja* = *peya* (Uvās.; Dasav. 629,1), *kāyapijja* = *kākapeya* (Dasav. 628,41; so to be read), whilst *piḃba* (water; Deśin. 6,46; cf. Introduction p. 7; Triv. 2,1,30) = **piḃya* is derived from the present stem *piḃa-*; AMg. *bhava* = *bhānya* (Kappas. § 17,22); AMg. *āṇappa*, *vinnaṇṇa* = *ājñāpya*, *vtjñāpya* (Sūyag. 253. 256); AMg. *vacca* = *vācya* (Sūyag. 553 ff.); AMg. *vojjha* from **vahya* = *vāhya* (§ 104; Nāyādh. § 65), therefore, from the present stem, as M. AMg. Ś. *gejjha* (Hc. 1,78; Karp. 29,4; 81,4; Jiv. 500; Bālar. 75,19), M. *hatthaggejjha* = *hastagrāhya* (R. 10,43), M. *dugghējjha* (R. 1,3; Sāhityadarpaṇa 332,13 = Kāvyaṇṇakāśa 330,8 [so according to the best manuscripts instead of *duḥkham̄ jam̄* of the edition] and often cited; Sarasvatik. 155,3 [text *°jjam̄*]; Acyutaś. 62 [text *°gga°*]), Ś. *anugejjha* (Mṛcch. 24,21), Mg. *duggejja* (Caṇḍak. 42,8; text *duggejjja*, v. l. *duggea*), A. *duggejjha* (Erz. 76,19) = **grhya* from the present stem *grha-* (§ 512).

b) INFINITIVE.

§ 573. The formation of the inf. in *-tum* is distinguished from that of Skt. inasmuch as that in Pkt. the ending is added to the pure stem or to the present stem in *i*. So to the present stem: JM. *gāiūm* (Erz.), Ś. *gāidūm* = *gātum* (Mūdrār. 43,2); Ś. *gacchidūm* (Śak. 62,11), *anugacchidūm* (Mudrār. 261,2) beside *gamidūm* (Vṛṣabh. 19,11) and *gantūm*, that is usual in all the dialects; JM. *pivūm* (Āv. 42,8) beside *pāūm* (Āv. 42,8; 45,6), as also AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,3,7), M. (H. R.) and Ś. *pādūm* (Śak. 105, 14) have; Ś. *anucijjhidūm* (Mṛcch. 102,19) beside *ihādūm* (Nāgān. 14,9) and JM. *utthiūm* (Āv. 33,14); Mg. *khādūm* (Mṛcch. 123,7) from **khādi* from **khādi* = *khādati*, beside JM. *khāiūm* (Erz.), Ś. *khādidūm* (Vikr. 25,19); JM. *nihaṇiūm* = *nikhātum* from *khan* (Erz. 66,2); *haseūm* (Hc. 3,157) from the *e*-stem beside *hasiūm*; M. *pucchiūm* (Sarasvatik. 14,17), Ś. *pucchidūm* (Mṛcch. 88,20; Mālav. 5,4. 17), Mg. *puṣcidūm* (Caṇḍak. 42,9) = *praṣtum*; M. *paḍimuṇṇiūm* (R. 14,2) beside *mōttūm* = *moktum* (Hc. 4,212); M. *ṇacciūm* (H.); M. *rūseūm* (H.), at the same time according to the *e*-conjugation. On the inf. of *bhū* see § 401. 402. The verbs of the 10. class and the similarly built causatives and denominatives generally add *-tum* to the present stem in *-e*, *-ve*: M. *jāṇaveūm*, *ñivāheūm* = *nivāhayitum*, *pasāveūm* = *prasādayitum*, *laṅgheūm* = *laṅghayitum* (H.); AMg. *vāreūm* = *vārayitum* (Sūyag. 178); *parikaheūm* = *parikathayitum* (Ovav. § 183); *paribhāeūm* = *paribhājayitum* (Nāyādh. § 124); JS. *cāledūm* = *cālayitum* (Kattig. 400,322); Ś. *kāmedūm* = *kāmayitum* (Māla-tīm. 235,3), *kāredūm* (Mudrār. 46,9), *dhāredūm* (Mṛcch. 166,14; 326,12), *daṇṇsedūm* = *darśayitum* (Mudrār. 81,4); Mg. *aṅgikalāvedūm*, *soṣāvedūm*, *soḍhāvedūm*, *poṣṭāvedūm*, *luṇāvedūm* (Mṛcch. 126,10; 140,9). More seldom is the uncontracted form: Ś. *niattāidūm* = *nivartayitum* (Vikr. 46,17), *tāḍāidūm* (Mālav. 44,16), *sabhājaīdūm* (Śak. 98,8), *sussāsaīdūm* (Mālav. 29,12); Mg. *mālaīdūm* (Mṛcch. 164,19). On the other hand, from the *a*-stem (§ 491) are frequently derived: M. *dhāriūm* (H.), Ś. *dhāridūm* (Vikr. 15,3; 40,7); Ś. *māridūm* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 146,8), Mg. *mālidūm* (Mṛcch. 170,2) beside *māledūm* (Mṛcch. 158,24), JM. *māreūm* (Erz. 1,25); M. *vaṇṇiūm* = *varṇayitum*, *veāriūm* = *vitārayitum* (H.); AMg. *saṃvedūm* (Āyār. p. 137,18); JM. *cintūm*, *paḍibohiūm*, *vāhiūm* (Erz.); Ś. *kadhīdūm* (Śak. 101,

9; 144,12), *avatthāvidum* = *avasthāpayitum* (Uttarar. 112,9), *nivedidum* (Śak. 51,3); *Mg. paśtidum* = *prārthayitum* (Lalitav. 566,8).

§ 574. Examples of the 2. conjugation are : *pacecācakkhidum* = **pratyācāṣṭum* (Śak. 104,8); *Ś. avacīṇedum* (Lalitav. 561,8) beside *M. ucceum* (H.); *JM. pāveum* = *prāptum* (Erz.); *Ś. suṇidum* (Vikr. 26,5; Mudrār. 38,2; Venis. 99,6; Anarghar. 61,6; 110,4), beside *M. AMg. JM. soum* (H.; Āyār. p. 136,14; Erz. as absol. § 576); *Ś. bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21) beside *M. AMg. bho'ttum* = *bhoktum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; Nāyādh. § 124; Dasav. N. 649,16); *AMg. ubbhindum* (Dasav. 620,15) beside *bhē'ttum* (Dasav. 634,9); *Ś. jāñidum* (Lalitav. 567,18; Śak. 119,2; Ratn. 309,22) beside *JM. nāum* (Erz.; as absol. § 576), *Ś. viññādum* (Vikr. 24,13); *AMg. giñhium* (Nirayāv. § 20; as absol. § 576), *JM. geñhium* (Erz.), *Ś. geñhidum* (Mr̥ch. 94,12) beside *M. gahium* (H.), whilst *M. ghē'ttum* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210; R.) belongs to **ghṛp* (§ 212); *Ś. aṇubandhidum* (Mālav. 6,18) beside *M. bandheum* (citation under Hc. 1,181).—From *rud* the inf. is *M. ro'ttum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; H.), but *Ś. rodidum* (Śak. 80,8); from *vid* according to Vr. 8,55 *vē'ttum*; from *vac* in *M. JM. AMg. vō'ttum* (Hc. 4,211; H.; Erz.; Dasav. N. 646,21), but in *Ś. vattum* (Śak. 22,2; 50,9; Vikr. 30,2; 47,1); *swap* forms in *M. so'ttum*=*svāptum* (H.), in *JM. soum* (Dvār. 501,7) from **sotum* of *sovaī* (§ 497); *kṛ* has in *M. JM. AMg. kāum*=*kartum* (§ 62; Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 30,10; Dasav. N. 644,28), *M. paḍikūm* (H.); *Ś. kādum* (Lalitav. 561,13; Mr̥ch. 59,25; Śak. 24,12; Vikr. 29,14; Karp. 41,6; Venis. 12,6) and *karidum* (Śak. 144,12); *Mg. kādum* (Mr̥ch. 123,7).

§ 575. Deviating from Skt., from the *i*-stem are formed : *M. JM. marium* = *martum* (H.; Erz.), *Ś. maridum* (Ratn. 316,5; 317,15; Caṇḍak. 93,9); *JM. pariharium* (Erz. 58,24), *Ś. viharidum* (Vikr. 52,6), beside *M. vāhattum* = *vyāhartum* (R. 11,116); *JM. samākariṣium* = *samākraṣṭum* (Dvār. 498,31); *M. ukkhivium* = *utkṣeptum* (H.), *Ś. khividum* (Vikr. 25,16), *nikkhi-vidum* (Mr̥ch. 24,22); *M. JM. dahium* (R.; Erz.), *Ś. dahidum* (Śak. 72,12) = *dagdhum*; *JM. saṁdhium* = *saṁdhātum* from the present **saṁdhai* (§ 500), *Ś. aṇusaṁdhidum* (Mr̥ch. 5,4); *Ś. ramidum* = *rantum*, *ahiramidum* = *abhirantum* (Mr̥ch. 28,4; 75,2).

§ 576. In *AMg.* the form in *-tum* is considerably seldom. In addition to the forms referred to in the foregoing paragraphs may be mentioned: *jivium* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1); *adaṭṭhum*, *agghaum*, *aṇāsāum* (Āyār. p. 136,22,31; p. 137,7); *aṇusāsium* (Sūyag. 59); *dāum* = *dātum* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,5,1,10; Uvās. § 58; Nāyādh. § 124); *aṇuppadāum*=*aṇupradātum* (Uvās. § 58) = *JŚ. dādum* (Kattig. 403,380; text *dāum*); *bhāsium* = *bhāsitum*, *pavium* = *plavitum* (Sūyag. 476. 531. 508). Most of these inf. stand in verses. More frequently the form is used as absolutive : *ujjhium* in the sense of *ujjhito* (Sūyag. 676); *tarium* (Sūyag. 950); *gantum* (Sūyag. 178; Āyār. 2,4,2,11,12; Kappas. S. § 10); *daṭṭhum*=*draṣṭum* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; Sūyag. 150); *niddē'thum* = *nirdeṣṭum* (Dasav. N. 643,38); *laddhum* = *labdhum* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,2,5,3; p. 15,32; Sūyag. 289,550; Uttar. 157. 158. 169. 170; Dasav. 631,26; 636,20); *bhittum* = *bhē'ttum* (Kappas. § 40); *kāum* = *kartum* (Sūyag. 84; Dasav. N. 643,34), *puraokāum* (Nandis. 146; Kappas. S. § 46. 48; Ovav. § 25,126); *āhantum* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); *parighe'ttum* (Paṇhāv. 489. 495), *gaheum* (Sūyag. 296). Prevalently is used the form in this meaning too in verses, but it is not restricted to *AMg.*, but is used frequently in *JM.* too, more seldom in *M.* as absol.¹. Hc. teaches thus *daṭṭhum*, *mo'ttum* (2,146), *ramium* (3,136), *ghē'ttum* (4,210). Examples from *JM.* are: *gantum* (Āv. 7,31; Erz. 5,22;

Kk. II, 508,18); *daṭṭhum* (Āv. 24,4; Kk. III, 510,31. 38); *jiṇiurū* = *jetum* (Āv. 36,42); *kahiurū* = *kathayitum* (Erz. 7,11); *kaḍḍheurū* (Erz. 74,30); *ṭhaviurū* = *sthāpayitum* (Erz. 7,5); *viheurū* = *vidhātum* (Kk. s. v.); *sourū* = *śrotum* (Erz. 2,9; 11,34; 12,5; Kk. s. v.); *kāurū* (Āv. 7,17); *nāurū* = *jñātum* (Erz. 12,11); *gheṭṭum* = **ghṛptum* (Āv. 22,29; 23,7; 31,7). M. has: *palivurū* = *pradīpayitum*; *bhaṇurū*; *bharurū*, *moṭṭum*; *valurū*; *lahurū*; *pāvurū* (H. 33. 298. 307. 334. 360. 364. 484. 490. 516. 595); *jāṇurū* = *jñātum* (R. 14, 48). The form can be derived from the absol. in *-ūna* (§ 586), therefore, *kāurū* can be traced back to *kāūna*, with dropping off of the *a*, as in A. *puttem* = *putreṇa*. The similar change of meaning in A. (§ 579), however, makes it probable that in fact dialectically the inf. has been used as the absolute, as reversely the absol. too is employed as the infinitive (§ 585. 588. 590).

1. WEBER, Bhag. I, 433; H.¹ p. 66.

§ 577. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, there stands the inf. in *-tu* before *kāma* and *manas*: AMg. *akkhiuikāma* = *ākṣeptukāma*, *giṇhiukāma* = *grahitukāma*, *uddāleukāma* = *uddālayitukāma* (Nirayāv. § 19), *jiviukāma* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,3), *vāsiukāma* = *varṣitukāma* (Thāp. 155), *pāukāma* (from *pā* "to drink"; Nāyādh. 1430), *jāṇiukāma*, *pāsiukāma* (Paṇṇav. 666. 667), *sampāviukāma* (Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20; Dasav. 634,39); JM. *paḍibohiukāma* = *pratibodhayitukāma* (Erz. 3,37), *kaḍḍhiukāma* (Dvār. 506,36); Ś. *jividukāma* (Mudrār. 233,3), *vattukāma*, *ālihidukāma* (Śak. 130,11; 133,11), *viṇṇavidukāma* (Mahāv. 103,9), *sikkhidukāma* (Mrcch. 51,24), *paṃajjidukāma* = *pramārṣṭukāma* (Vikr. 38,18), *daṭṭhukāma* (Mālatim. 72,2; 85,3); *tāḍiṃmaṇā* = *tāḍayitumandh* (Karp. 70,7). It is used independently too with the entry of the suffix *-ka*: *ālēddhuam* = **ālegdhukam* = *āleḍhum* (§ 303; Hc. 1,24; 2,164); AMg. *aladdhujam* = **alabdhukam*, in the sense of the absol. (Dasav. 636,19). This last form makes it apparent that the forms in *-ṭṭu*, *-ittu*, used as the absol. too in AMg. JM., are originally infinitive, therefore, do not go back to Skt. *-tvā*, which regularly appears as *-ttā* (§ 582). So AMg.: *kaṭṭu* = *kartu*° in the sense of *kṛtvā* (Hc. 2,146; Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 2,1,3,2. 11,1; 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9. 2,21. 3,15. 16; Sūyag. 288. 358; Bhag.¹; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Dasav. 631,29; 641,37 etc.); *puraokaṭṭu* (Ovav.); *avahaṭṭu* = *apahartu*° (Āyār. 2,6, 2,1; Sūyag. 233; Ovav.; Bhag.); *abhihaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,6,2,2), *āhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; 1,7,2,1. 2. 3; 1,7,7,2; 1,8,2,12; 2,1,1,11; 2,1,2,4; 2,1,5,5. 6,4), *samāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 410), *appāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 582), *nīhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,6,2,2), *uddhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Sūyag. 222. 243), *sāhaṭṭu* = *samhartu*° (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Vivāhap. 237. 254; Vivāgas. 90. 121. 144. 157; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nirayāv. etc.); *adaṭṭu* = *adraṣṭu*° (Kappas. S. § 19; so to be read); *vandittu* (Kappas.); *caṭṭu* = *tyaktu*° (Uttar. 45. 411); *sahēttu* (Dasav. 614,27); *pavisittu* = *praveṣṭu*° (Dasav. 631,5); *āittu* from *ādriyate* (Āyār. 1,4,1,3; commentary = *ādāya*, *grhītvā*); *tarittu* = *taritu*°, **khavittu* = *kṣapayitu*° (Dasav. 636,3.4); *paṃajjittu* = *pramārṣṭu*° (Dasav. 630,20); *viṇaṣṭittu* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2); *uvasaṃkamittu* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 3; 1,7,3,3); *viṇahittu* from *viṇahai* from *kā* (§ 500; Āyār. 1,1,3,2); *suṇittu* = *śrotu*° (Dasav. 642, 16); *durūhittu* (Sūyag. 293); *chindittu*, *bhuñjittu* (Dasav. 640,21; 641,36); *jāṇittu* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 1,2,4,2; 1,4,1,3; 1,5,2,2; 1,6,2,1; Dasav. 630,34). — JM. *gantu* (Kk. II, 506,34); *kaḍḍhittu* (Erz. 10,38); *paṇamittu*, *ṭhavitu* = *sthāpayitu*°, *vandittu* (Kk. 260,11; 268,4; 276,7); *uttarittu* (Kk. 506,25; 511,7); *jāṇittu*, *paṇaḍittu* = *prakaṭayitu*°, *thuṇittu* = *stotu*° (Kk. III, 514,16. 17. 20), *viṇihittu* = *vinidhātu*° (Erz. 72,23), almost exclusively in verses. The duplication of *t*, since in the inf. it goes back to AMg. *-ttae* = *-tave* (§ 478), can hardly be explained from dependence upon the absol. in *-ttā*

= *-tvā*. Earlier the forms, in which reduplication must enter on phonetic grounds, such as *kaṣṭu*, *sāhaṣṭu*, had been of influence or there occurred a shifting of the accent. Cf. § 578.

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433 f.

§ 578. In AMg. the most usual form of the inf. is that in *-itae*, *-ittae*. Infinitive like *pāyae* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2; 2,1,9,1. 2; 2,1,10,7; 2,2,2,2; 2,6,1,10; 2,7,2,4. 5. 6; Nāyādh. § 144; Ovav. § 96) = Vedic *pātave* beside *pivittae* (Ovav. § 80. 98), *bho'ttāe* (Āyār.; Nāyādh. 1. c.; Ovav. § 96; Sūyag. 430) = Vedic **bho'tkave* beside *bhuñjittae* (Ovav. § 86), *vatthae* (Āyār. 2,2, 2,10; Kappas. S. § 62) = Vedic *vāstave* [in AMg., however, from *vas* "to live"] make it certain that one has not to think with WEBER¹ about the Vedic absolutive in *-tvā*, but rather with E. MÜLLER² about the Vedic inf. in *-tave* occurring in Pāli and in the Lepa-dialect, in which the ending enters also into the *i*- and *ī*-stems: *dvītave*, *cdritave*, *srāvītave*, *hāvītave*³. The duplication of *t* points to the accent on the final (§ 194). Consequently one may more correctly base the infinitive on *-tavi*, which in the Veda has a double accent. AMg. *ittae* (Kappas. S. § 27) is hence to be equated as = Vedic *e'tavai*, likewise *pāyave* = *pātavai*; with *gamittae* is compared Vedic *yāmitavai*, with *piñidhattae* (Ovav. § 79) Vedic *dātavai*. This inf. is prevalently formed from the present stem: *ho'ttāe* (Kappas. S. § 53) beside *pāubbhavitae* (Vivāhap.; Nāyādh.) from *bhū*; *viharittae* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.); *sumarittae*, *sarittae* (Āyār. p. 135, 17. 20); *tarittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); *uttarittae* (Nāyādh. 1339; Ovav. § 96; *paricēaittāe* (Uvās. § 95); *gacchittae* (Ovav. § 79), *āgacchittae* (Thāp. 155), *wāgacchittae* (Kappas.), beside *gamittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Bhag.); *ciṭṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513; Kappas.); beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1ff.; Kappas.); *niṣittae* from *sad* with *ni* (Vivāhap. 513); *anulimpittae* (Ovav. § 79); *pucchittae* (Bhag.; Nāyādh.); *pāsittae* (Nāyādh.); *kahāittae* (Āyār. p. 135, 6); *dūjjittae* from *dūtaya*- (Kappas.; Thāp. 365); *pariṭṭhāvitae* (Kappas.); *abhisīcāvitae* (Nirayāv.); *pūraittae* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); *āghavitae* from *ākhyāpaya*- (Nāyādh.); *dhāritae* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 2,5,2,5); *dhāre'ttāe* (Āyār. 2,5,2,3); *esittae* (Āyār. 2,2,3,14. 18); *āsāittae*, *saittae* from *śi* (Vivāhap. 513); *paḍisunē'ttāe* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), *dhūñittae* (Sūyag. 139); *bhañjittae* (Uvās.); *bhindittae* (Vivāhap. 1228); *viuvittae* from *kṛ* with *vi* (Bhag.), beside *karittae*, *karē'ttāe* (Ovav. § 79. 85; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Kappas.); *ginhittae*, *ge°* (Bhag.; Nirayāv.; Ovav. § 86); *jāgarittae* (Kappas.).

1. Bhag. 1,434; *pavāittāe* is a false reading. — 2. Beiträge p. 61. — 3. DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum § 203.

§ 579. In A., according to Hc. 4,441, the inf. has the endings *-ana*, *-anahā*, *-anahī*, *-evā*. Kī. 5,55 teaches *-evi*, *-ēppi*, *-ēppigu*, *-anam*, *-aūm*, *-ēvauūm*. Cf. § 570. 588. The infinitive in *-ana* are clearly infinitively used nouns in *-ana*, from which *-anahā*, according to the form is the genitive plural, and *-anahī* the loc. sing. plur. or the ins. plur. So: *ēcchana* = *eṣṭum* from *iṣ* (to wish; Hc. 4,353); *karaṇa* = *kṛtum* (Hc. 4,441,1); also with the suffix *-ka* in *akkhaṇaū* = *ākhyātum*, properly = *ākhyānakam* (Hc. 4,350,1); *bhuñjanaḥ* and *bhuñjanaḥī* (Hc. 4,441,1); *lahanaṁ* (Kī. 5,55). — *evam* is found in *devam* = *dātum* (Hc. 4,441,1). It is clearly derived from the present stem *de-* = *daya-* (§ 474) with the ending *-vam*, which goes back to *-vana* = Vedic *-vane*, so that *devam* may correspond to Vedic *dāvdne*. Someday when more examples will be available we may become certain about this form. An inf. in *-tu* is *bhajjiu* (Hc. 4,395,5), which is derived from the present stem of *bhañj* in active meaning, as also elsewhere in A. (§ 550), in case *bhanjiu* = *bhañjiu* is not read with one of the Pūṇa manuscripts. The inf. stands in the sense of the absol. (Hc. 4,439),

as reversely many forms of the absol. are used in the sense of the inf. (§ 588). Ki. 5,55 has *lahauṁ* [text *lahatūṁ*].

§ 580. Pkt. has a peculiar infinitive of the passive¹: M. *disiṁ* from *disai* = *dr̥syate* (R. 4,51; 8,30), *ghēppīṁ* from *ghēppai* = **gh̥pyate* (R. 7, 71), *āhammiṁ* from *hammaī* from *han* (§ 540; R. 12,45); J.M. *dijjiṁ* from *dijjai* = *diyate* (Erz. 6,7). Besides there stands AMg. *marijjiṁ* from *mriyate* (Dasav. 624,40) beside the usual *marium*, Ś. *maridūṁ* (§ 575). On A. *bhajiṁ* see § 579.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 28,491 ff.

ABSOLUTE.

§ 581. The distinction, that Skt. makes in the use of the absolutiva in *-tvā*, and *-ya*, is not maintained in Pkt. The suffixes enter likewise into the verbs with and without prefixes. *-tvā* is, however, not used in M., and in Ś. Mg. Dh. it is limited to the two absolutives *kadua* from *kṛ* and *gadua* from *gam*, which according to Vr. 12,10; Ki. 5,74. 75; Mk. fol. 68 must always be used in Ś., with which the texts are in accord¹. So Ś. *kadua* (Mṛcch. 72,6; 74,6. 9; 77,25; 78,9; 95,8; Śak. 20,6; 33,3; 54,2; 77,13; 140,6; Vikr. 15,8; 44,10; 45,20; 52,11. 21; 84,2 etc.); Ś. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 2,17; 51,4; 53,15; 74,24 etc.; Śak. 23,7; Vikr. 16,18; 30,3). Hc. 4,272 and Sr. fol. 61 permit in Ś. *karia* and *karidūṇa*, *gacchia* and *gacchidūṇa* from which also *karia* and *gacchia* are found in bad texts², *karidūṇa*, which will belong to JŚ. (§ 21). It is doubtful whether *gacchia* and *karia* are not emended in composita: *āacchia* (Ratn. 308,30); *āgacchia* (Ven̄s. 35,21); *samāgacchia* (Mudrār. 44,5); *alamkaria* (Mṛcch. 150,13). However, we find also *āadua* (Cait. 128,13; Mallikām. 225,1); *āgadua* (Mallikām. 153,24; 177,21); *niggadua* (Mallikām. 215,5; 226,10; 229,15. 20), all admittedly in later bad texts. The two forms are peculiar to Mg. too. So *kadua* (Mṛcch. 19,6; 81,13; 108,17; 115,2 etc.; Śak. 133,7; Mudrār. 193,8 etc.); Mg. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 40,10 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 43,12; 118,22; 136,21; 164,10; Śak. 116,9 etc.), likewise in Dh. (Mṛcch. 36,22). At Mṛcch. 132,25 stands in Mg. *gacchia*, for which we should in any case read *gācia* with the v. l.; at 127,5 all the MSS. have Mg. *gaḍia*, which is to be equated as = **gatyā*. All the MSS. of Hc. too have cerebralisation in 4,272. 302, according to which *kaḍua*, *gaḍua* would be established. Since, however, Triv. and Sr. teach *kadua* and *gadua* it is a pure case of error of writing. The forms are traced back to **kadduvā*, **gādduvā* with a separation vowel and weakening of the final ā (§ 113. 139). On *kāūṇa*, *āacchiūṇa*, *āgantūṇa* and others see § 584.

1. FISCHER, KB. 6,140. — 2. FISCHER, l. c. — At Mālav. at 67,15 E rightly has *gadua*.

§ 582. The suffix *-tvā*, Pkt. *-ttā*, after nasals *-tā*, forms the most usual absol. in AMg.; in JŚ. too this form is frequent and in JM. not seldom¹. Generally the ending enters into the present stem: all that has been remarked under the infinitive is valid in sporadic cases. So: AMg. *vandittā* (Hc. 2,146; Ovav. § 20; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Bhag. etc.); *vasittā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); *caittā* = **tyajitvā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1; Ovav. § 23; Uttar. 450. 517. 541); *avakkamittā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2); *gantā* = Pāli *gantvā* (Ovav. § 153) beside *āgamēttā* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), *aṇugacchittā* (Kappas.), *uvāgacchittā* (Vivāhap. 236²; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *niggacchittā*, *paḍiniggacchittā* (Nirayāv.); *vantā* = *vāntvā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4; 1,6,5,5; 2,4,2,19; Sūyag. 321); *bhavitā* (Vivāhap. 844; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *jimittā* (Sūyag. 929); *uvanēttā* = **upanitvā* (Sūyag. 896); *pivittā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,1); *uṭṭhittā* (Nirayāv.), *abbhuttḥittā* (Kappas.);

pāsittā (Rāyap. 21; Sūyag. 734; Ovav. § 54, p. 59, 15; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); *nijjhāittā* = **nidhyātvā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 2); *mujiittā* (Vivāhap. 508); *omuyiittā* (Kappas.) from *muc*; *āpucchittā* (Uvās.); *anāpucchittā* (Kappas.) from *pracch*; *lumpittā*, *vilumpittā*³ (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3; 1, 2, 5, 6; cf. Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *anulimpittā* (Jiv. 610); *mantā* = *matvā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 1; 1, 3, 1, 3; Sūyag. 403. 493 [so to be read throughout]); *uttāsāittā* = **uttrāsāyitvā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3); *vicchaddāittā*, *vigovāittā*, *jaṇāittā* (Ovav.); *āmantēttā* (Sūyag. 578); *āphālittā* = **āspālayitvā* (Sūyag. 728); *pagappaeittā* = **prakalpayitvā* (Sūyag. 935); *ṭhavēttā* = *sthāpayitvā* (Āyār. 2, 7, 1, 5; p. 129, 16; Uvās.); *sikkhāvēttā*, *sehāvēttā* = **śikṣāpayitvā*, **śaiṣṣā*⁴; *saddāvittā* = *śabdāpayitvā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *anupālittā*, *nivesittā* (Kappas.); *ahittā* = **adhītvā* = *adhītya* (Sūyag. 463); *vidittā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 1; 1, 2, 6, 2); *saṃṣhūṇittā* from *stu* (Jiv. 612); *hantā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6; Sūyag. 358. 676. 716 ff.; Kappas.); *parihittā* (Sūyag. 239); *paripihēttā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 27), *hittā* (Kappas.), *paḍipihittā* (Sūyag. 728; text *pe*) from *dhā* with *pari*, and *pari*, *prati* + *pi*; *jahittā* (Uttar. 753); *vippajahittā* (Āyār. p. 125, 1; Uttar. 881) from *hā*; *hūṇittā* (Vivāhap. 910) from *hu* (to offer); *pāuṇittā* from *āp* with *pra* (Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 135. 235. 968. 969; Paṇnav. 846; Nāyādh. 1225; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *suṇittā* (Uvās.); *paḍisuṇittā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *avidhūṇittā* (Sūyag. 859); *cheṭṭā*, *bheṭṭā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3; 1, 2, 5, 6; Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *viuvvittā* (Bhag.; Kappas.) beside *karēttā*, *karittā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *jāṇittā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 1. 3, 1. 4, 2; 1, 6, 5, 2; Dasav. 630, 40), *aparijāṇittā* (Thān. 42); *viyāṇittā* (Dasav. N. 653, 14; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *jāṇā*; *kiṇittā* (Sūyag. 609) from *kri*; *abhigīṇhittā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 24), *ogīṇhittā* (Ovav.), *pagīṇhittā* (Nāyādh.) from *grah*. Examples from JM. are: *gantā* (Āv. 42, 7); *caḍittā* (Āv. 29, 1); *karisittā* = *krṣṭvā* (Āv. 28, 2); *laṇhittā* (Erz.); *vandittā* (Kk.; Erz.); *melittā* (Kk.); *uṭṭhēttā* (Āv. 10, 41); *ṇhāittā* (Āv. 38, 2); *ussārittā*, *ulleṭṭā* = *ārdayitvā*, *ṭhavittā*, *bhuñjāvittā*, *māreṭṭā*, *vēdhēṭṭā* (Erz.); *paḍigāhēṭṭā*, *pāēṭṭā* = *pāyayitvā*, *vāhittā* (Āv. 9, 3; 30, 9; 38, 6); *vinnavittā* (Kk.); *nevaccēṭṭā* = **nepathayitvā* (Āv. 26, 27); *āhaṇittā* (Āv. 29, 5); *paccakkhāittā* = **pratyākhyāyitvā* (Erz.); *suṇēṭṭā* (Āv. 7, 33; Erz.); *bhuñjittā* (Erz.); *jāṇittā* (Kk.); *giṇhittā* (Sagara 2, 17; Kk.).—According to Hc. 4, 271 in Ś. the forms in -*ttā* too would be permissible, as *bhoṭṭā* = *bhuktvā*, *hoṭṭā* = *bhūtvā*, *paḍhittā* = *paṭhivā*, *rantā* = *ratvā*. But they are altogether strange to the common Ś. On the other hand they are frequent in JŚ., to which the rule of Hc. may refer (§ 21). So: *cattā* = *tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *ṇamamāsittā* = *namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6); *ālocittā* = **ālocayitvā* (Pav. 386, 11); *nirūṇhittā* = *nirudhya* (Pav. 386, 70); *ṇihaṇittā* = *nihatya* (Kattig. 401, 339); *jāṇittā* = *jāṇtvā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāṇittā* = *viyāṇy* (Pav. 387, 21); *bandhittā* = *baddhvā* (Kattig. 402, 355). On AMg. *dissā*, *dissam*, *dissa* = *drṣṭvā*, *paḍissā* = **pradrṣṭvā* see § 334.

1. The statement of JACOBI (Erz. § 61), that this absol. has rare use in JM., is wrong. Some of the forms in Erz. stand, of course, at the places, that are written in AMg., but yet there remain sufficiently others, as the above list shows, that can be multiplied easily.—2. The manuscripts indicate the absolute very frequently only through *ṛittā* behind the verbum finitum (WEBER, Bhag. 1, 382). So here *uvāgacchanti ṛittā*, which is to be read as *uvāgacchittā*. The editor of Vivāhap. has misunderstood this and he gives the forms as *uvāgacchantittā*, *nigacchantittā*, *bandhantittā*, *edantittā* (236), *sampehittā* (152), *pāsāittā* (156), *durūhēttā* (172), yet *vippajahāmittā* behind *vippajahāmi* (1231. 1242 ff.), *anupāvisāmittā* behind *anupāvisāmi* (1242 ff.) etc. So also *pāuṇantittā* (Sūyag. 771). Such forms are silently emended above.—3. The commentators see in these analogous forms in Āyār. and Sūyag. often nomina agentis in -*ṛ*. In some places one may be in doubt whether they are correct or not, when Phonetics does not present any difficulty.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 4, 271.

§ 583. In addition to the absolutive in *-ttā* AMg. has an absol. in *-ttānam*, which presupposes one Vedic **-tvānam*¹: *bhavittānam* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.), *pāubbhavittānam* (Uvās.); *vasittānam* (Kappas. § 227); *anupariṣṭittānam* = **anuparivartitvānam* (Ovav. § 136; Bhag.), *abhinivaṣṭittānam* (Sūyag. 593 ff.); *duruḥittānam* (Ovav. § 79, II. III); *caittānam* = **tyajitvānam* (Ovav. § 169; Uttar. 12. 217. 294. 539. 576); *pāsittānam* from *paśya-* (Vivāhap. 942. 1322; Nirayāv. § 7; Nāyādh. § 22. 23. 24. 44. 46 ff.; Kappas. § 3. 5. 6. 31. 32. 47. 70. 74 ff. 87. p. 96; Nandis. 169); *ciṣṭittāna*, metrically for *ṇam* (Dasav. 622,28); *āpucchittānam* (Kappas. S. § 48); *phusittānam* from *spṛś* (Ovav. § 131. 140; Bhag.); *sampajjittānam* (Bhag.), *wasampajjittānam* (Kappas. S. § 50; Ovav. § 30; VI; Bhag.; Uvās.); *jhūsittānam* (Thāṇ. 56); *paḍivajjittānam* (Āyār. 2,1,11,11); *āyāmēttānam* (Sūyag. 681); *vidittānam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,2); *sampihittānam* = **sāmpidhitvānam* = *sāmpidhāya* (Samav. 81; text *ṇa*); *sānvaidhūṇittānam* (Ovav. § 23); *karēttānam* (Dasav. 614,27); *oginḥittānam* (Kappas. S. § 9; Uvās.), *paḍinḥittānam*, *saṅginḥittānam* (Nāyādh.) *caittānam* in JM. (Kk. 272,11) stands clearly in a metrical quotation in AMg.

1. The form *pītvānam* referred to by the European grammarians (BENFEY, Vollst. Gr. § 914, VI, 3; WEBER, Bhag. 1,423; WHITNEY¹, § 993c) rests, as already noted by WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. xxiv, note 3, on a printing error in the annotation of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini 7,1,48. The Kāśikā rightly has *pītvānam*. That *nam* is not an appended particle, as meant by WEBER l. c., Hāla¹ p. 66 f., today no more needs to be pressed forward. In the AMg. texts published by JACOBI, and partly in those published by LEUMANN too, therefore, the *nam* printed separately is to be combined with the preceding absol. That has rightly already been perceived by STEVENSON, Kalpa Sūtra p. 143).

§ 584. Instead of *-ttānam* is found according to the grammarians also *-tuānam* from **-tvānam* = **-tvānam* (§ 139) and with loss of the nasal *-tuāna*: *kāuānam* (Hc. 1,27); *haseuānam*, *hasiūānam*, *ghēttuānam* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *kāuāna* (Hc. 1,27; Sr. fol. 59); *souāna*, *bhēttuāna* (Hc. 2,146); *haseuāna*, *hasiūāna*, *voṭtuāna*, *moṭtuāna*, *roṭtuāna*, *bhoṭtuāna*, *daṭṭuāna* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *ghēttuāna* (Hc. 4,210; Sr. fol. 59). Such forms have not yet been found in the texts. On the other hand, the suffix in the forms *-tūnam*, *-ūnam* and particularly in *-tūna*, *-ūna*, JŚ. *-dūna*, P. *-tūna* builds the most usual absol. in M. JM. JŚ. P., that is found in AMg. too, particularly in verses (§ 585. 586). According to Hc. 4,271. 272 *-dūna* would be existing in Ś. too: *bhodūna*, *hodūna*, *paḍhidūna*, *randūna*, *karidūna*, *gacchidūna*. In fact in Ś. and Mg. we find in many dramas the forms in *-tūna*, *-ūna* (seldom in *-dūna*, as would be expected for *-ūna*). So Ś. *āccahiūna*, *peṅkhiūna*, *kāriūna* (Lalitav. 568,1.2. 5), *kāūna* (Vikr. 41,11; 84,8; Mālatim. 236,2 [°u°]; ed. Madras *kādūna*), *āgantūna* (Mālatim. 363,7; text *°attū* ed. Madras *°ndū*), *ghēttūna* (Karp. 7,6; Mallikām. 57,19; 159,9 [text *ghakkūna*]; 177,21; 191,16 [text *ghēkkūna*]; 219,13 [text *ghakkūna*]; 229,8 [text *ghēkkūna*]) and *gheūna* (Mālatim. 149,4; v. l. *ghēttūna*; ed. Madras *ghattūna*), *daṭṭūna* (Cait. 38,7), *dāūna* (Jivān. 18,2) etc.; Mg. *paviṣiūna* (Lalitav. 566,7). In several Indian editions of dramas, as in Cait.; Mallikām.; Kāleyak.; Jivān., such forms are met with at every step. In verses probably they are correct, as in Mg. *ghēttūna* (Mṛcch. 22,8) and certainly in Ā. D. *bhēttūna* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5), D. *hantūna* (Mṛcch. 105,22; so to be read). Elsewhere according to the testimony of the best texts and MSS. they are false in Ś. Mg., as also in Mālatim. 236,2 B rightly has *kadua*. Somadeva and Rājasekhara mix up the dialects with one another (§ 11. 22). JŚ. has the absol. in *-dūna*: *kādūna*, *peḍūna*, *jāidūna*, *gamidūna*, *gahidūna*, *bhūnjāvidūna*, for which the texts mostly falsely have *-ūna* instead of *-dūna* (§ 21). The statement of Hc. on Ś. refers to JŚ. here as well.

§ 585. The ending *-tūṇaṃ*, *-ūṇaṃ* is found pro ex in PG. *kātūṇaṃ* = **kartvāṇaṃ* (6,10. 29) = AMg. JM. *kāūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 645,25; Āv. 9,18; 27,18; 31,14,15; Erz. 72,4; 78,3) beside JM. *viuvvūṇaṃ* (Āv. 31,13); PG. *nātūṇaṃ* = **jñātūṇaṃ* (6,39) = AMg. JM. *nāūṇaṃ* (Ovav. § 23; Erz. 85,12); M. *uccariūṇaṃ* (G. 260), *roṭtūṇaṃ* (H. 869); *gheṭtūṇaṃ* (Vajjalagga 324,25); AMg. *uvaiūṇiūṇaṃ*, *hoūṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 550. 1281); *namūṇaṃ*, *pannaveūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 643,33.35), *bandhiūṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 274. 292); JM. *gantūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,24; 75,31; 76,10; 77,32; 78,9.11; Dvār. 506,16); *bhareūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,13), *hoūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,14), *ṇhaviūṇaṃ*, *dāūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,30), *daṭṭhūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,11; 13,3; 25,17.39; Erz. 79,6.21; 82,18), *paribhamiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 74,34), *jampiūṇaṃ*, *paṇjampiūṇaṃ* = **prajalpitvāṇaṃ* (Erz. 83,2; 79,15; 85,28), *viheūṇaṃ* = **vidhayitvāṇaṃ* = *vidhāya* (Kk. 267,16), *nisuṇiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,18) beside *soūṇaṃ* (Kk. 260,17), *chindīūṇaṃ* (Āv. 37,40), *bhuñjiūṇaṃ* (Dvār. 500,36). The form in *-ūṇaṃ*, which is considered as the older one, stands sometimes immediately beside that in *-ūṇa*, in prose before *ca*, as JM. *bhañiūṇa āpucchiūṇa ... gantūṇaṃ ca* (Dvār. 496,18), *bhañjiūṇaṃ ca...* *ginhiūṇa* (Dvār. 500,29), in verses on metrical grounds, as JM. *nimantiūṇaṃ gantūṇa* (Erz. 80,23), *pe'cchiūṇa kumaro hasiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 82,8). In the sense of the inf. stands *mañiūṇaṃ* = **mraditvāṇaṃ* (Āv. 12,8); the prose order at 11,2 for it has *maddiūṇaṃ* = *marditūṇaṃ*.

§ 586. The most usual form of the absol. in M. JM. is that in *-ūṇa*. It is found in AMg. and JŚ. too, where it is spelt as *-dūṇa* (§ 584). The rules of the infinitive hold good for it. So M. *jeūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; G. 1197; R. 8,74) beside JM. *jiniūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; Erz. 22,16), *nijjiṇiūṇa* (Erz. 82,13); M. JM. *hoūṇa* (G. H.; Erz.; Dvār. 495,30), according to Hc. 4,240 also *houūṇa*; AMg. JM. *caūṇa* = **tyajitvāṇa* (Uttar. 30.277.303.552; Erz.); *haseūṇa* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39) beside M. JM. *hasiūṇa* (Ki. 4,39; H. R.; Sarasvatik. 135,12; Erz.), M. *vihasiūṇa* (G.); M. JM. AMg. *gantūṇa* (G. R.; Erz.; Āv. 19,3; Ovav. § 168. 169); M. AMg. JM. *daṭṭhūṇa* (Hc. 4,213; G. H. R.; Karp. 74,7; Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Āv. 24,11; Dvār. 498,28; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *vajjiūṇa* (Pannav. 104); M. JM. *pāūṇa* from *pā* (to drink; G.; Mudrār. 83,2; Dvār. 496,28); M. *voḍhūṇa* (R.); AMg. JM. *vandiūṇa* (Kappas. Th. 13,9; Sagara 2,8; 11,12; Kk.); AMg. *laddhūṇa* = **labdhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 846. 848); JM. *āpucchiūṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 496,18); M. JM. *moṭtūṇa* = **muktvāṇa* (Hc. 4,212. 237; G. H. R.; Viddhaś. 11,8; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 497,18; 498,38; Sagara 7,13; JM. *mariūṇa* (Sagara 11,7.9); AMg. *viddhūṇa* = **viddhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 928); M. *paḍivajjiūṇa* = **pratipadyitvāṇa* = *pratipadya* (H.); M. *uddeūṇa* (G.); *avahatthiūṇa*, *pajjāliūṇa*, *āphāliūṇa* (H.), *uāūheūṇa* = *upagūhya*, *ṇameūṇa* = *niyamyā* (R.); JM. *sammāṇeūṇa* (Erz.); *ḍhakeūṇa* (Dvār. 499,8), *rañjiūṇa* (Ki. 11); *bhesiūṇa* = **bhesayitvāṇa* (Kk.), *ṭhaviūṇa* (Sagara 1,10; Erz.); *thāiūṇa* = **sthāgayitvāṇa* (Āv. 30,4); M. D. JM. *hantiūṇa* (Hc. 4,244; R.; Mṛcch. 105,22 [so to be read]; Erz.) beside M. *ḍhaniūṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,16), JM. *haniūṇa* (Āv. 17,31); M. *roṭtūṇa* (Bh. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; R.), M. also *rouṇa* (H.), whilst JM. *roviūṇa* (Sagara 7,11) belongs to *ru* (§ 473); *voṭtūṇa* (Bh. 8,55); M. *voṭtūṇa* to *vac* (Hc. 4,211; R.); JM. *piheūṇa* (Sagara 10,17); M. JM. AMg. *dāūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; G.; Kāvyaaprakāśa 343,3; Dvār. 500,19; Erz. 78,1; Paṇhāv. 367); M. *dhuniūṇa* (R. 6,20); JM. *pāviūṇa* (Erz.); M. JM. *soūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; Hc. 3,157; 4,237; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 7,8; 11,12; Āv. 18,20; 31,23) beside *suṇiūṇa* (Hc. 3,157); JM. *cheṭtūṇa* (Erz.) and *chediūṇa* (Kk. II, 507,11); JM. *bhañjiūṇa* and **je* (Erz.); Ā. D. JM. *bheṭtūṇa* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5; Erz.), JM. also *bhindiūṇa* (Sagara 3,1.6.18); AMg. *bhoṭtūṇa* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; Ovav. § 185); JM. also *uvabhuñjiūṇa* (Erz.); VG. *kātūṇa* (101,9), JŚ. *kādūṇa* (§ 21. 584),

M. JM. *kāūna* (Bh. 4,23; 8,17; Hc. 2,146; 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 499,39 etc.), falsely also in Ś. (§ 584), JM. also *viuuiūna* (Dvār. 507,40; Erz.); M. JM. *gahiūna* (G. 282; Vajjalagga 326,9; Erz.; Dvār. 503,1; KI. 17; Kk. II, 505,29) beside JM. *gēñhiūna* (Āv. 43,7; Erz.); M. JM. AMg. *ghēttūna* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 2,146; 4,210; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 5,14; Nāyādh. 960; Pañhāv. 367), which is found in the verse in Mg. too (Mfēch. 22,8) and falsely in Ś. too (§ 584), AMg. *parighēttūna* (Pañhāv. 487) and M. *gheūna* (Bh. 4,23; Sarasvatīk. 180,4 as v. l. to H. 130, but *ghēttūna* 347,9; Priyad. 33,15; falsely in Ś. § 584) belong to **ghr̥p*; M. *nāūna*, JM. *nāūna* (Hc. 4,7; R. 11,21; Dvār. 496,16; Erz.; Kk.) beside M. JM. AMg. *jāñiūna* (H.; Kk.; Āv. 8,23; Pañhāv. 394), JM. *vi jāñiūna* (Erz.); M. *ābandhiūna* (R. 12,60); AMg. *bandhiūna* (Sūyag. 285).—In P. the absol. ends, according to Hc., in -*tūna*; *samappetūna* = **samarpayitvāna* (2,164), *gantūna*, *rantūna*, *hasitūna*, *padhitūna*, *kadhitūna* (4,312), *natthūna*, *natthāna*, *datthūna* from *naś* and *dṛś* (4,313), according to Vr. 10,13; Mk. fol. 87 in -*tūnaṃ* : *dātūnaṃ*, *kātūnaṃ*, *ghēttūnaṃ*, *hasitūnaṃ*, *patitūnaṃ*; Sr. fol. 64,65 permits both the forms : *hasitūnaṃ*, *hasitūna*, *datthūna*, *datthāna*; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 p. 14,11 has *āgantūna*, Amaracandra in Kāvyaḷapalatāvṛtti p. 9 *gantūna*.

§ 587. Beside -*ttā* = -*tvā* is found in AMg. JŚ., very seldom in JM. too, also -*ccā*, beside -*ttānaṃ* in AMg. also -*ccānaṃ*, -*ccāna*. Since Vedic -*tyā* stands just metrically for -*tya*, which is added after compound roots ending in a short vowel and a nasal showing suffix, whilst -*ccā* always has -*ā* in prose, that is seldom shortened in verses, and enters also after every kind of root ending in a consonant, it is not correct to trace -*ccā* back directly to Vedic -*tyā*. There occurs the change of -*tvā* into -**tyā*, of -**tvānaṃ* into -**tyānaṃ*, that is found otherwise too in AMg. (§ 281. 299). So : AMg. *hōccā* = **bhūtyā* = *bhūtvā* (Sūyag. 859); AMg. JŚ. *thiccā* = **sthityā* (Sūyag. 565; Vivāhap. 739. 927; Kattig. 402,355); AMg. *suthiccā* (Sūyag. 938. 941. 950); AMg. *piccā* (Sūyag. 117. 378; Uttar. 515; Kappas. § 112) and *cēccā* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2; 2,15,17; Ovav. § 23 from **tiyakyā* (§ 280) = *tyaktvā*, *pēccā* = *pītvā* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5), *apiccā* = *apītvā* (Sūyag. 994).—AMg. *pēccā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *piccā* (Sūyag. 28) is also = **pretyā* = *pretya*.—AMg. *abhisamēccā* = **abhisametyā* = *abhisametya* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2 [so to be read]; 1,7,6,2,7,1); *vaccā* (Sūyag. 565ff.), probably more correctly *vuccā* (Sūyag. 783) = **vakyā* = *uktvā*; *daccā* from *dā* (Vivāhap. 227); *hiccā* from *hā* (to lose; Sūyag. 330. 345; Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1. 4,1), also *hēccā* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and metrical *hēcca* (Sūyag. 144); *sōccā* from *śru* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,1,1,4. 2,4; 1,5,3,1; 1,6,4,1; 1,7,2,3; 2,4,1,1; Sūyag. 154. 181. 298. 322 etc.; Dasav. 631,18; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), these also in JŚ. (Pav. 386,6) and JM. (Kk.; where also *succā*), also *sōccānaṃ* in AMg. *sōccānaṃ idam* (§ 349; Āyār. 2,16,1); *bhōccā* from *bhuj* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 2,1,4,5. 9,4. 10,3; Sūyag. 194. 202. 203. 226; Vivāhap. 227; Kappas.); *abhōccā* (Sūyag. 994), metrically also *abhōcca* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10); AMg. JŚ. *kiccā* from *ky* (Āyār. 2,3,1,14. 2,9; Sūyag. 26; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,4; Kattig. 402,356 ff. 375 f.); AMg. *naccā*, *naccā* from *jñā* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,3,2,1. 3; 1,6,1,3. 4; 1,7,8,1. 25; 1,8,1,11. 14. 15; 2,1,2,5 ff.; Sūyag. 155. 228. 237; Dasav. 629,5; 631,35; 633,35). The ending -*ccāna* and -*ccānaṃ* occurs in AMg. *hiccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 86), *hēccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 433), *naccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 43); metrically also *hēccāna* (Sūyag. 551), *naccāna* (Sūyag. 188), *sōccāna* (Dasav. 634,41; 637,16), *ciccāna* (Sūyag. 378. 408). In prose *cēccāna* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5) is hardly correct. The ed. Calc. has *cēccā*.—On AMg. *bujjhā* = *buddhvā* see § 299.

§ 588. The Vedic absol. in -*toi* (DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum. § 221)

and *-tvīnam*, as *iṣṭvīnam*, *pītvīnam* (Pāṇini 7,1,48 and Kāśikā thereupon; cf. above § 583 note) have been retained in A. *-tvī* became *-ppi*, after nasals *-pi* (§ 300), which after long vowels, later after short vowels too became *-vi*: *-tvīnam*, corresponding to it, has become *-ppiṇu*, *-piṇu*, *-viṇu* (Hc. 4, 439, 440; Kī. 5,53). The endings are mostly added to the present stem. So: *jīṇēppi* (Hc. 4,442,2) and *jēppi* (Hc. 4,440) from *jī*; *jhāivi* from *dhyai* (Hc. 4,331); *dēppiṇu* = **detvīnam* from *daya-* (Hc. 4,440); *gampi* = **gantvī* = Vedic *gātvi*, *gomēppi*, *gampiṇu*, *gamēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,442; Kī. 5,59); *pekkhevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *pekkhivi* (Hc. 4,430,3; so to be read), *pekkheviṇu* (Hc. 4, 444,4); *dēkkhivi* (Hc. 4,354); *chaddeviṇu* from *chard* (Hc. 4,422,3); *mēllavi* (Hc. 4,353); *mēllēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,341,1) from *mēllai* (gives up; Hc. 4, 491, 430,3); *melavi* from *mil* (Hc. 4,429,1); *cumbivi*, *vichodavi* (Hc. 4,439,3,4); *bhaṇivi* (Hc. 4,383,1; so to be read); *piavi* from **pibatvi* = Vedic *pītvī* (Hc. 4,401,3); *marēppi* (Kī. 5,60); *lāggivi* (Hc. 4,339); *buddavi* (Hc. 4,415); *lāivi* = **lāgayitvi* (Hc. 4,331, 376,2); *levi* (Hc. 4,395,1, 440), *lēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,370,3, 404), *leviṇu* (Hc. 4,441,2) from *lā*; *brōppi*, *brōppiṇu* from *brū* (Hc. 4,391; Kī. 5,58); *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20); *karēppi*, *kyp̄pi* (Kī. 5,59), *karevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *karēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,396,3); *ramevi*, *ramēppi*, *ramēppiṇu* from *ram* (Kī. 5,53); *luṇēppi* (Kī. 5,57); *vuṇēppi*, *vuṇēppiṇu* from *vraj* (§ 488; Hc. 4,392); *gṛṇhēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,394, 438,1), *gēṇhēppi*, *gēṇhēppiṇu* (Kī. 5,62). Forms in *-ūṇa*, as *soṭūṇa*, *hasiūṇa* (Piṅgala 1,61^a, 62^a) are not A., but M., as reversely the forms, as *laṅhevi*, *pe'echavi*, *nisuṇevi*, *vajjevi*, *jālevi*, that are found in JM. (Erz. 78,21; 81,19, 24; 84,5), do not belong to this dialect, but to A. In A. these absolutes are used in the sense of the infinitive too: *samvarevi* (Hc. 4,422,6); *jēppi*, *caeppiṇu* = **tyajitvīnam*, *leviṇu*, *pālevi* (Hc. 4,441,2); *lahevi*, *lahēppi*, *lahēppiṇu* (Kī. 5,55), as on the other hand, the inf. *bhajiṇu* stands in the sense of the absol. (§ 579). On the absolutely used inf. in *-tum*, *-tu* see § 576, 577.

§ 589. The absolutiva in *-ia* = *-ya* are very rare in M., since M. employs the ending *-ūṇa*. In G. R. no example is found. In H. a single example would be *sammīlia* (137); hence we should write *sammīliadāhiṇa-* = *sammīliadakṣiṇakam* and take it as an adverb, parallel to *suiram* and *avianham*, standing beside it. *pādīa* (880) should not, with WEBER, be taken as a "gerundium", but as a past passive participle with the scholiasts, likewise *aṇuṇīa* (129) against WEBER and the scholiasts to be read, therefore, *aṇuṇiāpio*. At Kāvya prakāśa 72,10 = H. 977, instead of *balāmodīa*, with the best manuscripts we should read *balāmodīi* (§ 238), as also Rājānakānanda has in his Kāvya prakāśanidarśana; the second best manuscript of Kāvya pr. reads *balāmodheṇa*. H. 879, where WEBER, earlier (H.¹ Anhang No. 44) read *pekkhiāṇa* with Kāvya pr. 68,5 and Sāhityad. 102,20, now correctly he has *pekkhiūṇa*, as also the best manuscripts of Kāvya pr. have and stands at Sarasvatik. 48,21. In the verse of Dhanika at Daśarūpa 91,9 we should read *niṣṭhāṇaṇhamuddham*, therefore, *niṣṭhāa* = *nirdhyāta*. Of the examples collected by WEBER, H.¹ p. 67, according to him *gahia* (Kāvya pr. 82,9) alone stands the test, for which we should read *lahia* according to the best manuscripts. Besides there comes *vinijjia* = *vinirjitya* (Karp. 8,6) and *vajjia* = *varīya* (Bālar. 157,4), whilst at 10,10 *ō'ttharia*, which the editor translates with *avāṭīya*, is = *avastīta*, whilst *ō'tthariarāhu* stands for *rāhuō'ttharia*, as elsewhere too (§ 603). Nothing can be said with regard to the dialect whence originate *bhamia*, *ramia* in Hc. 2,146 and *gēṇhia* at 4,210. Vr. 4,23; 8,16 does not mention for M. the ending *-ya*. Therefore, here too particularly Rājasekhara has again erred against the dialect.

§ 590. The absol. in *-ya* is rare in the old Āv. -texts in JM. too, on the other hand, it is frequent in later passages in Erz. But here too it

enters again the endings *-āṇa* and *-ttā*, as in AMg. against *-ttā*, *-ttāṇam*. In AMg. a number of absol. in *-ya*, which are formed, as in Skt., directly from the root, are current. Apart from in verses (§ 584) and excluding the absol. *kadua* and *gadua* (§ 581) *-ya* is the only prevalent ending in Ś.Mg.Dh. (Vr. 12,9; cf. § 581), in which it enters almost always into the crude from the present stem in *-i*. In AMg. JM. in verses the ending is often *-yā* (§ 73). In JŚ. too *-ya* is not seldom. Examples for the individual classes are: Ś. *ṇāṇa* = **ṇayiya* = *nīṭā* (Mṛcch. 155,4), but *āṇa* (Mālatim. 236,3; Pras. 41,2), *avaṇa* = *apaniya* (Venīś. 66,21); Ś. *samassaṇa* = **samāśrayiya* = *samāśritya* (Śak. 2,8); Ś. *daṇa* from *daya-* (Mṛcch. 51,12), and *deṇa* from *de-* (Mudrār. 203,7); Ś. Mg. *bhaviya*, JŚ. *bhaviyā* (§ 475); AMg. *vinikkassa* = *vinikkṣya* (Sūyag. 280); Ś. *odaria* = *avatīrya* (Vikr. 23,17), Mg. *odalīa* (Mṛcch. 122, 11); Mg. *anuśalia* = *anusītya-* (Prab. 51,12), *ośalia* = *apasītya* (Mṛcch. 129, 8); Ś. *pariharia* (Mṛcch. 136,8), Mg. *palihalia* (Prab. 28,16; 51,12) = *parihīrya*; JM. *sumariyā* (Erz.), Ś. *sumaria* (Mṛcch. 8,15; Śak. 63,14); JM. *peṇchiyā* (Sagara 4,2, 11; Erz.), *pikkhiyā* (Kk.), Ś. *peṇkhia* (Mṛcch. 41,6. 10,22; 73,2; 78,25; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 15,16), Mg. *peṇskia* (Mṛcch. 96,23), AMg. *pehiyā*, *sāpehiyā*, *samupehiyā* (§ 323); AMg. *uvalabbha* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *labhiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2), but Ś. *lambhiyā* (§ 484. 525. 541; Cait. 125,10; 132,17; 134,9), AMg. *nikkhamma* = *niṣkramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), but Ś. *nikkamia* (Priyad. 34,3); AMg. *viukkamma* = *vyutkramya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2), but Ś. *adikkamia* = *atikkramya* (Ratn. 295,9); AMg. *pakkhippa* = *prakṣipyā* (Sūyag. 280. 282); AMg. *pāsiyā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); metrically (§ 73) also AMg. JM. *pāsiyā* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38,36), and AMg. *passa* (Uttar. 222. 239. 240), *anupassiyā* (Sūyag. 122), *sampassiyā* (Dasav. 642,11); AMg. JM. *pariccajja* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Uttar. 561; Erz.), JM. also *pariccaīya* (Erz.), Ś. *pariccaīa* (Mṛcch. 28,10; Ratn. 298,12) = *parityajya*¹; AMg. *samārabhha* (Samav. 81), JM. *ārabhha* (Erz.), but Ś. *ārambhia* (Śak. 50,2); AMg. *abhikāṇkha* = *abhikāṇkṣya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6 ff.); AMg. *abhirujja* = *abhiruhyā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2), but Ā. D. Ś. *ahiruhia* (Mṛcch. 99,19; 103,15; Vikr. 15,5), Mg. *ahiluhia* (Mṛcch. 99,4; 121,11; 164,3); AMg. *pavissa* = *praviṣya* (Āyār. 1,8,4,9), but Ś. *pavisia* (Mṛcch. 18,10; 27,3; 93,2; Śak. 70,7; 115,6; 125,13; Vikr. 75,4), Mg. *paviṣia* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 29,24; 37,10; 112,11; 125,22; 131,18); JŚ. *āpiccha* (Pav. 386,1), JM. *āpucchiyā* (Dvār. 495,31 between *cintīṇa* and *paṇamīṇam*), *anāpucchiyā* (Āv. 11,23); Ś. *siñcia* (Mṛcch. 41,6); AMg. *nisamma* from *śam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.); *vissamia* from *śram* (Mālatim. 34,1); JM. *paḍivajjiyā* = *pratipadya* (Erz.); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *paḍivascaī* (§ 163. 202; Vivāhap. 29. 35. 99. 111. 127. 128. 136. 272 etc.; Thāp. 185. 186; Āyār. 1,5,5,5; Sūyag. 332. 776; Uttar. 1019. 1044. 1047. 1051 ff.; Nandis. 395 ff.; Jiv. 33. 118 ff.; Āṇuog. 14. 15. 154 ff.; 235 ff.; Dasav. N. 644,17; 649,9 etc.), in verses also *paḍuccā* (Sūyag. 266; Dasav. N. 644,13); Ś. *paṭṭhāvia*, *ṭhāvia* (Mṛcch. 24,2; 59,7); JM. *āroviyā* (Erz.), *samāroviyā* (Dvār. 503,33); Ś. *vajjia* = *varjayitvā* (Śak. 52,11 [so to be read]; Mālatim. 98,6; Ratn. 316,16; Nāgaṇ. 24,4), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,5); Ś. *coria*, *vāvādia* (Mṛcch. 37,14; 40,22); Mg. *pavesia* (Mṛcch. 140,14 [so to be read with Gopābole]; 158,22), *ohālia* = *apahārya* (Mṛcch. 96,24). In the sense of the inf. is used AMg. *anupāliyā* = *anupālyā* (Uttar. 583).

1. Accordingly from *tyaj* the attested absol. are: JŚ. *cattā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittā* (§ 582a), AMg. *caittāṇam* (§ 583), AMg. JM. *caittā* (§ 586), AMg. *cicā*, *ce cā*, *cicāṇa*, *ce cāṇa*. (§ 587); A. *caṇṇi* (§ 588), AMg. JM. *cajja*, JM. *caīya*, Ś. *caīa* (§ 590). Besides the absolutely used inf. AMg. *caittu*.

§ 591. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: AMg. *samēcca* = *saṁetya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15); JM. *thunīya* (Kk. II. 508,26) from *stu*; Ś. *ṇisasia* from *śvas*

with *nis* (Mṛch. 41,22); AMg. *āhacca* = *āhatya* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6. 7,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,6,2,3), but Ś. *āhaṇia* (Ratn. ed. Calc. 1871 p. 46,10); JŚ. *ādāya* (Pav. 386,6), AMg. *samādāya* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3), *paḍisamdhāya* (Sūyag. 720), *paṇihāya* = *pranidhāya* (Uvās. § 192); AMg. *jahāya* (Uttar. 635. 914), *vippajahāya* from *hā* with *vi* and *pra* (Sūyag. 217. 628; Vivāhap. 146); falsely Ś. *nimmāya* (Lalitav. 554,13), for which **nimmāia* would be correct; AMg. *dhunīya* (Sūyag. 111; Dasav. 637,21), *vihūṇiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Sūyag. 54), *vihunīya* (Sūyag. 113), *saṃvidhunīya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5); Ś. *odhunīa* (Adbhutad. 52,12; so to be read), *avadhunīa* (Mālatim. 351,6; Venis. 61,5 [so to be read]; 63,9); JM. *suṇīya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *suṇia* (Mṛch. 148,10; Śak. 62,11; 70,11; Vikr. 26,1; Ratn. 302,7; Priyad. 29,17), Mg. *suṇia* (Mṛch. 37,10; 38,20). Dh. *paḍissudia* = *pratiśrutya* (Mṛch. 35,5) must in any case be spelt as *paḍisudia* (cf. v. l.); it is wanting in most of the MSS. in GODABOLE too. AMg. JŚ. *pāpā* = *prāpya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Thān. 188; Uttar. 1017. 1019; Paṇnav. 523. 540. 541. 665. 667. 712. 781; Dasav. N. 649,5. 8. 11 [°ā]; 653,1; Pav. 384,49), but JŚ. also *pāviya* (Kattig. 402,369), as Ś. *samāvia* (Ratn. 323,2); Ś. *bhaṇīya* (Mṛch. 40,22; 97,23; Śak. 31,13; Cait. 134,12); AMg. *chindīyo* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *chindīyachindīyā*, *bhindiyaḥbhindiyaḥ* (Vivāhap. 1192); Ś. *paricchindīa* (Vikr. 47,1); AMg. *palicchindīya* (§ 257); Ś. *bhīndia* (Vikr. 16,1) and *bhedīa* (Mṛch. 97,24; cf. § 586), Mg. *bhīndia* (Mṛch. 112,17); AMg. *bhuṇīya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2; Sūyag. 108), Ś. *bhuṇīa* (Cait. 126,10; 129,10); AMg. *abhijūṇīya* (Sūyag. 293 [°ya]; Thān. 111. 112. 194; Vivāhap. 178); JM. *niuṇīya* (Erz.); AMg. *parinnāya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6 ff.; 1,2,6,2.5; Sūyag. 214) [°ṇā], and *parijāṇīyā* (Sūyag. 380. 381), *jāṇīya* (Dasav. 641,24), *viḷḷāṇīyā* (Dasav. 631,35; 637,5; 642,12); Ś. *jāṇia* (Ratn. 314,25; Priyad. 15,15; Vṛṣabh. 46,7), *aāṇia* (Śak. 50,13; Mudrār. 226,7 v. l.), Mg. *yāṇia* (Mṛch. 36,12); Ś. *bandhia* (Mṛch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read with P. M.]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Candak. 92,11; Nāgān. 34,15), Mg. *bandhia* (Mṛch. 163,16); JM. *geṇīya* (Dvār. 507,4), Ś. *geṇīa* (Mṛch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2 [Ā.]; 107,10; Śak. 136,15; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20; Mālatim. 72,7; Ratn. 303,20), Mg. *geṇīa* (Mṛch. 12,14; 20,3. 10; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Śak. 116,2; Candak. 64,8), JŚ. JM. *gahīya* (Kattig. 403,373; Erz.), but in AMg. JM. mostly *gahāya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5; 2,3,1,16. 17. 2. 2. 3. 16; 2,10,22; Sūyag. 136. 491. 783. 1017; Vivāhap. 229. 825. 826; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,10; 35,12; 37,31; 46,2; Erz.) = Skt. *grahāya* (BÖHTLINGK s. v.), a retroversion into Skt., since *gahāya* is an absol. from a denominative **gahāi*, **gahāi* (§ 558) = **grahāyati*; in compounds also AMg. *abhinigijjha* = *abhinigrhya* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), *parigijjha* = *parigrhya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3. 5) and the double forms AMg. *avagijjhiya*, *nigijjhiya* (Kappas.), *pagijjhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,3,1,15; 2,3,3,1—3; Ovav.).

§ 592. Corresponding to the absol. in *-ttāṇam*, *-ttāṇa* beside *-ttā* and *-ccāṇam*, *-ccāṇa* beside *-ccā* AMg. has an absol. in *-yāṇam*, *-yāṇa* too, beside that in *-ya*, metrically *-yā¹*: *āvilīyāṇa*, *paripilīyāṇa*, *parissāvīyāṇa* from *piḍ* and *sru* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *ussinīyāṇam* from *sic* with *ud* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *saṃsiṇīyāṇam* from *sic* with *saṃ²* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *samupehīyāṇam* metrically for *°ppe^o* from *ikṣ* with *saṃutpra* as *samupehīyā* (§ 323. 590; Erz. 38,36 in a citation from Āvaśyakaniryukti 17,41)³; *lahīyāṇa* = *labdhvā* (Uttar. 627); *ārusīyāṇam* = *āruśya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *takkīyāṇam* = *tarkayitvā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); *parivajjīyāṇa* = *parivarīya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12. 18); *oattīyāṇam* = *apavartya* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *palicchindīyāṇam* = *paricchīdya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1); *palibhīndīyāṇam* = *paribhīdya* (Sūyag. 243); *abhijūṇīyāṇam* = *abhiyujya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *akīyāṇam* = *akṛtvā* (Ovav. § 142).

1. There are insurmountable phonetic difficulties against the derivation of *-yāṇam* from

-*ttāṇam*. JACOBI, in his edition of the *Āyār*, throughout, separates *nam* here too wrongly, as is proved by the form in *-yāṇa*.—2. So to be read with B, which is pointed to by the explanation as *samīciya* of the scholiasts. Cf. *samīccamāṇā* 1.3,2,1.—3. JACOBI, *Erz.* p. 158.

§ 593. In AMg. a number of forms are found in *-āe*, that are used absolutely: *āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1 2; 2,1,3,6 ff.; 2,1,9,2; Vivāhap. 136; Nirayāv. § 17. 19) = *ādāya*; *samāyāe* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5); *nīsāe* (Bhag.; Kappas.), *nissāe* (Bhag.) = Pāli *nissāya* = Skt. **nīśrāya* from *śri* (cf. *gahāya* § 591); *samkhāe* = *samkhyāya* beside *utthāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1); *samutthāe* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1.6,1); *pehāe* from *ikṣ* with *pra* (§ 323); *ānupehāe* (§ 323); *uvehāe* (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), *sampehāe* (§ 323)¹. Since these forms are connected with the accusative, as in *egam appāṇam sampehāe* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2), *āuraṁ logam āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1), it cannot be doubted that they have a verbal meaning. In very many cases, however, they certainly are nominal forms, as in the frequent *utthāe*, *utthēi*, *utthāe utthittā* (Uvās. § 193; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 58.60; Vivāhap. 161. 1246), *utthāe utthēnti* (Ovav. § 61). The scholiasts see in *utthāe* an ins. sing. of a fem. **utthā*², what and what only the form can be according to meaning and order of words³. Likewise e. g. in *anāṇāe puṭthā* = *anājñāyā* (in the sense of *anājñānena*) *sprstāh* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), and in cases like *aṭṭam ejaṁ tu pehāe aparinnāe kanda* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), it can hardly be doubted that *aparinnāe* is = *aparijñāyā*, and not *aparijñāya*, as the scholiasts will⁴, whilst *pehāe*, standing beside it, undoubtedly stands in the sense of the absol., but according to the form is = *prekṣayā*. Consequently I believe that all these forms are originally in the instr. to the fem. in *-ā*, that would be used also as verbal forms. In support of this speak the cases like *annamannavitigimchāe paḍilehāe* too (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), where the compositum *annam*⁵ points to the nominal nature of *vitigimchāe*, whilst a verbal meaning to *paḍilehāe*, that stands by it, can be deduced from examples like *nigganthā paḍilehāe buddhavuttam ahiṭthagā* (Dasav. 626,23), although it is elsewhere certainly substantival (e. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,2; 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), whilst sometimes (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,5,6,2) one may be in doubt. In the literal sense "to cleanse", "to wipe off" the absolute is *paḍilehittā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,2 ff.) or *paḍilehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,7; 2,1,1,2 [*-ya*]); but *paḍilehittā* also in the transferred sense "to discuss", "to consider" (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,7,8,20). *pehāe*, *sampehāe* are hardly to be explained otherwise. Forms like *āyāe*, *nīsāe* may be built according to such a pattern. In no case can *-e* be equated as = *-ya*⁶. AMg. *ānuvī* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7; 1,4,3,1; 1,6,5,3; 2,2,3,3; 2,4,1,3. 2,19; 2,7,1,2. 2,1. 8; p. 133,8,10; 134,5 ff.; Sūyag. 474. 531; Dasav. 629,15; 630,1; Dasav. N. 661,3 [*ānuvī*]), with privative *a* *ānuvī* (Āyār. p. 133,9. 10; 134,6 ff.) is explained as *anucintya*, *anuvicintya*, *vicārya* by the scholiasts. The frequent vv. ll. *ānuvīyī*, *ānuvīyī*, *ānuvīti*, *ānuvītiyā* show that in this case we have nothing to do with an absol. *ānuvī* is an adverb = **ānuvīti* "deeply" "attentively" and belongs to Vedic *vīti*⁶.

1. JACOBI writes sometimes *sampehāe*, sometimes *sapehāe*, sometimes *sa pehāe*, even in the same paragraphs, as 1,4,3,2, where stands in line 10 *sampehāe*, in line 14 *sa pehāe*. The manuscripts are not consistent: cf. pro ex. 1,2,2,4. Throughout it is to be read *sampehāe*, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably *sāpehāe*.—2. WEBER, Bhag. 1,435, note.—3. HOERNLE on Uvās. Transl. note 286 likes to see in it the dat. sing. of a masc. *uttha*.—4. The ed. Calc. reads *aparinnāya*, but the scholiasts, as JACOBI, *aparinnāe*.—5. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 63 have. — 6. Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 1,295 ff.; GELDNER, 2,156 ff. *vīti*, requires a new research.

§ 504. In A. *-ya* becomes *-i* (Hc. 4,439), that has originated from Pkt. *-ia*, through the dropping off of *a*: *daī* = Ś. *daīa* from *daya-* (Piṅgala 1,5^a [cf. BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 530]. 38. 39. 86^a. 122), also contracted (§ 166) *de*

(Piṅgala 1,33); *parihari*, *pasari* (P. 1,120^a. 143^a); *gai* from *gā* (to go; P. 2, 64); *bhaī* = **bhavi* = Ś. Mg. *bhavia* from *bhū* (P. 2,243); *cali* (P. 2,88); *vali* (IS. 15,394; Prābandhac. 159,1); *koṣṣpi* = **kupya* (P. 1,123^a) from the present stem; *māri* = **mārya* = *mārayitvā* (Hc. 4,439,1); *saṁcāri*, *vicāri* (P. 1,43. 107); *lāi* from *lā* (to take; P. 1,37. 86^a. 107. 121); *kari* (Hc. 4, 357,4; P. 1,81. 82. 86); *jāpi* from *jñā* (P. 1,119). Beside *ṭhavi* (P. 1,102. 107) = Ś. *ṭhavia* = **sthāpya* is found *ṭhappi* (P. 1,123^a, 137^a), that may be considered as a case of double formation. The reduplication may be purely metrical too, as probably this is the case in *jiṇṇi* = **jiṇia* from *ji* (§ 473) and *suṇṇi* = Ś. *suṇia* from *śru* (P. 2, 112. 242). Whether forms in *-ia* as well are regulated, as *kaḍḍhia laia* (P. 1,107. 121), *ṇisunṇia*, *suṇia* (Sarasvatik. 140,1; 216,9) may be ascertained only by leading critical texts. *mutti* (P. 1,116^a) presupposes one **muktya*, hence a hybrid formation from *muktā* and **mucya*.

IV. ON WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUND

§ 595. Besides the suffixes of Skt. Pkt. possesses a number of suffixes, particularly the taddhita suffixes, that are wanting in Skt. Others, that in Skt. are little employed, are frequently employed in Pkt. To it particularly belong the *-ia* suffixes. The grammarians (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 and p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Kī. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36) teach that *-āla*, *-ālu*, *-illa*, *-ulla* stand in the sense of *-mat* and *-vat*. So M. *sihāla* = *śikhāvat* (G.); AMg. *saddāla* = *śabdavat* (Bh. 4,25; Hc. 2,159; Ovav.); *dhaṇāla* = *dhanavat* (Bh. 4,25); *jaḍāla* = *jaṭavat* (C.; Hc.), *jōṇhāla* = *jyotsnāvat* (Hc.), *phaḍāla* = **phaṭavat* (C.; Hc.), *rasāla* = *rasavat* (Hc.); *ṇiddāla* = **nidrāvat* (Kī.); *saddhāla* = *śraddhāvat* (C.); *harisāla* = *harṣavat* (Mk.). — Without alteration of meaning *āla* + *ka* occurs in AMg. *mahālaṇṇa* = *mahat* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Uvās.; Ovav.; Bhag.), femin. *mahāliṇṇā* (Uvās.; Ovav.); *emahālaṇṇa*, femin. *emahāliṇṇā* (§ 149), femin. *kemahāliṇṇā* (§ 149; also Jiv. 216. 220 ff.); AMg. JM. *mahāimahālaṇṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11. 3,13; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *mahāimahāliṇṇā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.). The form is an intensive formation. To see a double femininum in it (LEUMANN, Aup. S.), as already remarked by LEUMANN himself, is not possible, since the used is used as masc. and neuter. *-mīsāla* (Hc. 2,170) is past passive participle of a denominative from **mīsāla* = *mīśra*. — *ālu*, which Skt. too has (WHITNEY¹ § 1192. 1227), occurs in *ṇiddālu* = *nidrālu* (Bh.; Kī.); *iśālu* = *irgyālu* (Hc.; Mk.); *ṇehālu* = *snehala* (C.; Hc.); *daālu* = *dayālu* (Hc.); with *kaḥ svārthe* in M. *lajjāluā* (Hc.; H.), *saṅkāluā* (G.), *saddhāluā* (H.). — Dialectically throughout frequent is *-illa*, that stands for *-ilā* (§ 194). So *viārilla* (Bh.), *sohilla* (C.; Hc.), *dhaṇailla* (Kī.), *guṇilla* (Mk.), *chāilla*, *jamailla* (Hc.); *phaḍilla* (C.); M. *kīḍailla*, *kesarilli*, *tulilla*, *thalāilla*, *ṇeurilla* (G.), *māṇailla*, *rāilla*, *lohilla*, *sohilla*, *harilli* (H.); M. AMg. *taṇailla* (grassy; G.; Jiv. 355); AMg. *kaṇṭailla* (Panhāv. 61; Dasav. N. 660,14), metri causa also *kaṇṭailla* (Sūyag. 293), *tūṇailla* (Aṇuog. 118; Panhāv. 465. 513. 522; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niyaḍilla* = *nikṣimat* (Uttar. 990), *māilla* = *māyāvin* (Sūyag. 233; Thāp. 582), *amāilla* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16), also in the substantives *niyaḍillaṇṇā*, *māillaṇṇā* occurring with the suffix *-lā* (Thāp. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.; cf. § 219), *arisilla* = *arśasa*, *kasilla* = *kāsavat*, *sāsilla* = *śvāsin* (Vivāhap. 177), *gaṇṭhilla* = *granthila* (Vivāhap. 1308), *bhāsilla* = *bhāsin* (Uttar. 791), *bhāillaga* = *bhāgin* (Thāp. 120); JM. *kalāṅkilla* = *kalāṅkin* (Kk.), *saṭṭhillaṇṇa* from *sārtha* (Erz.), *gōṭṭhillaṇṇa* = *gauṣṭhika* (Āv. 26,37). Rājasekhara and later day writers use *-illa* not in M. only, as in *muttāhalilla*

(Karp. 2,5; 100,5), *thorattapilla*, *kandatilla* (Karp. 81,4; 88,3), particularly against the dialect in Ś. too, as *kodūhalilla* (Bālar. 168,3); *lacchiilla*, *kivāilla* (Kāleṃyak. 2,8; 9,7); *tattilla* (Mallikām. 77,12), as in M. (Hc. 2, 203; H.) and D. (Mrcch. 101,21). As in *tattilla* (Deśin. 5,3), *-illa* occurs also in other provincialisms like *kaṇailla* (parrot; Pāiyāl. 125; Deśin. 2,21) from *kaṇa*; *goilla* = *gomat* (Deśin. 2,98); M. Ś. *chailla* (wise; cunning; Pāiyāl. 101; Deśin. 3,24; H.; Karp. 1,2; 4,8 [Ś.]; 76,10 [Ś.]; Kāleṃyak. (3,7), which is probably rightly connected to *Vchad* by WEBER¹, and is to be completely separated from A. *chailla* (beautiful; Hc. 4,412), since this, as the NIA. languages show², stands for **chavilla*, therefore, belongs to *chavi* (beauty; Pāiyāl. 113) = Skt. *chavi*, *chavī*, whilst *chailla* (lamp; similar; trifling; beautiful; Hc. 2,159; Deśin. 3,35) is to be derived from *chāyā*, as Triv. 2,1,30 teaches falsely from *chailla*. *-illa* stands also in the sense of "there-existing" (*tatrabhave*; *bhave*; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 37); *gāmilla* (a villager; C.), *gāmilliā* (a village woman; Hc.), AMg. *gāmeḷlaga* (Vivāgas. 31); M. *gharillaa* (master of the house; H.); *gharilli* (mistress of the house; Deśin. 2,106), and in M. JM. and particularly in AMg. it does not change the meaning of the word, to which it is added (*svārthe*; Hc. 2,164). So M. *mūillaa* = *mūka* (H.); AMg. *bāhirilla* = *bāhira* (Jiv. 879; Vivāhap. 198. 1876 ff.; Thān. 261 f.), M. *abāhirilla* (H.); AMg. *andhillaga* = *andha* (Paṇhāv. 79); *pallavilla* = *pallava* (Hc. 2,164). So above all are built adjectives, that express number, time or place, partly from adverbs. So AMg. *ādilla* = *ādi* (Vivāhap. 463. 858. 923. 1118. 1330; Jiv. 788. 1042; Paṇnav. 642. 646), *ādillaga* (Vivāhap. 1547); AMg. *paḍhomilla* = *prathama* (Vivāhap. 108. 177), *paḍhomillaga* (Nāyādh. 624); AMg. *uvarilla* (Thān. 341; Aṇuog. 427 ff.; Jiv. 240 ff. 710; Nāyādh. 867; Paṇnav. 478; Samav. 24. 36. 144; Vivāhap. 102. 198. 224. 392. 437. 1240. 1331 ff. 1777; Ovav.), in the meaning "upper garment" M. *avarilla*, *varilla* (§ 123), *savvaivarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879), AMg. *uttarilla* (Thān. 264ff. 358; Jiv. 227 ff.; Nāyādh. 1452. 1518. 1521; Paṇnav. 103 ff. 478; Rāyap. 68. 71; Vivāhap. 1331 ff.), *dāhiṇilla* and *dakkhiṇilla* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), *puratthimilla*³ from *purastāt* (Thān. 264ff. 493; Jiv. 227ff. 345; Paṇnav. 478; Rāyap. 67. 72 f.; Samav. 106. 108. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331ff.), *paccatthimilla*⁴ from **pratyastam* (Thān. 264ff.; Jiv. 227ff.; Paṇnav. 478; Samav. 106. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331 ff. 1869), *uttarapaccatthimilla* (Thān. 268); AMg. JM. *majjhilla* = *madhya* (Thān. 341; Jiv. 710; Vivāhap. 104. 922. 1240 f.; Av. 46,29; Erz.); AMg. *majjhimilla* = *madhyama* (Aṇuog. 383); AMg. *heṭṭhiilla* (§ 107); AMg. JM. *puvvilla* (Uttar. 764. 770; Av. 8,46); *purilla* (on Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163. 164; Mk. fol. 37; Deśin. 6,53) from *purā* and *puras*, *purilladeva* (asura; Deśin. 6,55; Triv. in BB. 13,12), *puri llapahāṇā* (fang of a serpent; Deśin. 6,56), whereof the ultimate ramment probably is *praghāṇa*; AMg. *pacchilla* (Vivāhap. 1118. 1520), *pacchillaja* (Vivāhap. 1593f.). In AMg. *raṭṭiija* = *rajoyukta* (Vivāhap. 387)⁵, dialectical *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32; cf § 307) occur the past passive participle from the denominative of *rajas*, *stena*⁶. AMg. *āṇilliija* = *āṇita* (Vivāhap. 961) is explained from the fact that *āṇia* = *āṇita* is used adjectively and presumably also substantively (Deśin. 1,74). As the examples show, the final vowel of the stem falls off before *-illa*, partly it is retained. — *-ulla* stands in the same meaning as *-illa*, but is much more seldom: *viārulla* = *vikāravat* (Bh. 4, 25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159); *māmsulla* = *māmsavat*, *dappulla* = *darpin* (Hc. 2, 159); *uvahārulla* from *upahāra* (Kī. 2,140; text *uvahārūṇam*); *oppulla* from *ātman* (Bh. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 36 [MS. *aṇullo*]); *piullaa* = *priya*, *muhulla* = *mukha*, *haṭṭhullā* = *hastau* (Hc. 2,164); M. *chailla* (H.) beside *chailla*, *thaṇullaa* = *stana* (G.); AMg. *pāultāim* = *pāduke*

(Sūyag. 253); AMg. JM. *kacchulla* = *kacchura* (Vivāgas. 177; Erz.); *cūḍulla* = *cūḍaka* (Hc. 4,395,2. 430,2), *kuḍulī* = *kuḍī* (Hc. 4,422,14. 429,3. 431,2); *vāulla* = *vācāla* (Deśin. 7.56). — *-alla* occurs for *-ala* in M. *ēkkalla* = *eka* (Hc. 2,165; H.), JM. *ēkkallaṇa* (Erz.), also *ekalla* (Hc.); cf. Māla-tīm. 348,1; A. also *ekala* (Prabandhac. 121,10); M. AMg. *mahalla* = *mahat* (G.); Prabandhac. 113,3; Āyār. 2,4,3,11. 12), AMg. *mahallaṇa* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10), femin. *mahalliyā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *sumahalla* (Vivāhap. 246); AMg. *andhalla* = *andha* (Paṇḍav. 523), beside *andhala* (Hc. 2,173); M. *pāsalla*, *pāsallia* from *pārśva* (G.); *navalla* = *nava* (Hc. 2,165); *mūalla* beside *mūala* = *mūka* (Deśin. 6,137), from which M. *mūal'iaa* (R. 5,41; so to be read), is a denominative. Also M. *pisalla* = *piśāca* is perhaps explained more correctly from **piśālla* = *piśāca* + *alla* than from *piśācālaya* (§ 232). On *suhallī*, *suhēllī* see § 107. In Mg. *gāmelua* (Mr̥cch. 97,1) = *grāmya*, *grāmiṇa* occurs the suffix *-elua*, that is to say *-elu* + *ka*.

1. Under H. 720. Beside it is found also *chaulla*, mentioned below. — 2. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,412. — 3. The texts often have false *puracchimilla*, as in the case of its basis *puratthima*, also *puracchima* — 4. The texts often have *pavvatthimilla* and *paccacchimilla*. The word perhaps does not belong to *paśādī*, from which originates *pacchilla*. Cf. § 149 and HOERNLE Uvās. s. v. *paccatthima*. — 5. *maḷliya* = *kāṣṭhinamālayukta*, that stands beside it will be correct, since it belongs to AMg. *maḷintī*, M. *maḷei* (§ 559). — 6. Cf. e.g. Skt. *tundilīta* with *tundila* and AMg. *tundilla* (Uttar. 229). That the reduplication of *l* is associated with accent makes the cases like *kuḍilla* = *kuḍila* (Pāyāl. 155), *kuḍillaa*, *koḍilla* (Deśin. 2,40), *tundilla* = *tundila*, *gaṇḥilla* = *granthila* (Uttar. 229; Vivāhap. 1308) certain.

§ 596. As a krt- suffix dialectically very frequent is *-ira* (Vr. 4,24; Hc. 2,145; Ki. 2,138; Mk fol. 36), which expresses the notion of the root as a "characteristicum" a "duty" or "noble" doing¹. So M. *agghāiri* (femin.) from *ghrā* with *ā* (H.), *andolira* (G.), femin. *andoliri* (H.), *alajjira* (H.), *avalambiri* (femin.), *ullaviri*, *ullāviri* (femin. ; H.); *ūsasira* from *śoas* with *ud* (Hc.); *gamira* (Hc. ; Ki.); M. *gholira* (G. H. R.), in later-day writers also in Ś. (Mallikām. 109,9; 122,12), M. *parigholira* (G.); M. A. *jampira*, AMg. *ajampira* from *jalp* (§ 296); AMg. *jhusira*, *ajhusira* (§ 211); M. *ṇacciri* (femin.) from *ṇaccaī* = *ṇṛtyati* (H.); *namira* (Hc.); AMg. *paṇisakkira* from *ṣaṇṣk* with *pari* (Nāyādh. ; cf. § 302), M. *peṇchira* from *ikṣ* with *pra*, femin. *peṇchiri* (H. ; so to be read throughout); M. A. *bhamira* from *bhram* (Bh. ; Hc. ; Mk. G. H. R. ; Hc. 4,422,15); *rovira* (Hc.), M. *roiri*, *ruri* from *ru* (H.); M. *lambira* (G.), *lasira* (R.); *lajjira* (Hc.), M. femin. *lajjiri* (H.); M. A. in Rājasekhara also in Ś. *veḷlira*, *uvveḷlira* (§ 107); M. JM. *vevira* from *vepate* (Hc. ; G. H. R. ; Erz.), in later day writers in Ś. too (Mallikām. 119,2; 123,15); *sahira* (Mk), M. femin. *sahiri* (H.); *hasira* (Bh. ; Hc.); M. femin. *hasiri* (G. H.); *apaḍicchira* (stupid; Deśin. 1,43) from *iṣ* with *prati*. Seldom is *-ira* used as a taddhita- suffix too, as in M. *gavvira*, femin. *ōri* from *garva* (H.). On *-uka* for *-ika* see § 118. 162 [ūsuga]. 326 [jharua].

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 2,145. Cf. WEBER, H¹. p. 68.

§ 597. *-iva* = Pkt. *-ita* (§ 298) can be used in AMg. JM. only, in AMg. often in the dative *-ittāe* (§ 361. 364); *piṇatta*, *pupphatta* = *pūṣpatva* (Hc. 2, 154); AMg. *mūlatta*, *kandatta*, *khandatta*, *taṇṇatta*, *sālatta*, *pavālatta*, *pattatta*, *pupphatta*, *phalatta*, *biṇṇatta* (Sūyag. 806); *āṇugāmiṇṇatta* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162); *devatta* (Uttar. 235; Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas.); *neraṇṇatta* = *nairayikatva* (Vivāgas. 244; Uvās. ; Ovav.); *māṇusatta* (Uttar. 234 f.); *pumatta* = *pūṣṭva* (§ 412); *rukḥatta* = **rukṣatva* (Sūyag. 812; cf. 811); *sāmitta*, *bhaṭṭitta*, *mahattaragatta* = *svāmītva*, *bharitva*, *mahattarakatva* (Paṇṇav. 98. 100. 102. 112); JM. *vijjugatta*, *vaṇṇatta* = *vṛjuktva*, *vakratva* (Āv. 46,31. 32), **maṇuyatta* = *manujatva*, *micchatta* = *mithyātva*, *siṇṇatta* = *śitatva* (Kk.), *asoṇatta* = *asaucatva* (Erz.). To *-iva* has further been added the suffix *-tā* in *māuttajā* = **mṛḍukatvatā* (Hc. 2,172). Very

frequent, particularly in M.S. in Vedic *-tvana* = Pkt. *-ttaṇa*, A. also *-ppaṇa* (§ 298.300; Vr. 4,22; Hc. 2,154; Ki. 2,139; Mk. fol. 45). So M. *amara-ttaṇa* (R.), *alasattaṇa*, *asahattaṇa*, *āḷattaṇa*, *garuattaṇa*, *cirajivittaṇa*, *ṇiṇṇattaṇa* (H.); *ṇiddattaṇa*, *tucchattaṇa*, *dāruṇattaṇa*, *dihattaṇa* (G.); *piattaṇa* (H.); *piṇattaṇa* (Bb.; Hc.; G. R.); *mahurattaṇa* (G. H.); from *ā*-stems: *mahilattaṇa* (G. H.); *vesattaṇa* = **veṣyātvana* (H.); from *i*-, *i*-stems: *asaṭṭaṇa* (H.); *juaṭṭaṇa* (G); *maṭṭaṇa* = **matitvāna* (G.); *dūṭṭaṇa* = **dūtītvaṇa* (H.); from *u*-stems: *taruttāṇa* (G.); AMg. *takkarattaṇa* = **taskaratvāna* (Panbhāv. 147); *tiṛikkhattaṇa* = **tirakṣatvāna* (Uttar. 234); *āyariyattaṇa* = **ācāryatvāna* beside *āyariyatta* (Uttar. 316); JM. *pāḍiherattaṇa* = **prāṭihāryatvāna* (Āv. 13,25), *dharmattaṇa* = **dharmatvāna* (Kk. 259,12), *sāvayattaṇa* = **śrāvakatvāna* (Dvār. 506,28), *turiyattaṇa* = **toaritatvāna* (Āv. 42,21; 43,3), *para-vasattaṇa* (Erz.); S. *apṇahiaattaṇa* = **anyahyadayatvāna* (Viddhaś. 41,8.9; Nāgān. 33,6), *paṇḍulāhiaattaṇa* = **paryākula*° (Kārṇas. 19,10), *suṇṇahiaattaṇa* = **ṣūṇya*° (Mṛcch. 27,19; Priyad. 20,4; Nāgān. 21,6); *ahirāmattaṇa* (Vikr. 21,1); *ṇisamsattaṇa* = **nṛṣamsatvāna* (Ratn. 327,18); *ṇiṇṇattaṇa* = **nipṇātvaṇa* (Lalitav. 561,1); *dūdattaṇa* = **dūtātvaṇa* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālattaṇa* (Lalitav. 561,2 [vā]); Uttar. 121,4; Mudrār. 43,5); *bamhattaṇa* (Ratn. 308,5), *bamhaṇattaṇa* (Pras. 46,12); *sahāattaṇa* = **sahāyātvaṇa* (Śak. 59,10; Jivān. 39,15; 78,2); *aṇujivittaṇa* (Mahāv. 54,19); *ucidakārittaṇa* (Bālar. 54,17), *gharaṇittāṇa* (Anarghar. 315,10); *bhaavadittāṇa* (Mālatīm. 74,3); *medhāvittāṇa* (Ratn. 303,32); *lajjāvittāṇa* (Mahāv. 29,6 [Pischel. °lui]); *sarasakāittāṇa* (Kārṇas. 31,1); *paḥuttaṇa* = **prabhutvāna* (Mālav. 14,3; 30,5); *bhiruttaṇa* (Pras. 45,5); Mg. *aṇiccattaṇa* = **anīyatvāna* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *mahulattaṇa*, *śulāhittāṇa* = **madhuratvāna*, **śurabhītvaṇa* (Prab. 60,12.13); *savvaṇṇattaṇa* = **sarvajñātvaṇa* (Prab. 51,6; 52,6); *sughaṇṇittāṇa* = **sugrhiṇītvaṇa* (Venṣ. 35,1); *paṭṭattaṇa* = **paṭtratvāna* (Hc. 4,370,1); *vaḍḍattaṇa* and *vaḍḍappaṇa* = **vaḍḍratvāna* (Hc. 4,366); *suhaḍḍattaṇa* = **subhaṭatvāna* (Kk. 260,44); *gahilattaṇa* = **grahilatvāna* (Piṅgala 1,2a).

§ 598. Without effecting alteration in the meaning of the word *-ka* enters into Pkt. more frequently than into Skt. (Hc. 2,164; Mk. fol. 37). In PG. P. CP., sometimes in Ś. Mg. too, it remains *-ka*, in AMg. JM. JŚ. it becomes *-ga*, *-ya*, in the other dialects *-a*. Numerous examples for all the dialects have been included in different paragraphs. Sometimes it is set in doubly, as *bahuaṇa* (Hc. 2,164), also behind other suffixes (§ 595), further it is added to adverbs, as *ihayaṇa* (Hc. 2,164) and to the infinitive, as *ālēddhuam* (§ 303.577), AMg. *aladdhujaṇa* (§ 577). The vowel of the stem is sometimes lengthened dialectically (§ 70). Beside *-ka*, we find dialectically also *-kha*, *-ha* (§ 206) and *-ika*, AMg. *-i ya*, as in PG. *vadhanika* = *vardhanaka* (6,9); AMg. *macciya* = **martyika* = *martyaka* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 351); AMg. *tumbaviṇiya* = *tumbaviṇika* (Ovav.); Mg. *bhālīka* = **bhārika* = *bhāravat* (Mṛcch. 97,19.20); M. *savvaṇṇia* = *sarvaṇṇiṇa* (Hc. 2,152; R.). — *-kya* occurs in *pārakka* (Hc. 2,148), *-ikya* in *rāikka* = *rājakiya* (Hc. 2,148); *gonikka* (herd of cattle; Deśin. 2,97; Triv. 1,3,105)¹; *caccikka* from *carcā* (besmearing the body with fragrant paste; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,4,121), according to Deśin. 3,4 also adjective in the meaning “decorated”²; *mahisikka* (herd of buffaloes; Deśin. 6,124)³.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,243.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 13,12.—3. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1320f.

§ 599. Like *-ka*, in A. *-ḍa*=Skt. *-ḍa* too is added, without change in the meaning of the word. Very often, *-a* = *-ka* enters behind it, in addition (Hc. 4,429.430). So: *kappaḍa* = *kappa* (Hc. 4,432); *davvaḍa* = *dravya* (Śukas. 32,3); *dihaḍa* = *divasa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2); *dūaḍa* = *dūta* (Hc. 4,419,1); *desaḍa* (Hc. 4,418,6) *desaḍa* (Hc. 4,419,3) = *deśa*; *dosaḍa* =

doṣa (Hc. 4,379,1); *māṇuṣaḍa* = *mānuṣa* (Prabandhac. 112,8); *māriḍa* = *mārita* (Hc. 4,379,2); *mittaḍa* = *mitra* (Hc. 4,422,1); *raṇṇaḍa* = *aranya* (Hc. 4,368); *rūḍaḍa* = *rūpaka* (Hc. 4,419,1); *hatthaḍa*, *hatthaḍa* = *hasta* (Hc. 4,439,1. 445,3); *hiḍa* = **hṛda* = *hṛd* (Ki. 5,15. 17; Hc. 4,422,12), *hiḍaḍa* (Hc. 4,350,2). In *maṇiḍa* = *maṇi* (Hc. 4,414,2) probably *ka+ṭa* = **maṇikoṣa* is to be assumed, that is pointed to by the hiatus, and not the suffix *-ḍa*. The femin. ends in *-ḍi* (Hc. 4,431): *ṇiddaḍi* = *nidrā* (Hc. 4, 418,1); *suavattaḍi* = *śrutavārtā* (Hc. 4,432). The ending *-aḍi* is pointed to also by the femin. in Skt. *-i*, *-ī*: *goraḍi* = *gaurī* (Hc. s. v. and s. v. *gori*); *buddhaḍi* = *buddhi* (Hc. 4,424); *bhumhaḍi* = *bhūmi* (§ 210); *mabbhiṣaḍi* from *mā bhaiṣiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,22); *rattaḍi* = *rātri* (Hc. 4,330,2); *vibhantaḍi* = *vibhrānti* (Hc. 4,414,2); with *-ka*: *dhūlaḍi* = **dhūlaṭikā* = *dhūli* (Hc. 4,432). Here in relation to Skt. the infix *-aḍ-* makes its appearance, and not the suffix. *-ḍa*, that is dialectical in A., and is combined also with other suffixes as *-ka*. So with *-ulla* (§ 595) in *bāhabalullaḍa* = *bāhābala* and *bāhabalullaḍa* (Hc. 4,430,3), also in the last example *-ulla+ḍa+ka*.

§ 600. According to the grammarians, in Pkt., *-itta* too is used in the sense of the taddhita suffixes *-mat*, *-vat* (Vr. 4,25 [so to be read for *-inta*]; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36): *kavvaṭta*, *māṇaṭta* from *kāvya*, *māna* (C.; Hc.); *roṣaṭta* from *roṣa* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]; Ki.); *pāṇaṭta* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]) from *prāṇa*. With insertion of *kaḥ* *svārtha* (Kālidāsa used this suffix in Ś. *-itta*, femin. *-ittā*: *paoharavithāraṭta* = *payodharavistāroyukta* (cf. Candrasekhara); *ummādaṭta* = *ummādin*, *ummādaḍin* (*ittakaśabdo matubarthah*; Candras.). *ucchāhaṭta* = *utsāhasālin* (*matubartha ittakaśabdo*; Candras.). *āśaṭti* = *āśakāriṇi* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivāṇaṭti* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇakāriṇi* (Candras.); *bahumāṇasuhāṭta* = *bahumānasukhayukta* (cf. Candras.); *pīṇiveaṇaṭta* = *priyanivedaka* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivāṇaṭta* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇaḍa* (Candras.) (Śak. 11,3; 21,8; 35,7; 36,12; 51,12; 55,1; 79,14; 86,5; 140,14); *icchidasampādaṭta* = *iṣṭasampādāyitā* (Raṅganātha; Vikr. 20,19); *juvādivesalajjāvaṭta* = *yuvaveśalajjayitka* (Katayavema (Mālav. 33,17); *ahilāṣopūraṭta* = *ahilāṣopūrayitka* (Kāt.; Mālav. 34,14), *asoaviāsaṭta* = *aśkavikāśayitka* (Kāt. Mālav. 43,3). The suffix is to be derived with BÖHTLINGK¹ from *-yitra*, *-yitraka*, and not with the Indians and BENFEY² from *-yitr*, *-yitrka*. It forms, therefore, the derivatives from denominatives and causatives. One *vithāraṭta* is = **vistārayitraka* from *vistāraya*.

1. On Śak. 9,20 p. 161. Cf. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 20,19, p. 244; FISCHER, De Kālidāsa Śak. rec. p. 33 f.—2. GGA. 1856 p. 1226. LASSEN, Inst. p. 134, note has already assumed that the explanation with the help of, *hetuka* that rests on the false reading *-itua*, is wrong. Cf. Chandrasekhara on Śak. 36,12 (p. 180) *utsāhahetau iti saṁskṛtasyājñānam*.

§ 601. According to § 397 *-mat* and *-vat* become *-manta*, *-vanta* from the strong stems *-mant*, *-vant* (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2, 140; Mk. fol. 37). In the matter of the suffix Skt. and Pkt. do not agree closely. So AMg. *āyāramanta* (Dasav. 633,33), but Skt. *ācāravant*; AMg. *cittamanta* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; p. 133,33; 136,3) = Skt. *cittavant*; AMg. *vaṇṇamanta*, *gandhamanta*, *rasamanta*, *phāsamanta* = *vaṇṇavant*, *gandhavant*, *rasavant*, *sparśavant* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Sūyag. 565; Jiv. 26; Paṇṇav. 379; Vivāhap. 144); AMg. *vijjāmanta* = *vidyāvant* (Uttar. 620); *silamanta*, *guṇamanta*, *vaimanta* = *silavant*, *guṇavant*, *vāgvant* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *pupphamanta* = *pūṣpavant*, *bijamanta* = *bijavant*, *mūlamanta* = *mūlavant*, *sālamanta* = *śālavant* (Ovav); A. *guṇamanta* (Piṅgala 1,132^a; 2,118), *dhaṇamanta* (Piṅgala 2,45.118), *pūṇamanta* (Piṅgala 2,94), metrically for *pūṇamanta* (C.; Hc.) = *pūṇavant*. As regards others, the

corresponding formations have not hitherto been found in the text, as AMg. *paññāṇamanta-* = **prajñānamant-* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,6,4,1), *paṭṭamanta-* = **paṭṭamant-*, *hariyamanta-* = **haritamant-* (Ovav.). According to § 398 also the suffix *-maṇa* in *dhaṇamaṇa* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159) = *dhaṇamant*, **dhaṇaman* goes back to *-mant*. — *bhattivanta-* = *bhaktimant-* (Hc. 2,159).

§ 602. In AMg. numerous adjectives are formed with the *kṛt*-suffix *ima*¹, partly from the present stem, which express, that something, connected with the root has happened, may or must happen. They often correspond to the German adjectives in *-bar*. So: *ganthima*, *vedhima*, *pūrima*, *saṅghāima* from *granth*, *veṣṭi*, *pūraya-*, *saṅghātaya-* (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Nandis. 507 etc.; cf. 304. 333); *ubbheima* = *udbhida* (Dasav. 625,13); *khāima*, *sāima* from *khād*, *svādaya-* (Sūyag. 596; Vivāhap. 184; Dasav. 639,14; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *pāima* from *pācaya-* (Āyār. 2,4,2,7); *pūima*, *apūima*, *māima*, *amāima* from *pūjaya-*, *mānaya-* (Dasav. 641,14. 15); *bahukhajjima* from *khādya-* from *khād* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15) *bahuniṇvaṣṭima* from *varṭaya-* with *ni-* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14 [so to be read]; Dasav. 628,31); *lāima*, *bhajjima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15; Dasav. 628,34); *vandima*, *avandima* (Dasav. 641,12); *vāhima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *vasima* from *vaśaya-* (Sūyag. 511); *vehima* (Dasav. 628,30); *saṁtārima*, *saṁpārima* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13. 14). From the adverbs *purastāt* and **pratyastam* are derived AMg. *puratthima* = **purastima* (Bhag.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.), and *paccatthima* = **pratyastima* (Bhag.; Uvās.). *puratthima* also in JM. *uttarapuratthima* (Āv. 14, 10). From it is again derived *puratthimilla*, *paccatthimilla* (§ 595). — In A., according to Hc. 4,443, there enters the suffix *-aṇa* for expressing a characteristic peculiarity: *māraṇa*, *boḷlaṇa*, *vajjaṇa*, *bhaṇa* = *māraṇaṣiḷa*, *bhāṣaṇaṣiḷa*, *vādanaṣiḷa* [vajja- = *vādyā-*], *bhāṣaṇaṣiḷa*². They correspond to the adjectives in *-ana* in Skt. (WHITNEY § 1150) + *kaḥ svārthe*.

1. HOERNLE, JACOBI, LEUMANN and STEINTHAL posit wrongly the substantive in *-iman*. Many of these adjectives in the neuter are substantively used. — 2. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,443.

§ 603. In the matter of compounds Pkt. is distinguished from Skt. only to the extent that individual members do not follow one another in a strictly logical sequence (Mk. fol. 65)¹. They enter particularly into M., where the metre is often the cause. So M. *dhaṇalakaovavā* for *kaadhavalovavā* = *kṛtadhavalopavā* (G. 1); *kāsāraviralakumuā* = *viralakumudakāsārāḥ* (G. 271); *virahakaravattadūsaḥaphālijjantammi* = *duḥsahavirahakaraḥapatrasphālyamāne* (H. 153); *daralambikicchakaikacchusacchaham* = *daralambikapikacchugucchasadṛśam* (H. 533); *kañcuābharayaṇamēttāo* = *kañcukamātrābharanāḥ* (H. 546); *muhalaghaṇapaavijjantammi* = *mukharaghanaḥpiyamānapayasam* (R. 2,24); *saṁkḥohuvvattanintaraṇamaūham* = *saṁkṣobhodvṛttaratnaniṇṇamāyūkham* (R. 5,40); *kaṇṇibbharadasadisam* = *nirbhariḥkṛtadaśaḥdisam* (R. 8,27)²; AMg. *pacchannapalāsa* = *palāśapracchanna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); AMg. *lohāgaradhammānāḥadhamāntaghoṣam* = *dhmāyamānalohākaradhamadhamāyamānaghoṣam* (Uvās. § 108)³; AMg. *taḍivimalasariṣa* = *vimalatadṛśa* (Kappas. § 35); AMg. *uduvaṇṇapadipunnasomavaṇṇe* = *pratipūrṇoḍupatisaumyaavadanaḥ* (Ovav. p. 29,13).

1. JACOBI on Kalpas. § 35, p. 104; BHĀNDĀRKAR, Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, London 1876 p. 313, note 6; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 206, note 7. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 201. The scholiasts explain this with *prākṛte pūrvan ipātāṇiyamaḥ*, a rule that is wrongly assigned to Vr. by a scholion on H. 546, and which is employed by scholiasts, often without necessity, as can be proved by the collection of instances in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 329 s. v. *pūrvan ipātāṇiyama*. — 2. So rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 251, note 3. — 3. Cf. Abhayadeva there up on p. 40.

*ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM.

- § 10. The real publisher of KI. is KIELHORN, from whom originated the translation and to whom I am grateful for reference to the inscription. KIELHORN has laid me under hearty obligation not only by his painstaking reading of the latest press correctors, but also with a complete list of amendments in the Sanskrit renderings, in cases where I might have gone astray in the matter of reconstruction through Pkt.
- § 22. p. 21, line 5 ff. from the bottom. On the nature and style, as occurs in modern dramas, cf. GRIERSON, IA. XXIII, p. 110. So it has certainly been the case for many centuries.
- § 34, p. 39,6 read *ten'* for *ten**.
- § 40, p. 47. *Mṛcchakāṭikā* is mentioned as *Mṛcchakāṭam* by Mk.(fol.82) and *Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna*, (fol.79,82) As communicated to me by KIELHORN, the first part of the name *Kāṭayaveṃa* is written also as *Kāṭa* and *Kāṭama* and the second also as *Vemaya* in the South Indian inscriptions. Accordingly *Kāṭaveṃa* perhaps may not be wrong.
- § 53, p. 55,44 read *Ś. bahappadi* for *bahappai*.
- § 64, p. 64,3 read *JS. vīsarida* for *vīsarija*.

* These corrections were in the original work itself. Through in advertance they could not be inserted in the translation, where other corrections have been so incorporated.

ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

- A. = Apabhramśa.
 Ā. = Āvanti (§ 26).
 Acyutaś. = Acyutaśataka. Madras 1872.
 Adbhutad. = Adbhutadarpaṇa ed. PARAB. Bombay 1896 = Kāvya-mālā. 55.
 AMg. = Ardhamāgadhī.
 Amṛtodaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1897 = Kāvya-mālā. 59.
 Anarghar. = Anargharāghava ed. DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvya-mālā. 5.
 Antag. = Antagaḍadasāo. Calcutta samvat 1931.
 Anuog. = Anuogadārasutta. Calcutta samvat 1936.
 Anuttar. = Anuttarovavāiṇyasutta. Calcutta samvat 1931.
 Arch. S. of W. I. = Archeological Survey of Western India.
 Aup. S. = Aupapātika Sūtra. By ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.
 Av. = Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen ed. LEUMANN, Leipzig. 1897.
 Āyār. = Āyāraṅgasutta ed. JACOBI. London 1812. The Calcutta edition of samvat 1936 too has been used.
 Bālar. = Bālarāmāyaṇa ed. GOVINDA DEVA ŚĀ'TRI, Benares 1869.
 BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen.
 Bh. = Bhāmaha.
 Bhag. = WEBER, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati. Berlin 1866. 1867.
 Bhartṛharinirveda ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. BOMBAY 1892 = Kāvya-mālā. 29.
 BKSGW. = Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 B.-R. = BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
 BW. = BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.
 C. = Caṇḍa.
 Cait. = Caitanyacandrodaya ed. RA'JENDRALA'L MITTRA. Calcutta 1854.
 Caṇḍak. = Caṇḍakaśikam ed. JAGANMOHANAŚARMAN. Calcutta Samvat 1924.
 Cat. Cat. = Catalogus Catalogorum.
 CP. = Cūlikāpaśācī.
 D. = Dākṣiṇātyā.
 Dasav. = Dasaveyāliyasutta ed. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 46, 581 ff.
 Dasav. N. = Dasaveyāliyanijjuttī see Dasav.
 De gr. Pr. = De grammaticis Prācriticis. Vratislaviae 1874.
 Deśin. = Hemaandra, Deśināmamālā ed. PISCHEL. Bombay 1880.
 Dh. = Dhakki.
 Dhanamajav. = Dhanamjayavijaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvya-mālā. 54.
 Dhūrtas. = Dhūrtasamāgama ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.
 Dhvanyāloka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā; 25.
 Dūtāṅgada ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā. 28.
 Dvār. = Die Jaina Legende von dem Untergange Dvāravatis ... by H. JACOBI. ZDMG. 42, 493 ff.

EI. = Epigraphia Indica.

Erz. = Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri by H. JACOBI, Leipzig. 1886.

G. = Gaṇḍavaho ed. Sh. P. PANDIT. Bombay 1887.

GGA. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN. = Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Grr. = Grammarians.

H. = Hāla, The Sapaśatakam of—. Published by A. WEBER. Leipzig 1881. Cf. § 13. The edition of DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṃālā. 2, too has been used.

Hāsy. = Hāsyārṇava ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.

Hc. = Hemacandra.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.

IAtt. = Indische Alterthumskunde.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Inst. = Institutiones linguae Pracritticae.

IS. = Indische Studien.

IStr. = Indische Streifen.

JA. = Journal Asiatique.

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBoAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jiv. = Jivābhigamasutta. Ahmedābād sarīvat 1939.

Jivān. = Jivānandana ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā. 27.

JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasēnī.

Kāleyak. = Kāleyakutūhalam. o. O. 1882.

Kalpal. = Pkl.

Kalpasūtra ed. JACOBI. LEIPZIG 1879; see Kappas.

Kaṃsav. = Kaṃsavadhā ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvyaṃālā. 6.

Kappas. = Kappasutta; see Kalpasūtra.

Karṇas. = Karṇasundarī ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvyaṃālā. 7.

Karp. = Karpūramañjarī ed. KONOW (cf. § 22, note 7). The edition of DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvyaṃālā. 4 too has been used.

Kattig. = Kattigeyānupe'kkhā (§ 21).

KB. = KUHN's. Beiträge.

KI. = Kakkuka Inscription (§ 10).

Kl. = Kramadīśvara.

Kk. = Kālakācāryakathānakam. By H. JACOBI ZDMG. 34, 247ff. Kk. II. III. By E. LEUMANN. ZDMG. 37. 493 ff.

KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lalitav. = Lalitavigraharājanāṭika ed. KIELHORN, GN. 1893, p. 552 ff.

Laṭakam. = Laṭakamelaka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṃālā. 20.

M. = Māhārāṣṭrī.

Mahāv. = Mahāvīracarita ed. TRITHEN. London 1848. Beside it has been used the edition of AIYAR, RANGACHARIAR and PARAB. Bombay 1892.

Mālatīm. = Mālatīmādhava ed. BHANDARKAR. Bombay 1876. Beside it have been used the editions of KAILASH CHANDRA DUTT, Calcutta 1866, of MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG, Bombay 1892 and an edition in Telugu script, of which the title page is wanting in my copy.

Mālav. = Mālavikā ed. BOLLENSEN. Leipzig. 1879. Besides the editions of TULLBERG, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1840 and of SH. P. PANDIT, Second edition, Bombay 1889 have been used.

Mallikām. = Mallikāmārutam ed. JIBANANDA VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1878.

Mg. = Māgadhi.

Mk. = Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mṛcch. = Mṛcchakaṭikā ed. STENZLER. Bonnæ 1847. The editions Calcutta 1829, of Rāmamayaśarmatarkaratna, Calcutta śakābdāḥ 1792, and particularly the valuable edition of NĀRĀYANA BĀLAKRISHNA GODABOLE, Bombay 1884 too have been used.

Mudrār. = Mudrārākṣasa ed. KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG. Bombay 1884. Beside it the edition Calcutta 1831 and that of TARANĀTHA-TARKAVĀCASPATI, Calcutta saṁvat 1926 have been used.

Mukund. = Mukundānanda Bhāṇa ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṁālā. 16.

Nāgān. = Nāgānanda ed. GOVIND BAHIRAV BRAHME and SHIVARAM MAHADEO PARANJPE. Poona 1893. Beside it the edition of JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA, Calcutta 1873.

Nandīs. = Nandīsutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Nāyādh. = Nāyādharmakāhā. Calcutta saṁvat 1933. In places where the quotations are given according to paragraphs and not according to page or without mention of details they refer to: Specimen der Nāyādharmakāhā. Inaugural Dissertation ... of P. STEINTHAL. Leipzig 1881.

Nirayāv. = Nirayāvaliḥ. Benares saṁvat 1941. Citations according to paragraphs or without mention of details relate to Nirayāvalisuttam ... by S. WARREN. Amsterdam 1879.

OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.

Ovav. = Ovavāṇīyasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936. The citation is according to the edition: Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... by ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

P. = Pāṣāṇī.

Pāṇḍ. = Pāṇḍalacchī ed. BÜHLER. Göttingen 1878.

Paṇhāv. = Paṇhāvāgarāṇīm. Calcutta saṁvat 1933.

Paṇṇav. = Paṇṇavapā. Benares saṁvat 1940.

Pārvaṭip. = Pārvaṭiparīṇaya ed. MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG. Bombay 1892. Beside it the edition of GLASER, Wien 1883.

Pav. = Pavayaṇasāra (§ 21).

PG. = Pallava Grant (§ 10).

Piṅgala = The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras ... ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1884 = Kāvyaṁālā. 41.

Pkl. = Prākṛtakalpalatikā. Cited according to the sketch in RISHIKESH

SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar. Calcutta 1883, a book to which the references are to pages.

Pkt. = Prākṛit.

Prab. = Prabodhacandrodaya ed. BROCKHAUS. Lipsiae 1935. 1845. Beside it the editions Pūṇā 1851 (P.), those of VĀSUDEVAŚARMA, Bombay 1898 (B.), and SARASVATĪ TIRUVEMKATĀCĀRYA, Madras 1884 (M.) in Telugu print have been used.

Pracaṇḍap. = Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava ... published by CARL CAPPELLER. Strassburg 1885. Beside it has been used the edition : The Bālabhārata ... ed. DURGA PRASĀDA and PARABA. Bombay 1887. = Kāvya-mālā 4.

Pras. = Prasannarāghava ed. GOVINDADEVAŚA'STRĪ. Benares 1868.

Pratāp. = Pratāparudriya. Madras 1868. Telugu print.

Priyad. = Priyadarśikā ed. VIṢṆU DĀJĪ GADRE. Bombay 1884. The edition of JIVĀNANDA VIDYĀŚĀGARA, Calcutta saṁvat 1931 too has been used.

Proc. ASB. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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I. GENERAL INDEX.

The references are to paragraphs

- Absolute 581-594;—in the sense of the infinitive 585, 588, 590.
 Accent system of Prākṛit 46.
 Anunāsika 179,180.
 Anusvāra 178—183;—in the final syllable with unsteady lengthening 75;—for nasal 269,348,349;—often disappears in the final syllable 350.
 Aorist 516,517;—of the passive 549.
 Ardhaçandra 179,180,350.
 Aspirates become *h* 188;—disinclination against survival of the second 214;—in lieu of non-aspirates 205—211; reduplication of 193.
 Aspiration, loss of 213;—secondary 214.
 Aspiration of nasals and semi-vowels 210;—of sibilants 211;—omission of 301 ff.
 Assimilation, law of 54.
 Assimilation of conjunct mutes 270.
 Assimilation of vowels 177.
 Ātmanepada 452,457.
 Bindu 179, note 3,180.
 Causative 490,491,551-554.
 Cerebrals become dentals 225;—for dentals 289-294,308,309,333.
 Comparison 414.
 Composita, irregular 603.
 Consonant groups, simplified after long vowels 87.
 Consonants, reduplicated 90,92,193-197;—conjunct 268—334;—dropping off and entry of, in the initial syllable 335-338; in the final syllable 339-352; in the initial syllable 184-185; in the medial syllable 187-192.
 Consonantal stems, remnants of 355, 413.
 Constructions, unusual 362.
 Courtesans 30.
 Dative in Prākṛit 361,364.
 Declension of nouns 353—413;—of numerals 435-449;—of pronouns 414-434;—consonantal, lost 355.
 Degrees of Comparison 414.
 Denominative 490,491,557-559.
 Dentals become cerebrals 218-224, become palatals 216; for palatals 215.
 Desiderative 555.
 Dissimilation, law of 54.
 Dropping of syllables 150;—of vowels 141-146,171,175.
 Dropping out of syllables 149;—of vowels 148.
 Dual, loss of 360.
 Elevation of vowels 77,78.
 Endings of the verb 453-471.
 Epenthesis 176.
 Future 520-534;—of the passive 549.
 Gutturals become labials 266.
 Gender, change of, in Prākṛit 356-359;
 Imperative 467-471.
 Imperfect 515.
 Indicative of the ātmanepada 457-458;—of the parasmaipada 453-456.
 Infinitive, 573—580; 453—456. in the sense of the absolute 576, 577,579;—passive 580;—of *tyaj* 590, note 1.
 Instrumental in -*ṣā* of *ā*-stems 364.
 Intensive 556.
 Labials for gutturals 215,230,231, 266,286.
 Languages, three 4;—four 4;—six 4.
 Lepa-dialect 7.
 Lengthening of short vowels 62-73.
 Masculine as feminine 358;—as neuter 358.
 Mediæ, shifting to tenues 190,191;—aspiration of 209.
 Metathesis of syllables 354.

Nasals become anusvāra 269.

Nasal vowels 178-183;—in lieu of lengthened vowels 74;—short, lengthened with loss of nasalisation 76;—in lieu of long vowels 86;—long, retained with loss of nasalisation 89

Neuter in *-as* as masculine 356;—in *-a* as masculine 357;—in *-an* as masculine 358;—from masculine 358;—as feminine 358.

Nouns, declension of 355-413;—derived from the present stem 197.

Numerals 435-451.

Optative 459;—in the sense of other moods 466.

Palatals become dentals 215;—for dentals 216.

Participles 560-572.

Participle, present *parasmaipada* 560;—present *ātmanepada* 561-563;—past *parasmaipada* 569;—past passive 564-568;—*necessitatis* 570-572.

Passive 535-550;—in the sense of the pres. *parasmaip.* 550;—in the sense of the fut. *parasmaip.* 550.

Perfect 518.

Pluperfect 519.

Positive degree in lieu of the comparative 414.

Prākṛit, the best 2;—in a wider sense 3;—four classes of 3;—syntax of 8;—of inscriptional monuments 10;—two types of 16;—language of women 30; spoken by men too 30.

Prākṛit grammarians, value of indigenous 42.

Prākṛit languages 1;—are artificial languages 5,6;—and Vedic 6;—and middle and new Indian popular languages 7,8.

Precative 466.

Present 453-514.

Preterite, presumptive 515.

Pronoun, declension of 415-434.

Pronoun, taken into neuter from the masculine 357.

Provincialisms 9.

Reduplication of consonants 90,193-197.

Samidhi Consonants 353.

Samidhi, vocalic 156-175.

Samprasāraṇa 151-155.

Sanskrit, not the single source of Prākṛit 6

Separation-vowels 131-140;—without influence on phonetic laws 131.

Shortening of long vowels 79-100.

Sibilant+semi-vowel 315;—+nasal 301-311;—=*h* 262-264.

Suffix, doubled 206.

Syllables, metathesis of 354.

Tenues become mediæ 192, 198-200, 202;—+sibilant 316.

Thrusting out of consonants 186.

Transfer of verb of the 1. class into those of the 6. Class 482.

Turning about of breath 212.

Variation of gender 356-359.

Verb 452-494.

Verbal nouns 560-594.

Vowels, short, lengthened 62-76; short, elevated 77-78;—long, shortened 79-100; long, contracted, not shortened 82; long, retained before consonant groups 87;—with bindu=long vowels 348;—in Apabhrāṇṣa 100;—falling off of 141-141;—dropping out of 148;—entry of 147.

Women, as authors of Pkt. 14;—speak partly Skt., partly Pkt. 30. Writing, holy, of the Śvetāmbaras 10.

B.

a becomes *i* 101-103, *u* 104-106, apparently *e* 107.

a-stems, declension of 363-373.

a=*-ka*=598.

-am, *-am* becomes *-u* 351.

-aḍa, *-aḍi* 599.

-aṇa, *-aṇahā*, *-aṇahi* 579.

-anaa 602.

Apabhrāṇṣa 3-5, 28,29;—Nāgara, Vṛāḍa, Upanāgara 28.

Aparājita 13.

Appayajvan 41.

Appayadikṣita 41.
 Abhimāna 13.
 Abhimānaciha 13,36.
ar, aḥ=*o* 342,343.
 Ardhamāgadhi 16-19.
 Avantisundarī 36.
 Avahatṭhabhāsā 28.
as, aḥ=*o* 345,347;—=*e* 345;—=*a* 347;—=*u* 346.

ā becomes *i* 108,109, *ī* 110, *u* 111,
 is shortened 113, interchanges
 with *am*, *ā* 114.

ā, prefix, retained 83.
ā-stems, declension of, 374-376.
ā-roots, flexion of 487,492.
-āe 593.

Ānandavardhana 14.
 Ārṣam 16,17.
-āla, -ālaa 595.
-ālu, -ālua 595.
 Āvantī 26.

i becomes *u* 117,118, *ē* 119, apparent-
 ly *a* 115,116.

i-stems, declension of 377—388.
i-roots, flexion of 473.
-i 594.

-iēvaū 570.
-ika 598.
-itta, -ittaa 600.
-ittae 578.
-ittu 577.
-itthā, -ittha 517.
-ima 602.
-iṣa 598.
-ira 596.
-ire 458.
-illa, -illaa 595.

ī becomes *e* 121, *ē*, *e* 122.
ī-stems, declension of 377—388.
ī-roots, flexion of 474.

u becomes *a* 123, *i* 124, *ō* 125,=*am*,
am 351.

u-stems, declension of 377-388.
u-roots, flexion of 473-494.
-ua, -uṣa 118.
-uāṇa 584.

-um, -u, -kam 352.
 udayasaubhāgyagaṇin 29,36.
 uddhṛta 164, note 1.
 udvṛta 164.

Upanāgara Apabhraṃśa 28,

-ulla, -ullaa 595.
-ullaḍa, -ullaḍaa 599.

-ū becomes *ō* 127.
ū-stems, declension of 377-388.
ū-roots, flexion of 473,494.
-ūṇa 584,586; *-ūṇam* 584,585.

ṛ retained 47, becomes *a, i, u* 47-55,
ri 56, *li* 56.

ṛ-stems, declension of 389-392.
ṛ-roots, flexion of 477,478.

ṛ becomes *ī, ā* 58.
ṛ roots, conjugation of 477,478.

e becomes *ē* 85,94,95, *i* 79-82,85, *ē, i*
 84,85,128,=*ai* from *-ati* 166,=
a 129,=*ar, as, aḥ* 344,345.

ē 45, from *ai* before double conso-
 nants 60, from *e* 84,85, from *ī* 122,
 becomes *e* 66,122.

e-stems in the verb 472.

-evā 570.
-evā 579.
-evau 570.

ai retained 60, becomes *e, ē* 60,61,
ai 61, *i* 84.

ai-roots, conjugation of 479.

o becomes *ō* 85,94,95, becomes *u* 85,
ō, u 84,85,130,346,=*ar, aḥ* 342,
 343,=*as, aḥ* 345,347.

ō 45, from *au* before double consonants
 61^a, from *o* 84, lengthened 66,127,
 becomes *u* 84.

o-stems, declension of 393.

au retained 61^a, becomes *o, ō, au* 61^a,
u 84.

au-stems, declension of 394.

Auārdyacināmaṇi 41.

ka becomes *ga* 202, *kha* 206, *ca* 230,
va 230.

-ka 578.
 Kakkuka, inscription of 10.

-kam becomes *-um, -ū* 352.

Kātyāyana 32.

Kālāpāḥ 36.

kupa ci p. 408.

Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita 41.

Kaīkeyapaśāca 27.

Kohala 31.

kka=ṣka 302,=*ska* 306,=*ḥka*=329.

kkha=ṣka, ṣkha 302;—=*ska, ṣkha*
 306;—=*ḥka, ḥkha* 329.

kma becomes *ppa* 277.

Kramadīśvara 37.

kṣa becomes *kkha*, *ccha* 317-322;—
becomes *ha* 323; becomes *ska* *hka*
324;—becomes *jjha* 326.

kṣṇa becomes *ṇha* 312.

kṣma becomes *mha* 312.

kha becomes *gha* 202;—=*ṣa* 265;—
=*kṣa* 317,319,320,321.

-*kha* 206,598.

kkha see *kṣa*, *kha*.

ga becomes *gha* 209, *va* 231, *ma* 231,
from *va* 231, for *ja* 234, for *ya* 254.

-*ga*=*-ka* 598.

Gaṇḍavaho 15.

Gāhā 12.

Gitagovinda 32.

Guṇādhya 27.

Gopāla 36.

gma becomes *gga*, *mma* 277.

grāmyabhāṣā 27.

ca becomes *ja* 202, *ya* 217.

Caṇḍa 34.

Cāṇḍālī 24.

Caṇḍidevaśarman 37.

Candra 34.

Candraśekhara 41.

Campaarāa 13.

Caska (?) 27.

Cūlikāpaiśāci 27.

cca=*tya* 280;—=*tva* 299;=*śca* 301.

-*ccā*, *-ccāṇam*, *-ccāṇa* 587.

ccha=*thya* 280;—=*thva* 299;—=*śca*,
ścha 301;—=*kṣa* 317,318,320,
321;—=*tsa* 327;—=*psa* 328.

cha=aspirate sibilant 211;—becomes
śca 233;—see *ccha*.

Chekoktivicāralilā 13.

ja becomes *ca* 202, *jha* 209, *yja* 217,
ga 234, *ya* 236.

Jaavallahaṃ 14.

Jayadeva 32.

Jayaballabha 12,14.

Jūmaranandin 37.

Jaina Māhārāṣṭri 16,20.

Jaina Prakṛit 16.

Jaina Śaurasenī 21.

Jaina Saurāṣṭri 20.

jjha=*dya* 280;—=*yya* 284;—=*rya*
284;—=*dva* 299.

jjha = *dhya* 280;—=*dhva* 299;=*kṣa*
326;=*hya* 331.

jña becomes *ṇṇa* 276, *jja* 276, *ñja*
276, *ñña* 276.

jha = *hya* 331, becomes *yha* 236.
—see *jjha*.

ña 237.

ñca becomes *ṇṇa* 273.

ñja becomes *ñña* 274.

ṣa becomes *ḍa* 198, *ḍh* 207, *ḷa* 238.

ṣṭa becomes *ṣṭa* 271, *ṣṭa* 271;—=*rta*
289;—=*tra* 292.

-*ṣṭu* 577.

ṭṭha=*ṣṭa*, *ṣṭha* 303;—=*sta*, *stha* 308,
309;—=*rtha*=290.

ṭha becomes *ḍha* 198,239, *ha* 239;
see *ṭṭha*.

ḍa becomes *ḷa* 240, *ra* 241.

-*ḍa* 599.

ḍḍa=*rda* 291;—=*dra* 294.

ḍḍha=*rdha* 291.

ḍha remains unchanged 242, second-
ary, becomes *ḷha* 242.

Ḍhakkī 25.

ṇa becomes *ḷa* 243, *na* 225,243, *ña* 243.

Nandiuddha 13.

ṇha=*śna*, *ṣṇa*, *śna* 312,313;—=*kṣṇa*
312;—=*hṇa*, *hna* 330.

t stems, declension of 395-398.

ta in AMg. JM. 203, becomes *da* 185,
192,263,204, *ṭa* 218, *ḍa* 218,219
tha 207, *la*, *ḷa* 244, *ra* 245.

tajja 8.

tattulya 8.

tatsama 8.

tadbhava 8.

-*tuāṇa* 584.

tuāṇam 584.

-*tūṇa* 584,586.

-*tūṇam* 584,585,586.

tta=*tya* 281;—=*tra*, *rta* 288;—=*tva*
298, 597;—=*sta* 307.

-*ttā* 578.

-*ttāṇa* = *-tvaṇa* 597.

-*ttāṇam* 583.

ttha=*tra* 293;—=*sta*, *stha* 307.

Trivikrama 38

tśa, *tsa* becomes *ssa*, *sa* 327a.

tha becomes *dha* 203, *ḍha* 221.

-*tha* 207.

-*thi* 207.

da becomes *dha* 209, *ḍa* 222, *ta* 190, 191, *la* 244, 245, *ḷa* 244, *ra* 245.

Dahamuhavaho 15.

Dākṣiṇātyā 26.

Digambara, canon of 21.

-*dūṇa* 584.

Devarāja 13, 33, 36.

deśabhāṣā 4, 5.

Deśi 8, 9.

Deśināmamālā 36.

Deśiprakāśa 41.

Deśiprasiddha 8.

Deśmata 8.

Deśīśabdasamgraha 36.

Deśya 8, 9.

Droṇa 36.

Droṇācārya 36.

dha becomes *ḍha* 223, *tha* 191.

Dhanapāla 35, 36.

dhātvaḍeśa 9.

n becomes anusvāra 348.

n-stems, declension of 399.

na becomes *ṇa* 224, *ṇa* 243, *la* 247, remains *na* 224.

na as the first member of a compound instead of *a* 171.

nakṣatra, etymology of 270, note 3.

Nandivṛddha 13.

Narasimha 41.

Narendracandrasūri 36.

Nāgara Apabhraṃśa 28.

Nāgoba 39.

Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinodācārya 37.

Nṛsimha 41.

nta becomes *nda* 275.

nda for *nta* 275.

pa becomes *va* 199, *ba* 192, *pha* 208, *bha* 209, *ma* 248.

Pañcabāṇalīlā 14.

Pāṇīyalacchī 35.

Pāñcāla Paisācika 27.

Pāṭaliputra 238, note 2, 292.

Pāṇini 31.

Pādalipta 36.

Pādaliptācārya 13.

Pālitta, Pālittaa 13.

-*pi* 588.

Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra 29.

-*piṇu* 588.

Puṣpavanānātha 41.

pūrvanipātāniyama 603, note 1.

Paisācika, [°]ki 27.

Paisāci 3, 27; eleven kinds of 27;—three kinds of 27.

Poṭṭisa 13.

ppa=*tma* 277,=*tva* 300;=*spa* 305;=*hpa* 329.

-*ppaṇa*=*-tvaṇa* 300, 597.

-*ppi*=*twi* 300, 588, -*ppiṇu*=*-twinam* 300, 588.

ppha=*spa*. *spha* 305;=*spha*, *spha* 311;=*hpa*, *hpha* 329.

Prakāśikā 36.

Pravarasena 13, 15.

Prākṛta, derivation of 1, 9, 16, 30.

Prākṛtakalpataru 41.

Prākṛtakalpalatikā 43.

Prākṛtakāmadhenu 41.

Prākṛtakaumudī 41.

Prākṛtacandrikā 41.

Prākṛtadīpikā 37.

Prākṛtapāda 37.

Prākṛtapādaṭikā 37.

Prākṛtaprakāśa 33.

Prākṛtaprabodha 36.

Prākṛtabhāṣāntaravidhāna 34.

Prākṛtamañjari 33.

Prākṛtamañjari 41.

Prākṛtarūpāvatāra 39.

Prākṛtalakṣaṇa 31, 34.

Prākṛtalanīkeśvara Rāvaṇa 41.

Prākṛtavvyākaraṇa 38, 41.

Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā 41.

Prākṛtasamjivani 40.

Prākṛtasarvasva 40.

Prākṛtasāroddhāravṛtti 34.

Prākṛtasāhityaratnākara 41.

Prākṛtānanda 39.

Prācyā 22.

pha becomes *bha* 200, *ha* 188, 200.

ba becomes *va* 201, *ma* 250, *bha* 209

Bappaīrāa 15.

Bāhlikī 24.

Bṛhatkathā 27.

bba=*dva* 300.

bbha=*hva* 332.

bha=*hva* 332, from *ba* 209.

Bhaṭṭendurāja 14.

Bharata 31, 36.

Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna 364.

Bhāmaha 33, 36.

Bhāṣābheda 41.
 Bhāṣārṇava 41.
 Bhāṣāvivecana 40.
 bhāṣāḥ 3,4.
 Bhuvanapāla 13.
 Bhūtabhāṣā 27.
 Bhūtabhāṣita 27.
 Bhūtavacana 27.
 Bhautika 27.

m becomes anusvāra 348; is retained before vowels, when a short syllable is required 348, when emphasis lies on the word ending in *m* 349;—false for *m̐* 349;—as a saṁdhi-consonant 353.

ma becomes *ṁa* 251, *va* 251;—=*śma*, *ṣma* 312.

Madhumathanavijaya 13,14.

Manoramā 33.

-*manta* 601.

Malaasehara 13.

Mahumahavīa 13,15.

Māgadhapaiśācika 27.

Māgadhi 17,18,23.

Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra 40.

Māhārāṣṭrī 2,12—15,18.

-*mīṇa* 562.

Mṛgāṅkalekhākathā 13.

-*m̐mi*=*-smin* 313.

-*m̐si*=*-ṣmin* 312;=*smin* 313.

-*mmi*=*smin* 313.

mha=*kṣma*, *śma*, *ṣma*, *sma* 312,313;=*hma* 330.

-*mho*, ending of the 1. plur. of the imp. 470.

y in conjunction with consonants and semi-vowels 279-286, disappears behind *r* after *i*, *ū* 284, thrust forward 336, as saṁdhi consonant 353.

ya becomes *ja* 252, *ra* 255, *la* 255, drops off 186,252, is retained 252, in PG. VG. 252.

-*ja*=*-ka* 598.

jaśruti 187.

jāṇa,=*jāṇam* 592.

yca=*ca* 217.

yja=*ja* 217.

yya=*dya* 280; *rya* 284.

yha=*hya* 331.

yyha=*dhya* 280.

r becomes *l* 285, after consonants

retained 268, in conjunction with consonants and semi-vowels 287-295, in the final syllable 341-344, as saṁdhi-consonants 353.

ra becomes *la* 256,257, *ḍa* 258.

Raghunāthaśarman 39.

Ratnadeva 14.

Rayaṇāvali 36.

Rasavati 37.

Rājaśekhara 13,22.

Rāmatarkavāgīśa 41.

Rāmadāsa 15.

Rāvaṇa 41.

Rāvaṇavaho 15.

Rāhulaka 36.

ḷ becomes *ili*, *li* 59.

l becomes *m* 260,296, in conjunction with consonants and semi-vowels 295.

la becomes *ḷa* 260, *ṇa*, *na* 260, for *ra* 259, in place of *ḷa* 226.

ḷa=*ḷa*, *ḍa*, *ṇa* 226, in place of *la* 240.

Lakṣmīdhara 39.

laghuprayatnatarayakāra 187.

Laṅkeśvara 41.

Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka 10,11.

lla=*dda*=*dra* 294.

lha=*hla* 330.

v in conjunction with consonants and semi-vowels 297-300, prothesis of 337.

va becomes *ga* 231, *ḍa* 261, *ma* 261, for *ga* 231, for *ma* 251,277,312, for *ya* 254.

Vajjālagga 12,14.

-*vanta* 601.

Vararuci 32.

Vasantarāja 40.

Vākpatirāja 13,15.

Vāmanācārya 41.

Vārendrī bhāṣa 28.

Vārttikārṇavabhāṣya 32,41.

-*vi* 588.

Vijayabuddhavarman, inscription of the King 10.

-*viṇu* 588.

Vidyāvinodācārya 37.

vibhāṣāḥ 3,4,5.

Vibhāṣṭa 8.

Viṣamabāṇalīlā 14.

Viṣṇunātha 33.

Vyutpattidīpikā 29,36.

Vrācaḍa Apabhramśa 28.

Vrācaḍa Paisācika 27.

śa becomes *sa* 227, *cha* 211, *ha* 262, remains *śa* 228, 229.

Śakkī 3, 28.

Śabdacintāmaṇi 41.

Śākalya 31.

Śākārī 24.

Śābarī

Śivaskandavarman, inscription of 10.

Śilāṅka 36.

Śubhacandra 41.

Śeṣa 164, note 1.

Śeṣakṛṣṇa 41.

Śaurasena Paisācika 27.

Śaurasenī 21, 22.

śka=*ška* 302.

škha=*škha* 303.

śca in Mg. 301;=*tśa* 327.

śṭa=*ṣṭa*, *ṣṭha* (?) 303.

ṣṭa=*sta* 310.

Śvetāmbara, canon of 19.

ṣa becomes *sa* 227, *śa* 229, *cha* 211, *ha* 263, *va* 265.

Śaḍbhāṣācandrikā 39.

Śaḍbhāṣasubantarūpādarśa 39.

sa becomes *śa* 229, *cha* 211, *ha* 264, *va* 265; *tśa*, *tśa* 327^a;=*ḥśa*, *ḥṣa* *ḥsa* 329.

s-stems, declension of 407-412.

Samskṛtabhava 8.

Samskṛtayoni 8.

Samskṛtasama 8.

Samkṣiptasāra 37.

Sattasāi 12, 13.

Satyabhāmāsamvāda 14.

Samantabhadra 41.

Samānaśabda 8.

Sarvasena 13, 14.

-*sā*, instr. in, of *a*-stems 364.

Sātavāhana 13, 36.

Sādhyaṁānasamskṛtabhava 8.

Simharāja 39.

Siddhasamskṛtabhava 8.

Siddhahemacandra 36.

Setūbandha 15.

Somadeva 11, 22.

ska=*ška* 302;=*kṣa* 324.

-*ska*-class, flexion of the verbs of the old 480.

skha=*škha* 302.

ṣṭa=*ṣṭa*, *ṣṭha* 303.

ṣṇa=*ṣṇa*, *ṣṇa* 314.

sta=*rtṭha* 290;=*sta*, *stha* 310.

spa=*ṣpa* 305.

spha=*ṣpha* 305.

sma=*ṣma*, *sma* 314.

ssa=*tśa*, *tśa* 327^a.

ssa=*ḥśa*, *ḥṣa*, *ḥsa* 329.

-*ssim*=*-smin* 313.

h does not fall off 266, is not inserted 266, prothesis of 338; +nasal and semi-vowel 330-333.

ha becomes *gha* 267, for causing aspiration 267, *sa* 264, 315;=*kṣa* 323.

-*ha* 206, 598.

Haraklināṭaka 11.

Hariuddha 13.

Haripāla 15.

Harivijaya 13, 14.

Harivṛddha 13.

Halāyudha 36.

Hāla 12, 13.

-*hi*-*him* = *-ṣmin* 312;=*smin* 313.

Hugga 36.

Hemacandra 36.

ḥka=*kṣa* 324.

ḥka=*kka*, *kkha* 329.

ḥpa=*ppa*, *ppha* 329.

II. GLOSSARY.

The references are to paragraphs:

a 184.
aĩmumĩka 246.
aĩmumĩtaa 246.
aĩrāhā 354.
aĩ 493.
aũpa, °a 128,444.
akarissam 516.
akasmāt 314.
akasmāddanda 314.
akāsi, akāsi 516.
akkhanto 88,491,499.
agaḍa 231.
aggim 146.
aṅgālia 102.
aṅgua 102.
acchaĩ 57,480.
accharā 328,410.
accharia, °riya, °ria 138.
accharehim 328,376,410.
acchiya 565.
acchivadaṇa 9.
acche 516.
acchera 138.
ajjama 261.
ajjuā 105.
ajjū 105.
aṭaĩ 198.
aṭṭha 290.
aṭṭhi 308.
aḍa 149.
aḍha 67,442,449.
aṇa- 77.
aṇaṇuvĩ 593.
aṇamilia 77.
aṇarāmaa 77.
aṇavadagga 251.
aṇavayagga 251.
aṇālatta 564.
aṇĩmĩtaa 246,251.
aṇĩṭṭhubhaṇya 120.
aṇuvĩ 593.
aṇuvva 196.
aṇusedhi 66.
aṇelisa 121.
aṇṇaṭṭhiya 58.
aṇṇaṇṇa 130.

aṇṇatta 293.
aṇṇatto 197.
aṇhaga 231.
ateṇa 307.
atta- = ātman 277,401.
atto 197.
attha=atra 293.
attha=artha 290.
atthagga 88.
atthabhavaṇ 293.
atthamaĩ 558.
atthamaṇa 149,558.
atthāha 88.
atthi=asti 145; used
 pleonastically 417.
adakkhu 516.
adas 432.
adimoṭṭaa 246.
adu 155.
addakkhu 516.
addāa, °ga, °ya 196,554.
addhuṭṭha 290,450.
adham 345.
ana- 430.
anamataḡga 251.
anta° 343.
antaṇ 342.
antāo 342.
antāvei 343.
anteura 344.
anteuriā 344.
anteṇa 342.
antoanteura 344.
antouvarim 343.
antovāsa 230.
antohimto 342,365.
antohutta 343.
andhāra 167.
annesĩ 516.
apuṇā° 343.
app 174.
appa- = ātman 277,401.
appataro 414.
appayaro 414.
appāhaĩ 286.
appiṇaĩ 557.

appulla 595.
appeḡaiya 174.
appeḡe 174.
apsaras, declension of
 410.
abbavi 515.
abbhaṇga 234.
abbhaṇḡiya, °da 234.
abbhaṇḡei 234.
abbhe 516.
abhū 516.
abhoṭṭca 587.
amilāya 568.
amba = amla 295; =
 āmra 295.
amban 295.
ambira 137,295.
ambila 137,295.
ammayāo 366^b.
ammo 366^b.
amhāra 434.
ayyuā 105.
Alacapura 354.
aladdhuyam 577.
alasi 244.
alāhi 365.
alla 111,294.
avaajjhaĩ 326.
avajjhāa 28,123.
avarim 123.
avarilla 123.
avaroṭṭpara 195,311.
avaha 212.
avahoāsa 123.
avahovāsa 123.
avi 143.
as (to be) 145,498.
asmākam 314.
aham=adhaḡ 345.
ahā° 335.
ahittā 582.
Ahimajju 283.
Ahimaṇḡu 283.
Ahimaṇṇu 283.
Ahivaṇṇu 251.
ahe=adhaḡ 345.

- ahesi 516.
 aho=adhaḥ 345.
 aho ya rāo 386,413.
 āa=āgata 167.
 āamba 295.
 āambira 137.
 āikkhaī 492.
 āittu 577.
 āiriya 151.
 āu=āpas 355.
 āuṇṭaṇa 232.
 āusantāro 390.
 āusanto 396.
 āū teū vāū 355.
 āo=āpas 355.
 ācaskadi 324.
 ādahai 222.
 āḍhatta 223,286,565.
 āḍhappaī 223,286.
 āḍhavaī 223,286.
 āḍhaviāi 286.
 āḍhāi 223,500.
 āḍhia 223.
 āṇamaṇi 248.
 āṇāla 354.
 āṇilliya 595.
 ātman, declension of- 401.
 āda- 88,277,401.
 ādu 155.
 āp, flexion of 504.
 ābuḍḍa 566.
 āmeḷa 122.
 āmoda 238.
 āya- 88,277,401.
 āyambila 137.
 āra 165.
 °āra 167.
 āliddha 303.
 āleḍḍhuam 303,577.
 āle ddhum 303.
 āva° 335.
 āvai 254.
 āvajja 130,246.
 āvanti 335.
 āveḍa 122.
 āveḍha 304.
 āveḍhaṇa 304.
 āsaṇgha 267.
 āsaṇghai 267.
 āsaṇghā 261.
 āsi, āsi=āsīt, used for all persons of the sing. and plur. 515.
 āsiao 28.
 āhamṣu 518.
 āhittha 308.
 āhu 518.
 āhevacca 77.
 i, flexion of 493.
 i=iti 93.
 ia, iya 116.
 ii 116.
 im 184.
 -imsu 516.
 iṅgāla 102.
 iṅgāli 102.
 icc 174.
 iṭṭagā 304.
 iṭṭā 304.
 iṇ' 173.
 itto 197.
 itthiyā 147.
 itthi 147.
 idam 429.
 idāṇim 144.
 idha 266.
 indova 168.
 indovatta 168.
 iyaṇim 144.
 ira 184.
 iva 143.
 isi 102.
 iharā 212,354.
 isa 102.
 isattha 117,148.
 isāsattḥāṇa 117.
 isi
 isim 102.
 isiya 102.
 isisa 102.
 isisi 102.
 uaha 471.
 ukkera 107.
 ukkosaī 112.
 ukkosepaṇi 112.
 ukkhala 66,148.
 ukkhā 194.
 ukkhudā 568.
 ucchilla 294.
 ucchu 117.
 ucchūḍha 66.
 ujjovemaṇa 246.
 ujjha 335,420.
 ujjhāa 155.
 uṭṭa 304.
 uṭṭhāe 593.
 uṭṭhubhaha, °bhanti 120.
 uḍḍasa 222.
 uḍḍāsa 222.
 uḍḍha 330.
 uṇa 184,342.
 uṇā 342.
 uṇāi 342.
 uṇo 342.
 uttūha 58.
 utthalaī 327^a.
 utthalia 327^a.
 udāhu 518.
 udiṇa 165.
 uddha 83,300.
 uppiṇ 123,148.
 ubbha=ūrdhva 300.
 ubbha = *tubhya 335, 420.
 ubhao 123.
 ubhaopāsam, °sim 123.
 umbara 165.
 ummilla 566.
 ummuggā 104.
 umha 335,420.
 uyha 335,420.
 uraada 307.
 urāla 245.
 ulla 111.
 uvakkhaḍāveī 559.
 uvakkhaḍei 559.
 uvaha 471.
 uvviṇṇa 276.
 uvvivaī 236.
 uvviḍha 126.
 uvvuṇṇa 276.
 uvvuttha 564.
 uvveḷlira 107.
 usu 117.
 ūā 335.
 ūsadha 67.
 ūsalaī 327^a.
 ūsalia 327^a.
 ūsava 327^a.
 ūsāra 111.
 ūsua 327^a.
 ūhaṭṭha 155.
 ūhasia 155.
 eā° 435.
 ekala 595.
 ekalla 595.
 e°kka 435.
 e°kkalla, °ya 595.

c'kkasimbali 109.
 c'kkāra 306.
 ega 435.
 e cchaṇa 579.
 c'jjantiṁ 560.
 c'jjamāṇa 561.
 eta- 426.
 e'ttia 153.
 e'ttha 107.
 e'ddaha 122.
 e'ddahame'tta 262.
 ena- 431.
 em 149.
 emahālaṇṇa, °liṇṇa 149,
 595.
 emahiddhiṇṇa 149.
 emāi 149.
 emāṇa 561.
 emeva 149.
 Erāvapa 246.
 erisa 121,245.
 elikkha 121.
 elisa 121,244.
 evaikkhutto 149.
 evaṇṇa 149.
 evaḍḍa, °aga 149.
 esuhuma 149.
 eha 166,262,263.

 o 155.
 oandaṇṇa 275,485.
 oāa 150.
 oāava 165.
 o'kkaṇi 335.
 o'kkhala 66,148.
 o'ggāla 196.
 ojjhara 326.
 o'jjhāa 155.
 oṇavia 251.
 oṇimilla 566.
 oma 154.
 omugganimuggiṇṇa 104,
 234.
 orāṇṇa 245.
 oli 154.
 o'lla 111.
 ova, ovā 150.
 ovāaa 165.
 ovāsa 230.
 ovāhaṇṇa 231.
 osaokaṇṇa 302.
 osadha 223.
 osaha 223.
 osā 154.

osāa 154.
 ohattha 564.
 ohala 66,148.
 ohāia 261,286.
 ohāmaṇṇa 261,286.
 ohāmiṇṇa 286.
 ohāvaṇṇa 286.
 ohi 154.
 ohua 286.
 ohuppanta- 286.

 ka- 428.
 kaali 245.
 kaṇṇavaṇṇa 254.
 kaṇṇavāhaṇṇa 255.
 kaṇṇadha 209.
 kaṇṇha 209.
 kaṇṇasāla 167.
 kacca 284.
 kacchabha, °bhī 208.
 kajjaṇṇa 547.
 kaṇṇcuijja 252.
 kaṇṇu 577.
 kaḍa 219.
 kaḍaṇṇa 238.
 kaḍhaṇṇa 221.
 kaḍhaṇṇa 595.
 kaṇṇavāra 258.
 kaṇṇera 258.
 Kaṇṇeradatta 258.
 kaṇṇeru 354.
 kaṇṇhadhāra 36.
 kaṇṇha 52.
 Kaṇṇha 52.
 katta 148.
 katto 197.
 kattha 293.
 katthaṇṇa 543.
 kadua 113,139,581.
 kantu 283.
 kanda=skanda 306.
 kaphāda 208.
 kabhalla 208.
 kamandha 250.
 kamba 295.
 Kambhāra 120.
 kammāra 167.
 kammunā 104,404.
 Kambhāra 120.
 kayandha 250.
 karali 245.
 karasi 238.
 kariṇṇa 547.
 kareṇṇa 354.

kareṇṇa, °ṇu 588.
 kalamba 244.
 kalera 149.
 kavattia 246.
 kasaṇṇa 132.
 kasaṇṇa 52,140.
 kasiṇṇa 52,133,140.
 kahāvaṇṇa 263.
 kāuṇṇa 574.
 kāua 251.
 kāduṇṇa 574.
 kāyaṇṇa 364.
 kasi 516.
 kāhaṇṇa 533.
 kāhala, °li 207.
 kāhāvaṇṇa 263.
 kāhii 533.
 kāhi 516,533.
 ki- 428.
 kiccā 299,587.
 kicci 271.
 kiṇṇaṇṇa 547.
 Kiṇṇa 52.
 kidha 103.
 kira 259.
 kisala 150.
 kiraṇṇa 547.
 kiṇṇu 533.
 kuari 251.
 kukkhi 321.
 kucchimaṇṇa 321.
 kujja 206.
 kuḍilla, °aa 232,595,
 note 6.
 kuḍulli 595.
 kuṇṇima 103,248.
 kuṇṇi 232.
 kuppala 277.
 kumpala 277.
 kuṇṇha 242.
 kuhāda 239,258.
 kṛ, flexion of 508,509.
 kṛt, flexion of 485.
 kṛppi 588.
 ke° 149.
 ke'ccira 149.
 keḍhava 212.
 kettia 153.
 ketthu 107.
 ke'ddaha 122.
 kemahāṇṇa 149,595.
 kemahiddhiṇṇa 149.
 kera 176.
 keraa, °ka 176.

kerisa 121,245.
 kela 166.
 kelaa, °ka 176.
 keliśa 121.
 keli 166.
 kevaīya 149.
 kevāciram, °cci° 149.
 kesua 76.
 keha 166,262.
 ko'jja 206.
 koḍilla 232,595, note 6.
 koḍha 66.
 koḍhi- 66.
 koḍhiya 66.
 ko'ppi 594.
 ko'lhāhala 242,304.
 ko'lhua 242,304.
 kohaṇḍi 127.
 kohala 123.
 kohaḷi 127.
 kkhu 94.
 kram, flexion of 481.
 kri, flexion of 51.

khaṇa 322.
 khaṇṇa 566.
 khaṇṇu 90,309.
 khalhihaḍaū 110,207,
 242.
 khalḷiḍa 110.
 khatta 566.
 khamā 322.
 khambha 306.
 khammaī 540.
 khasia 232.
 khahayāra, °cara 206.
 khāi 165.
 khāṇu 309.
 khiṇkhiṇi 206.
 khila 206.
 khu 94,148.
 khujja 206.
 khutta 564,568.
 khudā, °da 222,568.
 khudḍia 206.
 khunṇa 568.
 khutto 206.
 khuppaī 286.
 khuluha 139,206.
 kheḍaa 311.
 kheḍia 311.
 kheḍḍa 90,206.
 kheḍḍai 90,206.
 kheḍḍā 122.
 kheḷadi 206.

khe'llai 206.
 khokhubhamāna 556.
 khodaa 311.
 khyā, flexion of 492.
 gai 594.
 gaḷia 152,393.
 gacchari 523.
 gaḍa 219.
 gaḍhai 212.
 gaḍhiya 221.
 gaṇṭhai 333.
 gaṇṭhi 333.
 gaṇṭhilla 595, note 6,
 gadua 113,139,581.
 ganthai 333.
 ganthima 333.
 gabbhiṇa 246,406.
 game'ppi, game'ppiṇu
 588.
 gamesai 261.
 gampi 588.
 garua, °ya 123.
 garukka 299.
 garuḷa 240.
 gaḷoi 127,
 gavāṇi 165.
 gahara 9,132.
 gahāya 591.
 gahia, gahiya, gahida
 564.
 gāi 393.
 gāuya 65,80.
 gāna 165.
 gāṇi 165.
 gāmilla 595.
 gāmilla 595.
 gāmeṇi 161.
 gāmelua 595.
 gāme'llaga 595.
 gāyari 62.
 gāra 142.
 gārava 61a.
 gāva=gāyanti 254.
 gāvi 393.
 gindu 107.
 gimbha 267.
 gimha 314.
 gihida 564.
 guṇcha 74.
 guḍāha 206.
 guttha 564.
 grāhe'ppiṇu 588.
 ge'jha 109,572.
 ge'jjhai 548.

ge'ndua 107.
 geruya 60,118.
 gehi 66.
 go, declension of 393.
 goilla 595.
 goṇa 393.
 gonikka 598.
 goṇi 393.
 Gothubha 208.
 Goḷa 244.
 go'llhā 242.
 goḷhāphala 242.
 grah, flexion of 512.

Ghaḍukka 150.
 ghatta 281.
 gharillaa, °lli 595.
 gharola 168.
 gharoliyā 168.
 gharoli 168.
 ghāaṇa 209.
 ghimsu 101,105.
 ghisai 103,209,482.
 gheṇa 586.
 ghe'cchāmo 212,534.
 ghettavva 212,570.
 ghe'ttuāṇa, °am 212,
 584.
 ghe'ttum 212,574.
 ghe'ttūṇa 584,586.
 ghe'ttūṇam 586.
 ghe'ppai 107,212,286,
 548.
 ghe'ppim 580.
 ghe'ppijai 548.
 ghrā, flexion of 483.

caḷūṇa 586.
 caṭṭa 281.
 caṭṭā 582.
 caṭṭu 577.
 caṭṭka 302.
 cakkāa 167.
 cakkīyā 465.
 cakkhai 202.
 cakṣ, flexion of 499.
 caccara 299.
 caccikka 508.
 cacchāi 216.
 cattāri for all genders
 439.
 candimā 103.
 carana 257.
 calaṇa 257.
 caviḍa 80,238.

caviḷā 80,238.
 Cāuṇḍā 251.
 cikkhalla 206, p. 412.
 ciccā 587.
 ciccāṇa 299,587.
 ciṭṭhā 216,483.
 cindha 267.
 cindhāla 267.
 cimiḍha 207,248.
 cimma 536.
 ciṣṭa 134,280.
 Cilāa 230.
 civva 536.
 cihura 206.
 cīa 165.
 cīvandaṇa 165.
 cukka 566.
 cuccha 216.
 culla 325.
 culloḍaa 325.
 ceiṣa 134.
 ceṣcā 587.
 ceṣcāṇa 299,587.
 co,co^o 166.

cha, cha^o=ṣaṭ 211,241.
 chaṭa 568.
 chaḷla 595.
 chaḷla 595.
 chaṭṭha 211.
 chaṇa 322.
 chattivanna 103.
 chamā 322.
 chamī 211.
 chara 328.
 charu 327.
 chaḷ^o 211,240.
 Challuṣa 148.
 chaha 263.
 chāa 328.
 chāḷla 595.
 chāṇa 165.
 chāla 231.
 chāli 231.
 chāva 211.
 chāhā 206,255.
 chāhī 206,255.
 chikka 124,566.
 chiḍḍa 294.
 chippa 211.
 chippāla 211.
 chippālua 211.
 chippinḍi 211.
 chippira 211.

chirā 211.
 chillā 294.
 chivāḍi 211.
 chihai 311.
 chihā 311.
 chiṣa 124.
 chiṣamāṇa 124.
 chuī 211.
 chuhā 211.
 chuhia 211.
 chūḍha 66.
 cheṣccham 532.
 cheṣpa 211.

Jaṭṭā 251.
 Jāuṇā 251.
 jaṭṭha 565.
 jaṭṭhi 255.
 jaḍha 67,565.
 jattu 293.
 jatto 197.
 jattha 293.
 jampa 296.
 jampaṇa 296.
 jampira 296.
 jamma 540.
 Jahiṭṭhila 118.
 jahuṭṭhila 118.
 jā=yāt 427.
 jāni 594.
 jāma 261.
 jāmahī 261.
 jāla 167.
 ji 150,336.
 ji flexion of 473.
 jigghia 565.
 jiṇṇepi 588.
 jinṇi 594.
 jidha 103.
 jibbhā 332.
 jiva 143,336.
 jivva 536.
 jiha 103.
 jīa 138.
 jīhā 65.
 juṇṇa 58.
 juppa 286.
 jumma 277.
 juvala 231.
 juhiṭṭhila 118.
 jūa 335.
 jūva 230.
 jūha 221.
 je 150,336.

je^o 166.
 jeṭṭia 153.
 jeṣḍḍaha 122,262.
 jeṣpi 588.
 jeva 95,336.
 jeva 336.
 jeṣva 95,336.
 jeha 166,262.
 joedi 246.
 jogasā 364.
 joḍam, joḍo, 9.
 Jonṇiṣā 154.
 joṇṇā 334.
 jjeva, jjeṣva 95,336.
 jñā, flexion of 510.

jhaḍila 209.
 jhattha 209.
 jhampa 326.
 jhampani 326.
 jhampia 326.
 jhaṣa 299.
 jharaa 326.
 jharai 326.
 jharua 211,326.
 jhalā 211.
 jhāma 326.
 jhāmiṣa 326.
 jhāmei 326.
 jhāruā 211.
 jhiṣai 326.
 jhiṣai 134,280,326.
 jhiṇa 326.
 jhuṇi 299.
 jhusira 211.
 jhūsaṇa 209.
 jhūsittā 209.
 jhūsiṣa 209.
 jheṣṇḍeu 107.
 jhoda 326.
 jhodia 326.
 jhoṇḍaliā 326.

tagara 218.
 timbaru 124,218.
 tuṭṭai 292.
 tuṭṭunṇanto 556.
 tūvara 218.

thaḍḍha 333.
 thambha 308.
 thavi 594.
 thiccā 587.
 thūṇa 181.

̥hera 166,308.
 ̥akka 222,566.
 ̥ad̥dhādi 222.
 ̥aṇḍa 222.
 ̥ambhia 222.
 ̥ara 222.
 ̥araī 222.
 ̥asaī 222.
 ̥ahaī 222.
 ̥ola 222.
 ̥olā 222.
 ̥olia 222.
 ̥ohaja 222,224.
 dhakka 221.
 dhakkaī, °ei 221.
 dhaṅka 213,223.
 dhaṅkaṇī 221.
 dhaṅkiśsaṁ 221.
 dhamkupa 107,212,267.
 dhajjai, °di 212.
 dham̥dhallaī 556.
 dhayyadi 212.
 dhiṅka 213.
 dhiṅkupa 267.
 dhillā 556.
 dhum̥dhullaī 556.
 dhe°nki 213,223.
 dheṁkupa 107,212,267.
 dhe°lla 150.
 ñaia 590.
 nae 411, note 2, 493.
 note 4.
 nakka 306.
 naṅa 133.
 ñaṅala 260.
 ñaṅaliya 260.
 ñaṅgula 260.
 ñaṅgūla 260.
 ñaṅgola 127,260.
 ñaccā, naccā 587.
 naccāṇa 587.
 ñaccāṇaṁ 587.
 ñajjai 548.
 ñaḍāla 260,354.
 ñappaī 548.
 ñaṁ 150.
 namo°kkāra 195,306.
 ñamoyāra 306.
 ñalāda 260,354.
 ñavaī 251.
 ñavakāra 251.
 ñavayāra 306.

ñavara, °raṁ 184.
 ñavari 184.
 ñavvaī 548.
 ñavvīaī 548.
 ñahaara 301.
 ñaijjai 548.
 ñāu 152.
 ñāuna 586.
 ñakkha 194.
 ñāliara 129.
 Nāhala 260.
 ñāhii, nāhi 534.
 ñiattha 564.
 ñiandhana 201.
 ñiura 126.
 ñikkamaī, °adi 302.
 ñikkha 306.
 ñikkhamai, ni° 302,481.
 nigīṇa 101,133.
 ñighasa 202,206.
 ñijjūḍha 221.
 ñijjharai 326.
 ñijjhoḍai 326.
 ñittuhia 120.
 ñiḍāla 260,354.
 ñip̥akkhu 516.
 ñip̥āra 167.
 ñip̥haga 231.
 ñiddha, ni° 313.
 ñibuḍḍa 566.
 nibhelāṇa 206,266.
 ñimai 118,261.
 ñimilla 566.
 ñimeḷa 122.
 ñimboliya 167,247.
 ñimma 149.
 ñiyatthiya 564.
 ñiyamasā 364.
 ñiyāga 254.
 niraṅgaṇa 234.
 ñilāda 260,354.
 ñisaḍḍa 67.
 Nisaḍḍa 223.
 nisiraī 235.
 nisīḍḍa 221.
 nissāe 593.
 nisseṇī 149.
 ñihasa 206.
 ñihāa 206.
 ñihitta, ni° 286.
 ñihippanta- 286.
 ñihelāṇa 206,266.
 nī "to go away 463, note 4, "to go" 493 note 4.

ñii 493.
 ñīma, ñīma 248.
 ñīmī 261.
 ñisaṇiā, °ni 149.
 ñisāe 593.
 ñumaī 118,261.
 ñumajjai 118.
 ñumanna 118.
 ñeura, °la 126.
 ñedaṁ 174.
 ñeyāuṇa 60,118.
 ñelaccha 66.
 ñevacche°ttā 582.
 ñeha, ñeha 313.
 ño°llaī 244.
 ñohala 260.
 ñhāru 255.
 ñhāruṇī 255.
 ñhāvia 210,313.
 ñhāviya 210.
 ñhusā 148,313.

ta- 425.
 taia, taija, taiya, tadia
 82,91,1134,449.
 taccia 281,299.
 tattha 308.
 tattilla 595.
 tattu 293.
 tatto 197.
 tattha 293.
 tatthabhavaṁ 293.
 tamāḍai 554.
 tamba=tāmra 295.
 tamba=stamba 307.
 tambakimi 295.
 tambarattī 295.
 Tambavaṇṇī 295.
 tambasiha 295.
 tambā 295.
 tambira 137,295.
 tambirā 137.
 tambola 127.
 taraccha 123.
 talavo°ṇṭa 53.
 talāra 167.
 talāva 231.
 talima 248.
 tava=stava 307.
 tahiya 281.
 tā = tāt 425.
 tāthā 76,304.
 tāma 261.
 tāmahī 261.

tālaveṇṭa 53.
 tālavoṇṭa 53.
 tālā 167.
 tāliyaṇṭa 53.
 tāvattisā 254.
 ti, tti 92, 143.
 tikkha 312.
 tikkhābilaka 137.
 tikkhālia 312.
 tigicchaī 215.
 tigicchaṇṭa, °ga 215.
 tigicchā 215.
 tigicchiya 215.
 tinṇi, tinni, for all
 genders 438.
 tinha 312.
 tidha 103.
 tinta 564.
 timma 277.
 tiricchi 151.
 tiliści 151.
 tiha 103.
 tia 165.
 tiya 142.
 tuṭṭa 564.
 tuṭṭiya 222, 258.
 tundilla 565, note 6.
 turukka 302.
 tuhaṇ 206.
 tuhāra 434.
 tuhū 206.
 tūthike 58.
 tūba 58.
 teavaī 559.
 teicchā 215.
 teu=tejas 355.
 teṇa 307.
 teṇiya 134, 307.
 teḍḍaha 122, 262.
 teḷḷoḷḷa 196.
 teha 166, 262.
 to 142.
 toṇa 127.
 toṇira 127.
 tohara 434.
 tva- 420-422.
 thaḍḍha 333.
 thappi 594.
 thambha 308.
 tharatharei, °edi 207.
 tharu 327.
 thaha 88.
 thāu 251.

thāṇu 309.
 thāha 88.
 thippaī 130, 207.
 thimpaī 207.
 thiya 147.
 thī 147.
 thīṇa 151.
 thulla 127.
 thuvaa 111.
 thuvvaī 536.
 thūṇa 129.
 thūbha 208.
 thūbhiya 208.
 thūbhiyāgā 208.
 thūha 208.
 theṇa 307.
 theṇilla 129, 307, 595.
 theppaī 207.
 thera 166.
 therāsaṇa 166.
 therosaṇa 166.
 theva 130, 207.
 thonā 127.
 thora 127.
 thova 230.
 daī 594.
 daīa 590.
 daīssaṇ 530.
 daṇṣ, flexion of 484.
 daṇṣaī 554.
 dakkhaī 504.
 dakkhavaī 554.
 dakkhiṇattā 281.
 dakkhu 516, note 4,
 daga 141.
 daccā 587.
 datta 566.
 Damiḷa 261.
 Damiḷi 261.
 dara 222.
 Daviḍa 261.
 Daviḷa 261.
 Dasāra 332.
 dāha 262, 354.
 dahium, dahidum 574.
 dā=tāvat 150.
 vḍā 500.
 dāgha 266.
 dādhā 76, 304.
 dādhi 76.
 dāṇim 144.
 dārā 298.
 dāva 185.

dāvaī 275, 554.
 dāvei 554.
 dāhaṇ, dāhāmi 530.
 dāhiṇa 65.
 di°=dvi° 298.
 dia 298.
 diaha 294.
 diāhama 298.
 digimchā 74.
 diṇṇa, dinna 566.
 divaḍḍha 230, 450.
 Divvāsā 297.
 diso 355.
 dissa 334.
 dissam 334.
 dissā 334.
 dihi 212.
 dije 545.
 disium 580.
 dihara 132, 354.
 du 185.
 du°=dus 340.
 dualla 90, 126.
 duumchāi 74.
 dugumchā 74, 123.
 dagumchāi 74.
 dugumchā 74.
 dugga 329.
 Duggāvi 149.
 duggejjha 572.
 dujjha 331.
 dubbhaī 266, 544.
 dubhi 148.
 duruhaī 118, 139, 141, 482.
 duvālasa 244.
 dussila 329.
 duhavi 231.
 duhāvaī 559.
 duhia 565.
 duhitṭ, declension of
 392
 dūhala 264.
 dūhava 62, 231.
 de=te 185.
 de (absol of dā) 166,
 594.
 deia 590.
 deula 168.
 deuliya 168.
 deḷḷkhaī 554.
 deppinu 588.
 dera 112.
 devaṇ 579.
 devāṇuppiya 111.

dehai 66.
 dogarñchi- 74.
 dōgga 215.
 donñi, donni for all
 genders 436.
 dodhāra 167.
 doṇṇapadi 61.
 dosa 129.
 dosākarapa 129.
 dosāṇia 215.
 dosiṇā 133, 215.
 dosiṇi 215.
 dohaḷa 222, 244.
 dramma 268.
 draha 268, 354.
 drehi 66.

dhaa 299.
 Dhatthajjuṇa 278.
 dhaṇuḷa 263.
 dhammuṇā 104, 404.
 dharamapatani p. 412.
 dhā, flexion of 500.
 dhāi 165.
 dhāri 292.
 dhippai 209.
 dhi-r-atthu 353.
 dhidā, dhiyā 65, 148, 392.
 dhuṇi 299.
 dhuuvai 536.
 dhūā, dhūdā, dhūyā 65,
 148, 212, 392,
 dhrum 268.

n sec ṇ

pai°=prati 220.
 pai 300.
 paūttha 564.
 pauma 139.
 paero 36.
 paogasā 364.
 paosa, padosa 129.
 pagambhai 296.
 pañkhi-, °ñi 74.
 paṇḡuraṇa 213.
 pacisa 273.
 paccatthima 602.
 paccatthimilla 595.
 paccappiṇai 557.
 paccūsa 263.
 paccūha 263.
 paccosakkaḷ 302.
 pacchitta 165.

pacchi 293.
 pacchekamma- 112.
 pajjava 254.
 pajjharai 326.
 paṭimā 218.
 paṭṭhi, piṭṭhi, puṭṭhi
 53, 194.
 paḍai 218.
 paḍamsuā 115.
 paḍāā, °gā, °yā 218.
 paḍāyāṇa 163, 258.
 paḍilehāe 593.
 paḍilehittā 593.
 paḍilehiyā 593.
 paḍiṇa 165.
 paḍucca 163, 202, 590.
 paḍucciya 163.
 paḍuppanna 163.
 paḍoyāra 163.
 paḍhama, °dhu °221.
 paṇa=pañca 273.
 paṇiyattha 564.
 paṇuvisarñ 104, 273.
 paṇuvisā 273.
 paṇṇa=pañca 273.
 pattiaḷ, pattiyaḷ, pattiā-
 adi 281, 487.
 patteya 281.
 patthi 293.
 padissā 334.
 papaliṇu 567.
 pabbhāra 270, note 4.
 pamhusai 210.
 paravvasa 196.
 parasuhatta 194.
 pariuttha 564.
 parigheṭṭavva 570.
 paricchūḍha 66.
 parijhūsiya 209.
 pariṇibheṭṭā 582.
 pariyaḡa 254.
 pariyaḷa 257.
 parivuttha 564.
 parisakkaḷ 302.
 parisapaḷa 315.
 parihissāmi 530.
 paroṇṇpara 195, 311.
 palakkha 132.
 palāa 567.
 palāṇa 567.
 palāha 262.
 pali=pari 257.
 paliucchūḍha 66.
 palila 244.

palivei 244.
 pallaṇka 285.
 pallaṭṭa 130, 285.
 pallaṭṭai 130, 285.
 pallaṭṭha 285.
 pallāna 285.
 palhattha 285.
 palhatthaḷ 285.
 palhattharaṇa 285.
 pavatṭha 129.
 pavuttha 564.
 pasina 133.
 pasuhatta 194.
 paseḍhi 66.
 pahuccai 286, 299.
 pahuḍi 218.
 pahuppai 286.
 pā (to drink), flexion
 of 483.
 pāikka 165, 194.
 pāuṇittā 582.
 pāuraṇa 104.
 pāuraṇi 104.
 pāulla 595.
 Pādaliutta 292.
 pādikka 163.
 pādihera 176.
 pāṇia, °iya 91.
 pāṇu 105.
 pāmaddā 291.
 pāyae 578.
 pāyām 342.
 pāra 167.
 pāraa 167.
 pārakka 598.
 pāraddha 249.
 paraddhi 249.
 pārāa 167.
 pārevaya 112.
 pāvaḍaṇa 165.
 pāvāliā 167.
 pāvīḍha 165.
 pāsa (eye) 9.
 pāsa (side) 63.
 pāhaṇāo 141, 354.
 pāhaṇi 524.
 pāhāṇa 263.
 pāhāmi 524.
 pi 143.
 piavi 588.
 piucchā 148.
 piusiya, piussia °iya
 148.
 pikka 101.

piccā 587.
 picchī 299.
 piṁcha 74.
 piṇḍhattae 142.
 piṭṭ, declension of 391.
 pittijja 286.
 pibba 572.
 pilakkhu 105.
 pilamkhu 74, 105.
 piva 336.
 pisalla 150, 232, 595.
 piṣāji 202.
 pisumaa p. 412.
 pisesa p. 412.
 piṣṭi 53.
 pihaḍa 239, 258.
 piluṭṭha 138.
 pums, declension of 412.
 pumsai 486.
 pucchissam 516.
 pumcha 74.
 puṭa 238, note 2.
 puṭṭha=sprṣta 311.
 puṭṭhavam 569.
 puḍa 292.
 puḍhama, °dhu °221.
 puḍhavi 51, 115, 139.
 puḍho 78.
 puṇa 342.
 puṇa° 343.
 puṇapunaḥkaraṇa 329, 343.
 puṇā 343.
 puṇāi, puṇāim 342.
 puṇu 342.
 puṇo 342.
 puṇṇāma 231.
 pudhuma 221.
 pupphā 148.
 pupphāi 148.
 puratthima 602.
 purabbheyaṇi 238.
 purilla 595.
 purilladeva 595.
 purillapahāṇā 595.
 purisa 124.
 purisoṭṭama 124.
 Puruvva 139, 195.
 pure 345.
 pulaai 104, 130.
 puliṣa 124.
 puvvai 536.
 puvviri 103.
 puṣṭhaka 292.

pusia 101.
 puhai, puhavi 51, 115, 139.
 puhuvi 139.
 pūha 142, 286.
 peṭṭa 121.
 peṭṭā 587.
 peḍha 122.
 peḍhāla 122.
 peṭanta 176.
 peṭkadi 324.
 peṭhāc 323, 593.
 pehiyā 323, 590.
 pehi-sāmi 530.
 pehuṇa 89.
 poṭṭphala, °li 148.
 poṭṭma 139, 166, 195.
 pora- 176.
 porevacca 345.
 posaha 141.
 pha 200.
 phāṇasa 208.
 phāṇiha 206.
 pharaa 259.
 pharasu 208.
 pharusa 208.
 phalaga, °ya 206.
 phalaha, °haga 206.
 phaliha 208.
 phaliṇa 206, 238.
 phaliḥa 208.
 phalihi 208.
 phāḍei 208.
 phāliya 206.
 phāliḥadda 208.
 phāsuya 208.
 phusiya 101, 208.
 baiṣa 300.
 bandra 268.
 bandh, flexion of 513.
 bappa 305.
 bappa 305.
 bambba- 267.
 bambha- 267.
 bambhacera 176.
 bambhaṇa 250, 267.
 bambhacera 176.
 balasā 364.
 Bahappaī, °di, °pphai 53, 212.
 bahave 345, 380, 381, 382.

Bahassaī 53, 212.
 bahiṇiā 212.
 bahiṇi 212.
 bahiṇue 212.
 bahim 181.
 bahu, declension of 380 —382.
 bahuaya 598.
 bahedāa 115.
 bāra 300.
 bāraha 300, 443.
 bāha 305.
 bāhim 181.
 bāhimhinto 365.
 bi°=dvi° 300.
 bia=165.
 biia, biijja, biiya 82, 91, 134, 165, 300, 449.
 birāla 241.
 Bihapphadi 53, 212.
 Bihaṣpadi 212.
 Bihassaī 53, 212.
 biā, biya 165.
 bihaṇa 213, 263, 501.
 buiya 565.
 bujjhā 299.
 buḍḍa 566.
 Buhaṣpadi 212.
 Buhassaī 212.
 būra 166.
 be 300, 436, 437.
 bemi 166, 494.
 besa 300.
 bodraha 268.
 bora 166.
 bohāri 166.
 broṭppi, broṭpṇu 588.
 Bhaappaī, °pphai, °ssai 212.
 bhai 594.
 bhattā 289.
 bhaṇ, flexion of 514.
 bhattā 289.
 bhante 165, 366b.
 bhappa 313.
 bhamaṇā 123, 124.
 bhamaḍai 554.
 bhamuhā 124, 206, 261.
 bhambhala 209.
 bhayantaro 390.
 bhayasā 364.
 bharaī 313.
 Bharadha 207.

Bharaha 207.
bhartṛ, declension of 390.

bhalaī 313.
bhasanemi 559.
bhasama 132,313.
bhasala 251.
bhassa 65,313.
bhāissarī 530.
bhāujjā 148.
bhāṇa 165.
bhāmiṇī 231.
Bhāraha 207.
bhāriā 284.
Bhāladha 207.
bhālika 598.
bhāsa 65,313.
Bhiappaī, °pphaī °ssaī, 212.

bhiudi 124.
bhiṇḍimāla 248.
bhippha 312.
bhibbhala 209.
bhibbhisamiṇa 556.
bhimora 266.
bhimbhala 209.
Bhimbhisāra 209.
bhisa 209.
bhisiā, °gā 209.
bhisa 209.
bhisiā, °gā 209.
bhisinī 209.
bhisī 209.
bhī, flexion of 501.
Bhuappaī, °pphaī, °ssaī 212.

bhukkaī 209.
bhukkhā 209.
bhujjataro 414.
bhujjaṇaro 414.
bhumaā 124,261.
bhumagā 124,261.
bhumayā 124,261.
bhumā 124,261.
bhumhadi 210.
bhulla 354,566.
bhullaī 354.
bhuvī 516.
bhū, flexion of 475,476.
bhe°ccharī 532.
bhe°ttūṇa 586.
bhe°mbhala 209.
bhe°ccā 299,587.
bhe°ccharī 532.

bhōhā 124,166,251.
bhrāsa 268.

ma 415-419.
maūattayā 597.
maūḍa 123.
maūra 123.
maūla 123.
maghamaghanta,
°ghe°nta 266,558.
maghoṇa 403.
maccaī 202.
macciya 598.
majjhaṇṇa 148,214.
majjhattha 214.
majjhatthadā 214.
maḍa 219.
madhai 294.
maṇamsilā 74,347.
maṇasilā 347.
maṇāma 248.
maṇāsila 64,347.
maṇe 457,489.
maṇosilā 347.
madagala 192,202.
mantakkha 283.
mantu 283.
manthu 105.
mammadha 251.
mayyhaṇṇa 148.
marai 313.
maragaa 202.
Maradhī 67,354.
Marahatṭha 354.
marijjiurī 580.
malai 244,294.
mahāimahālaya, °liya 595.
mahamāsa 74.
mahāme°ttha 293.
mahalla, °ya 595.
mahāpubhāga 231.
mahāra 434.
mahālaya, °liya 595,
mahisikka 598.
mahesi 57.
māukka 299.
māucchā 148.
māusiyā, māussīā 148.
mātr-, declension of 392.
māducchaa 148.
māducchiā 148.
māhaṇa 250.
māhaṇatta 250.

māhuliṇga 207.
mi 145,313,498.
mimjā 77,101.
miṇṭha 293.
mimḍha 80.
miriya 177.
mirii 177.
milakkhu 105,233.
miva 336.
misālia 64,595.
mukka 566.
muc, flexion of 485.
muṇai 489.
murava 254.
muravi 254.
murukkha 131,139,195.
mualla, °lliaa 595.
meḍambha 166.
meḍhi 221.
me°ṇṭha 293.
me°mṭhi 86.
memḍha, °i 86.
°me°tta 109.
me°ttapurisa 293.
merā 176.
meliṇa 562.
mo 313.
mo°ccharī 526.
mo°tṭima 238.
moḍa 166,238.
mo°ttavva 570.
mo°ttūṇa 586.
mora 166.
moha=mayūkha 166.
mhi 145,498.

ya 45, 184, 187.
ya- 427.
jampideṇa 296.
yā with prati, flexion of 487.
yāvi 143.
yeva 336.
yyeva 336.
raaṇa 132.
railliya 595.
ragga 566.
raccasi 202.
raṇṇa 142.
radaṇa 132.
rayaṇi 141.
ravaṇṇa 91,251.
rasa, raha=daśa 245.

rahaṭṭa 142.
 rahassa=hrasva 354.
 rāikka 598.
 rāiṇṇa 157.
 rāula 168.
 rāesi 57.
 rājan, declension of 399,
 400.
 rāyagai 65.
 riuvveya 139,195.
 rikka 566.
 rikkāsi 516.
 ricāim 56,358.
 Riṭṭha, riṭṭha 142.
 ruila 257.
 rukka (tree) 320.
 ruṇṇa 566.
 rud, flexion of 495.
 Ruppi- 277.
 Ruppini 277.
 rubbhai 266,546.
 rumbhai 266,507.
 ruvvai 536.
 ruh, flexion of 482.
 roṇa 586.
 ro'ccham 529.
 ro'ttavva 570.
 ro'ttum 574.
 ro'ttūna 586.

 lai 594.
 Lakkhaṇa 312.
 lacchi 312.
 laṭṭha 564.
 laṭṭhi 255.
 laṭṭhiā 255.
 laṭṭhi 255.
 laḍāla 260.
 laṇha 315.
 ladaṇa 132.
 labbhā 465.
 labh, flexion of 484.
 lalāḍa 260.
 lahiyāṇa 592.
 lāu 141.
 lāutta 168.
 lāula 168.
 lāu 141.
 lāḍha 564.
 Lādhā 257.
 libbhāi 266,544.
 limba 207.
 limbaḍaa 247.
 liṇa 57.

lua 568.
 lukka 566.
 lukkha 257.
 luvvai 536.
 lūha 257.
 leḍu 304.
 leḍua 304.
 leḍukka 304.
 leḍhukka 304.
 leṇa 153.
 le'ppinu 588.
 leḷu 304.
 levi, levinu 588.
 lodha 304.
 loṇa 154.
 lhasuṇa 210.
 lhikka 566.
 lhikkaī 210.

 va 143.
 vaamsa 142.
 vaīra=vajra 135.
 vakka=vākya 279.
 vakkamaī 142.
 vagguhim 99.
 vaggūhim 381.
 vaṅka 74.
 vacāha 206.
 vaccaī 202.
 vaccā 587.
 vāṇjara 251.
 vaṇṇadi 104,276,488.
 °vaṭṭha 53.
 vaṭṭhida 142.
 °vaṭṭhim 265.
 vaḍimsa, °saga, °sayā
 103.
 vaḍdhi 52.
 vaḍha 207.
 vaṇappaī, °di 311.
 vaṇassaī 311.
 vaṇimaga 248.
 °vattarim 265.
 vattavva 570.
 °vattiyaṇ 281.
 vatthae 578.
 vanda 268.
 vammaha 251.
 vamhala 142.
 vayāsi 516.
 vali 594.
 vasahi 207.
 vāutta 168.
 vāuṇa 218.

vāuḷa 218.
 vāga 62.
 vāgala 62.
 Vāṇavantara 251.
 Vāṇarasī 354.
 Vālāṇasī 354.
 vāvaḍa, °vu° 218.
 vāhitta 286.
 vāhippai 286.
 vi 143.
 via 143,336.
 viaṇa 151.
 viaṇā 81.
 viuvittae 578.
 viuvviya 565.
 viola 166.
 viosisre 235.
 vikkeai 557.
 vigiṇcaī 485.
 vigiṇciyavva 570.
 vicca 202.
 viccharim 526.
 vicchiya 50.
 vicchua, °uṇa 50.
 vicchūḍha 66.
 vijadha 67,565.
 vijjajjhara 216.
 vijjam 299.
 vijjulā, °li 244.
 vijjhāi 326.
 vimcua 50,301.
 vimchia 50.
 vimchua 50.
 vidima 103,248.
 vidda 240.
 viḍhatta 223,286,565.
 viḍhappaī 223,286.
 viḍhavaī 223,286.
 viḍhavijjaī 286.
 viṇibudda 566.
 vitigicchā 215.
 vitigicchāmi 215.
 vitigimchāi 74,215.
 vitigimchā 74,215.
 viddāa 568.
 viddhi 52.
 vippajadha 67,565.
 vippajahāya 591.
 vippalhattha 285.
 vippahūna 120.
 vibbhala 332.
 Vibbhāra 266.
 vibharaī 313.
 Vibhāṣā 208.

viya 143,336.
 viruva 80.
 vilia 151.
 viva 336,337.
 vivalhattha 285.
 visadha 67.
 visedhi 66.
 viha 263.
 vihatthi 207.
 vihala 206,332.
 vihasanti 206.
 vihumḍua 9,275.
 vihaṇū 120.
 vimamsā 251.
 vili 107.
 visum 152.
 vuccai 337,544.
 vuccattha 337.
 vuccā 587.
 vuccāmu 516.
 vuṇaī 104,237,488.
 vuñc'ppi 588.
 vuddhi 52.
 vuṇṇa 276.
 vutta 337.
 vuttha 303,337,564.
 vubbhaī 266,337,541.
 vūḍha 337.
 vūhae 76.
 veuvviya 565.
 ve'cchaṇ 529.
 veda 122,240.
 vedisa 101.
 vedujja 241.
 vedha 304.
 vedhaī 304.
 vedhaṇa 304.
 vedhima 304.
 ve'ṇṭa 53.
 ve'ttuṇ 574.
 ve'ttiṇa 586.
 Ve'bbhāra 266.
 Vebhāra 266.
 vera=vajra 166.
 verulia, 'liya 80.
 veḷu 243.
 ve'lla 107.
 ve'llaī 107.
 ve'llarī 107.
 ve'llā 107.
 ve'lli 107.
 ve'llira 107.
 Vesamaṇa 261.
 vo'ccattha 337.

vo'cchaṇ 529.
 vo'ṇṭa 53.
 vo'ttavva 570.
 vo'ttuṇ 574.
 vo'ttiṇa 586.
 vodraha 268.
 vosiraī 235.
 Vrāsa 268.
 vva 143.
 śak, flexion of 505.
 śam, flexion of 489.
 śi 145,498.
 śuṇahaka 206.
 śeṇaṇ 176.
 śri, flexion of 473.
 śru, flexion of 503.
 śvas, flexion of 496.
 sa- 423.
 saadha 207.
 saṃlatta 564.
 sakka 566.
 sakkaa, sakkada, sakkaya
 76.
 sakkaī 302.
 sakkaṇomi, 'kku° 140,
 505.
 sakkā 465.
 saṅkala, 'lā 213.
 saṅkaliya 213.
 saṅkhalā 213.
 saṃghaṇa 267.
 saṃghadi 267.
 saṃghāra 267.
 saccavaī 559.
 sajjhāsa 299.
 sadai 222.
 sadḍhā 333.
 sadhā 207.
 sadhila 115.
 saṇapphaṇa 148.
 saṇicchara 84.
 saṇimcara 84.
 saṇdeya 213.
 saṇha 315.
 sattari 245.
 sattāvisamjoaṇo 9.
 saddahai 333.
 saddhā 333.
 saddhiṇ 103.
 santi, pleonastically used
 417.
 samdattha 304.
 samdāva 275.

samdhium 575.
 samdhissāmi 530.
 samaccharchiṇ 328.
 samañāuso 396.
 samara 250.
 samassaia 590.
 samāḍhatta 223,286.
 samāṇa 561.
 samijjhāi 326.
 samilā 247.
 samupehiyā 323,590.
 samupehiyāṇaṇ 592.
 samosaḍha 67.
 sampehāe 323,593.
 sāpehiyā 323,590.
 sambharaṇa 313.
 saraa, 'ya 355.
 saraḍuya 259.
 salilā 244.
 savvṇigia 598.
 savvattha 293.
 sassiria 195.
 sahia 150.
 sahū 206.
 sāmacccha 281.
 sāmatta 281,334.
 sāmari 88,109,259.
 sāmali 88.
 Sāyavāhaṇa 244.
 Sālavāhaṇa 244.
 Sālāhaṇa 244.
 Sālīvāhaṇa 244.
 sāha 64,262.
 sāhai 264.
 sāhattu 577.
 sāhāra 167.
 si 145,498.
 sikka 566.
 siṅkhalā 213.
 siṅgha 267.
 Siṅghala 267.
 Siṅghali 267.
 siṅghāḍaga 209.
 siṅghāṇa-267.
 sija 101.
 sināṇa 133.
 sippa 211.
 sippai 286.
 sippi 286.
 sippira 211.
 simiṇa 133,177,248.
 simpai 286.
 simbali 109.
 simbha- 267.

- simbhiya 267.
 siyā, pleonastically used 417.
 Siri, siri=Śrī, śrī 98.
 sirihā 206.
 siviṇa, °aa 133,177,248.
 sivvi 9.
 sihaī 311.
 sībhara 206,266.
 siyā 165.
 siha 76.
 sihara 206,266.
 sue 139.
 sukka=śuśka 302.
 sukkila 136, 195.
 sukkhaviṇti 543.
 sugga 329.
 suṇaha 206.
 suṇṇi 594.
 suṇhā=sāsnā 111.
 suṇhā=snuṣā 139,148, 263,313,
 sunuṣā 139,148,313.
 sundera 176.
 subbhi 148.
 sumiṇa 133,177,248.
 summaṭṭi 536.
 suyarāe 345.
 suviṇa 133,177,248.
 suve 139.
 suvo 139.
 suvvaī 536.
 susā 313.
 susāṇa 104,312.
 susumāra 117.
 suhalli 107.
 suhavi 231.
 suhe'lli 107.
 sūhava 62,231.
 se, se' 423.
 se'jā 101.
 sedhi 66.
 sepha- 267,312,315.
 se'mbha -267.
 se'mbhā 267,
 se'mbhiya 267.
 seram 313.
 soamalla 123,235.
 soṇṇa 586.
 so'ccam 587.
 so'ccā 299,587.
 so'ccāṇa 587.
 so'ccham 531.
 soṇāra 66.
 so'ṇhā 139,143,263,313.
 so'ttum 574.
 so'tthi 152.
 somāra, °la 123.
 so'lla 566.
 so'llai 244.
 str, flexion of 505.
 sthā, flexion of 483.
 sprś, flexion of 486.
 smr, flexion of 478.
 svap, flexion of 497.
 haū 142,417.
 hage, hagge 142,202,417.
 haḍakka 50,150,194,222.
 Haṇṇā 251.
 hatta 194.
 °hattari, °hattariṇ 264.
 haddhi 71.
 haṇḍa 275.
 haṇḍi 275.
 haṇḍāra 434.
 haṇbho 267.
 hammai (goes) 188.
 hammai 540.
 haraḍai 120.
 haraya 132.
 Harianda 301.
 hare 338.
 haḷaa, haḷaka 50,244.
 haladdā, °i 115.
 haḷā 375.
 hali 375.
 haliāra 354.
 Haliccanda 301.
 halua 354.
 hale 375.
 havvam 338.
 havvāe 338.
 hassa=hrasva 354.
 hia 150.
 hio 134.
 hiccā 587.
 hiccāṇam 299,587.
 hiijo 134.
 hittha 107.
 hitthima 107.
 hitapa 50,191,254.
 hitapaka 50,191,254.
 hittha 308.
 hitthā 308.
 hitthāhida 308.
 hiya 150.
 hira 338.
 Hiri,hiri=Hri, hri 98.
 hiraī 537.
 hu 94,148.
 huttha 338.
 huttam 206.
 hulaī 354.
 huvvaī 536.
 hūṇa 120.
 he'cca, he'ccā 587.
 he ccāṇam 587.
 he'ttha 107.
 he'tthā 107.
 he'tthima 107.
 he'tthilla 107.
 he'lli 107.
 hoāṇa 586.
 ho'kkha- 521.
 ho'ccā 587.
 ho'jjamāṇa 561.
 hose 521.
 hrassa 354.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION. § 1—44.	1
A. THE PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES. § 1—30.	1
B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS. § 31—44.	34
II. PHONETICS. § 45—354.	51
A. SONANTS AND VOWELS. § 45—183.	51
1. Sonants. § 47—59.	51
2. Vowels. § 60—183.	58
a) The diphthongs <i>ai</i> and <i>au</i> . § 60—61.	58
b) Lengthening of short vowels. § 62—76.	62
c) Elevation of vowels. § 77—78.	72
d) Shortening of long vowels. § 79—100.	74
e) The separate vowels. § 101—130.	89
f) Separation-vowels. § 131—140.	107
g) Dropping off and addition of vowels. § 141—147.	113
h) Dropping off of vowels. § 148.	116
i) Dropping off and weakening of syllables. § 149—150.	117
k) Samprasāraṇa § 151—155.	119
l) Vocalic saṁdhi. § 156—175.	121
m) Epenthesis. § 176.	134
n) Assimilation of vowels. § 177	135
3. Anusvāra and nasal vowels. § 178.	135
B. THE CONSONANTS. § 184—354.	139
I. Consonants in free positions. § 184—267.	139
1. General remarks relating to whole or several classes. § 184—229.	139
2. Relating to particular consonants. § 230—267.	168
II. Conjunct consonants. § 268—334.	189
III. Dropping off and entry of consonants in the anlaut. § 335—338.	233
IV. Final consonants. § 339—352.	235
V. Saṁdhi-consonants. § 353—354.	243
III. MORPHOLOGY. § 355—594.	245
A. The noun. § 355—414.	245
B. Comparison. § 414.	295
C. The Pronoun. 415—434.	296
D. The Numerals. § 435—451	312
E. The Verb. § 452—594.	325
V. ON WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUNDS. § 595—603.	406
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA	412
ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF USED EDITIONS.	413
I. GENERAL INDEX,	418
II. GLOSSARY,	425

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